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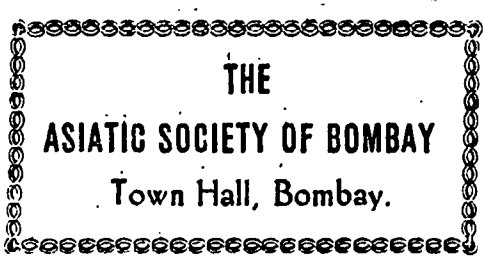

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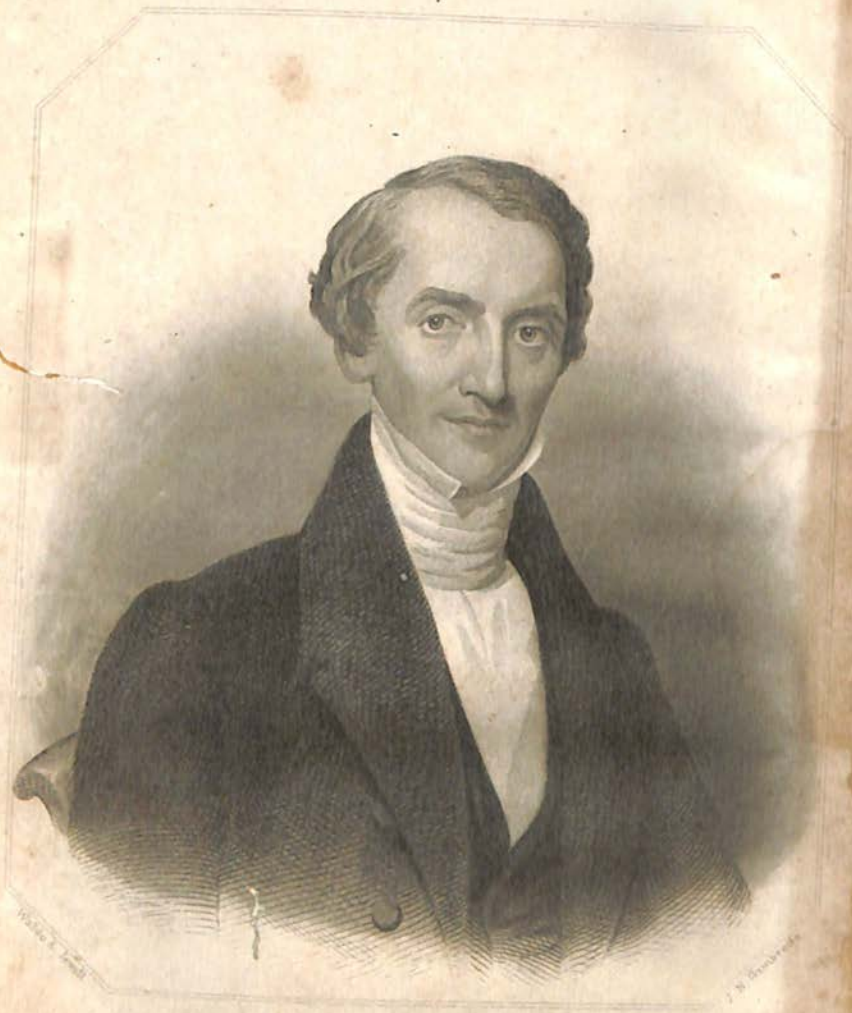

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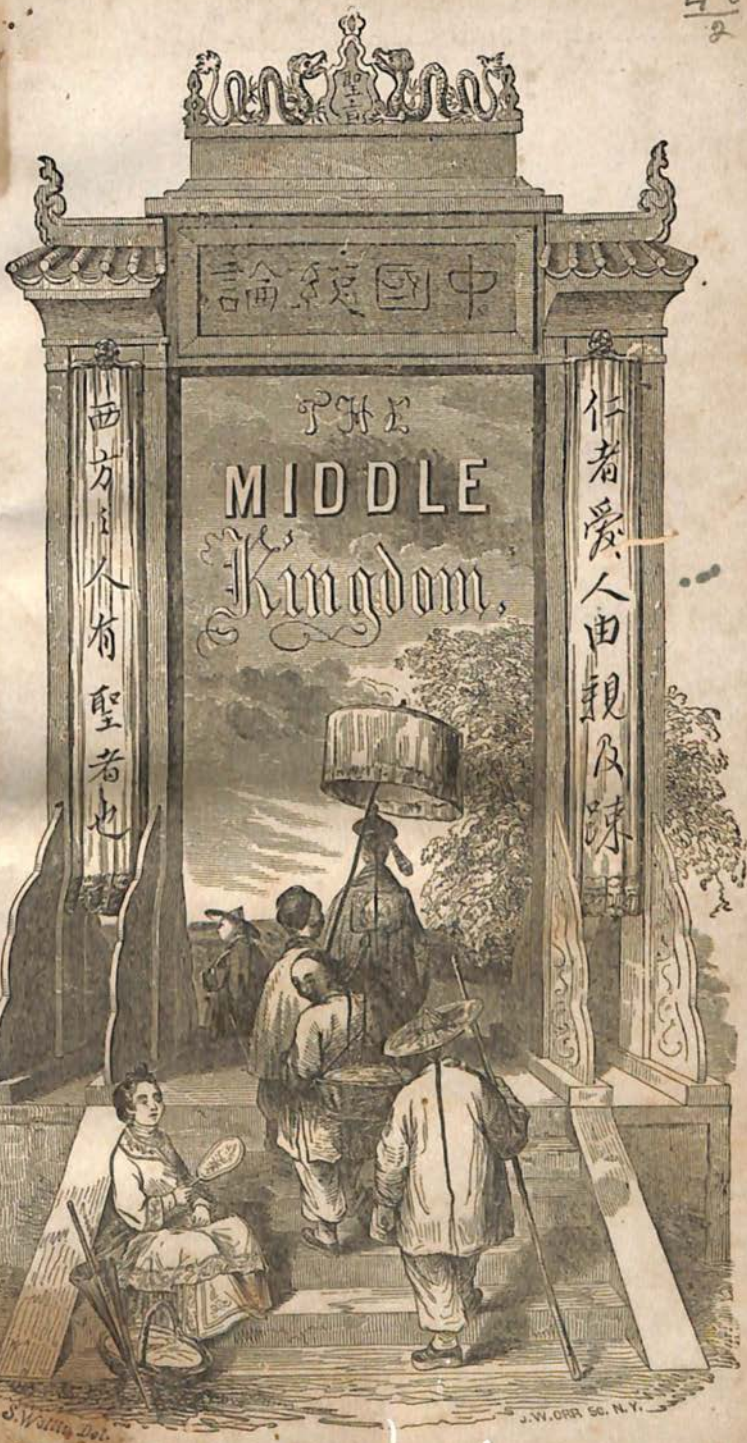
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西方之人有聖者也
仁者愛人由親及疎
S. Wells Dei.
J.W. ORR Sc. N.Y.

THE

MIDDLE KINGDOM:

A SURVEY OF THE

GEOGRAPHY, GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION, SOCIAL LIFE, ARTS, RELIGION, ETC.

OF

THE CHINESE EMPIRE

AND

ITS INHABITANTS.

3415

WITH

A NEW MAP OF THE EMPIRE AND NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY S. WELLS WILLIAMS,

AUTHOR OF "EASY LESSONS IN CHINESE," "ENGLISH AND CHINESE VOCABULARY," ETC.

THIRD EDITION.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Architecture, Dress, and Diet of the Chinese.

It is a sensible remark of De Guignes (Vol. ii., p. 173), that "the habit we fall into of conceiving things according to the words which express them, often leads us into error when reading the relations of travellers. Such writers have seen objects altogether new, but they are compelled, when describing them, to employ equivalent terms in their own language in order to be understood; while these same terms tend to deceive the reader, who imagines that he sees such palaces, colonnades, peristyles, &c., under these designations as he has been used to, when, in fact, they are quite another thing." The same observation is true of other things than architecture, and of other nations than the Chinese, and this confusion of terms and meanings proves a fruitful source of error in regard to an accurate knowledge of foreign nations, and a just perception of their condition. For instance, the terms *a court of justice, a common school, politeness, learning, navy, houses,* &c., as well as the names of things, like *razor, shoe, cap, bed, pencil, paper,* &c., are inapplicable to the same things in England and China; while it is plainly impossible to coin a new word in English to describe the Chinese article, and equally inexpedient to introduce the native term. If, for example, the utensil used by the Chinese to shave with should be picked up in Portsmouth by some one who had never seen or heard of it, he would be as likely to call it an oyster knife, or a

wedge, as a razor; while the use to which it is applied must of course give it that name, and would, if it were still more unlike the western article. So with other things. The ideas a Chinese gives to the terms *hwangtí*, *kwanfu*, *pau*, *pih*, and *shu*, are very different from those conveyed to an American by the words *emperor*, *magistrate*, *cannon*, *pencil*, and *book*. Since a person can only judge of what he hears or reads by what he knows, it is desirable that when he reads or hears western names applied to their equivalents in eastern countries, the function of a different civilization, habits, and notions, should form an element in the opinion he forms. These remarks are peculiarly applicable to the domestic life of the Chinese, to their houses, diet, dress, and customs in social intercourse; and although careful descriptions may go a good way in conveying just ideas, it cannot be hoped that they will do what a single look would instantly accomplish.

The notions entertained abroad on these particulars are, it need hardly be remarked, rather more accurate than those the Chinese have of distant countries, and it is scarcely possible that they can lose their conceit in their own civilization and position among the nations so long as such ideas are entertained as the following extract exhibits. Tien Kíshih, a popular essayist, thus congratulates himself and his readers: "I felicitate myself that I was born in China, and constantly think how very different it would have been with me, if I had been born beyond the seas in some remote part of the earth, where the people, far removed from the converting maxims of the ancient kings, and ignorant of the domestic relations, are clothed with the leaves of plants, eat wood, dwell in the wilderness, and live in the holes of the earth; though born in the world, in such a condition I should not have been different from the beasts of the field. But now, happily, I have been born in the Middle Kingdom. I have a house to live in; have food and drink, and elegant furniture; have clothing and caps, and infinite blessings: truly, the highest felicity is mine." Whatever may be thought of the accuracy of these statements, it is plain that the author considered his own country preferable to the neighboring regions; and that while the Chinese possessed food and drink, clothing and caps, houses and furniture, the rest of the world, in his opinion, was destitute of them.

The architecture of the Chinese is unique, presenting in its

general outline, a resemblance to a tent. From the palace to the hovel, in temples and in private dwellings, this type everywhere stands confessed; nor do many instances occur of an attempt to develop even this simple model into a grand or imposing building. While the Mogul princes in India reared costly mausolea and palaces to perpetuate their memory and the splendor of their reigns, the monarchs of China, with equal or greater resources at command, never indulged in this princely pastime, nor even attempted the erection of any enduring monument to commemorate their taste or their splendor. Whether it was owing to the absence of the beautiful and majestic models seen in western countries, or to an entire ignorance of the mechanical principles of the art, the fact is not the less observable, and the inference as to the advance made by them in knowledge and taste not less just. There is almost nothing in the country like an ancient architectural ruin, nothing which has come down to inform us whether previous generations constructed edifices more splendid or more mean than the present.

Dwelling-houses are generally of one story, having neither cellars nor basements, and for the most part without dormer windows or attics; they must not equal the temples in height, nor possess the ornaments appropriated to palaces and temples. The common building materials are bricks, sifted earth, matting, or thatch for the walls, stone for the foundation, brick tiling for the roof, and wood for the inner work; wooden houses are not unknown, the roof being supported by posts, between which is a coarsely woven matwork covered with mud and whitewash. The *ni chuen*, or sifted earth, is a compound of sifted gravel and lime mixed with water, and sometimes a little oil, of which durable walls are made by pounding it into a solid mass between planks secured at the sides, and elevated as the wall rises; or by beating it into large blocks and laying them like bricks in a wall; when stuccoed and protected from the rain, this material gradually hardens into stone. In houses of the better sort, the stone work of the foundation rises three or four feet above the ground, and is laid with great regularity and solidity. The fronts of dwelling houses present no opening except the door, and when the [illegible] walls of several houses join those of gardens and inclosures, the street presents an uninteresting sameness, unrelieved by steps, windows, porticoes, or front yards. The walls

are twenty-five or thirty feet high, usually hollow, or so thin as to be unable to support the roof unaided; nor are the builders very particular about their perfect uprightness. The bricks are the same size as our own, and burned to a greyish slate color, though there are red bricks; they are made by hand, and sell from $3 to $8 a thousand. Lime is obtained from shells; for, even if the Chinese were aware that lime can be procured from limestone (which does not appear to be known), the dearness of fuel would seriously interfere with burning the stone into lime. The walls are often stuccoed, but not painted, and the bricks are occasionally rubbed smooth with stones, and the interstices pointed with fine cement. In place of a broad cornice, the top of the wall is frequently relieved by a pretty ornament of moulded work of painted clay figures in alto relievo representing a battle scene, a landscape, clusters of flowers, or some other design, defended from the weather by the projecting eaves. A black painted band, relieved by corners and designs of flowers and scrolls, is a cheap substitute for the carved figures.

The roofs are generally hipped, and everywhere discover their tented origin in the catenary curve of their edges. They are made of thin earthen tiles, appearing in alternate ridges and furrows. The under layer consists of square thin pieces, laid side by side in ascending rows with the lower edges overlapping; the edges are joined by a layer of semi-cylindrical tiles, which are further secured by a covering of mortar. Terraces are erected on shops but balustrades or chimneys on dwellings, or flat roofs, are seldom seen. The corners and ridges of temples and palaces are frequently ornamented with green and yellow earthen figures of dragons, snakes, fishes, &c., which sometimes form a very conspicuous object in the general appearance of the building, where ornament is not looked for, but not so much so as is often represented in Chinese drawings. Occasionally, the side walls rise above the roof in degrees, imparting a singular, bow-like aspect to the edifice. In order to support the roof, the purlines and ridgepole consist of strong timbers extending from wall to wall, and the rafters of slender strips, on which the tiles are upheld; in hipped roofs, the principal weight rests on pillars, with a series of king and queen posts intervening, by which every part is equably supported, but ceilings are not made, since the space is not required for attics. The pil-

lars are of stone or red varnished wood, without base or capital, of disproportionate shape, and frequently ornamented with carving and inscriptions, or concealed by scrolls. In two story houses, or where it is impracticable to support the roof in this way, the rooms are contracted, and the cross walls built up to the plate, each room being covered by its own roof. The pillars are occasionally arranged so as to form side passages to the rear rooms, the intercolumniations being screened or built up; a slight ceiling usually conceals the tiling, but the apartment appears lofty, owing to the elevation of the roof.

The general arrangement of a Chinese dwelling of the better sort is that of a series of rooms of different dimensions, separated and lighted by intervening courts, and accessible along a covered corridor, communicating with each, or by side passages leading through the courts. In the former case, the corridor opens out upon a garden. In towns, where the houses are of one story, and the lots irregular in their shape, there is much more diversity in the arrangement and size of rooms; and in the country establishments of wealthy families, where the gradual increase of the members calls for additional space to accommodate the families of the sons, the succession of courts and buildings, interspersed with gardens and pools, sometimes renders the whole not a little complicated. The custom of cramping the feet, and thus disabling the women from going up and down stairs, may have had its effect in keeping the rooms upon a level. In isolated bungalows, a second, and even a third story, each smaller than the one below it, is often built by raising the pillars or cross walls above the roof of the ground story, and surrounding the room thus formed by a veranda.

The entrance into large mansions in the country is by a triple gate leading through a lawn or garden up to the hall; but in towns, a single door, usually elevated a step or two above the street, introduces the visitor into a porch or court. A wall or movable screen is placed inside of the doorway, and the intervening space is occupied by the porter; upon the wall on the left is the shrine dedicated to the gods of the threshold. The door is solidly constructed, and moves upon pivots turning in sockets. Under the projecting eaves, hang paper lanterns inscribed by the name and title of the householder, and when lighted at night, serving to illumine the street and de-

signate his habitation, for door-plates and numbers are unknown. The roughness of the gate is somewhat concealed by the names or grotesque representations of two tutelar gods, Shintu and Yuh-lui, to whom the guardianship of the house is intrusted; and its sides and lintel are embellished with classical quotations written upon red paper, or with sign-boards of literary rank. The door-keeper and other servants frequently lodge in small rooms within the gateway, and above the porch is an attic containing one or two apartments, to be reached by a rude stairway. In the country, none but the door-keeper lodges near the entrance.

On passing behind the screen, a paved open court, occasionally adorned with flowers or a fancy fish-pool, is crossed when entering the principal hall. At the south, a row of pillars supports the plate instead of a wall, but at the north the front is partly walled up, and the top furnished with a lattice-work or paper windows to admit the light. The upper end of the hall is furnished with a high table or altar, on which incense vases and idolatrous utensils and sacrifices are placed in honor of the divinities and lares worshipped there, whose tablets and names are on the wall. Sometimes the table merely contains grotesque or costly ornaments of various kinds. Before the table is the principal seat, a large square couch, with a low stand in the centre, and a pillow for reclining upon. In front of it, the chairs are arranged down the room in two rows facing each other, each pair having a small table between them. The floors are made of square tiles of brick or marble, or of hard cement, and matted; wooden floors are not very common upon the ground story. Even in a bright day the room is dim, and the absence of carpets and fireplaces, and of windows to afford a prospect abroad, renders it cheerless to a foreigner, accustomed to his own glazed and more elevated houses.

A rear door near the side wall opens either into a kitchen or court, across which are the female apartments, or directly into the latter [illegible] rectangular, [illegible] circular openings, and it is thought desirable that they should not open opposite each other, lest evil spirits find their way [illegible] the street into the recesses of the dwelling. The [illegible] lighted by skylights which [illegible] thin lamina of a species of [illegible]

squares supply the place of window-glass. Latterly, this material has become cheap at Canton, though one reason for its limited use is the fear of thieves. Oiled paper is employed at the north instead of shells. The kitchen is a small affair, for the universal use of portable furnaces enables the inmates to cook wherever the smoke will be least troublesome. Even if there is a chimney, which is not common, it does not project beyond the roof. Warming the house, even as far north as Ningpo, is not frequent, but further up, as at Peking, the inmates are protected from the cold by closing the crevices, and constructing flues under the rooms, which are heated by one fire. The poor build a sort of brick fireplace, which by day is used for cooking, and at night for a bed, by placing felt carpets over the warm bricks, where all the family sleep. Every effort is made to husband fuel, which is not only high priced, but scarce.

The country establishments of grandees are arranged on a little different plan from the dwellings in towns, and their grounds are walled in. In these inclosures, the hall of ancestors, library, school-room, and summer-houses, are often detached from the main edifice, and erected upon low plinths, surrounded by a veranda, and frequently decorated with paint and ornamental carving. Near the rear court are the female apartments and offices, many of the former and the sleeping apartments being in attics. Considerable space is occupied by the quadrangles, which are paved and embellished by fish-pools, flowering shrubs, and other plants. Mr. Fortune (Wanderings, page 98) describes the house and garden of a gentleman at Ningpo, as being connected by rude looking caverns of rockwork, "and what at first sight appears to be a subterranean passage leading from room to room, through which the visitor passes to the garden. The small courts, of which a glimpse is caught in passing along, are fitted up with rockwork; dwarf trees are planted here and there in various places, and graceful creepers hang down into the pools in front. These being passed, another cavernous passage leads into the garden, with its dwarf trees, vases, ornamented lattices, and beautiful shrubs suddenly opening to the view. By windings and glimpses along the rocky passages into other courts, and hiding the real boundary by masses of shrubs and trees, the grounds are made to appear much larger than they really are."

The houses of the poor are dark, dirty, low, and narrow tenements, without floor or windows, and the few apartments wretched in the extreme. The door is a mat swinging from the lintel, and the whole family often sleep, eat, and live in a single room. Pigs, dogs, and hens dispute the space with children and furniture, if a table, and a few trestles and stools, pots and plates, deserve that name, and all the duties of cooking and working are conducted in or near this room. The filthy street without is a counterpart to the gloomy, smoky abode within, and a single walk through the streets and lanes of such a neighborhood is sufficient to reconcile a person to any ordinary condition of life. On the outskirts of the town a still poorer class are forced to take up with huts made of mats and thatch upon the ground, through which the rain and wind find free course. It is surprising that people can live and enjoy health, and even be cheerful, as the Chinese are, in such circumstances. Between these miserable dwellings, and the spacious abodes of the rich, is a class of middle houses, consisting of three or four small rooms under a single roof, and lodging eight, ten, or more inmates.

The best furniture is made of a dark durable wood resembling ebony; but the rooms are filled with ornamental articles, such as large porcelain jars and vases, copper tripods or pots, stone screens, book-shelves and stands, &c., rather than with chairs, couches, or tables. The ink sketches of landscapes, and the pairs of gay scrolls inscribed with sentences suspended from the walls, and the pretty lanterns hanging from the ceiling, relieve the cheerlessness of the room; and the combined effect is not destitute of variety and even elegance, though there is a want of what we term *comfort*. Partitions are sometimes fancifully made of lattice work with a great number of openings, neatly arranged for the reception of boxes containing books. The bedrooms are small, poorly ventilated, and seldom visited except at night. A rich bedstead is a massive article, made of costly woods, elaborately carved, and supporting a canopy, from which hang silken curtains. The front of the dester is ornamented with a fancy scroll, and the mosquito curtains, with which every bed is provided, tried up with copper or silver hooks. Cheaper bedsteads simply consist of two boards resting on trestles, and the bedclothes of a quilted coverlet. Mattresses of

feather beds are not used, and the pillow is a hard square frame of rattan or bamboo.* The bed and its appurtenances of a wardrobe and toilet, usually complete the furniture of the sleeping apartments of the Chinese, who, generally speaking, care very little for this part of their houses. Servants and workmen are accommodated in separate apartments, or find a lodgment by spreading their mat and coverlet upon the floor or piazza. The women belonging to the house have no other room than their chamber, and ordinarily each wife and concubine has her own.

The grounds of the rich are laid out in good style, and no expense is spared upon them; and were not the tasteful arrangements and diversified shrubbery which would render them charming resorts, almost always spoiled by their general bad keeping,—neglect and ruin, if not nastiness and offals, being often visible in Chinese gardens, especially if the mansion be an old one,—they would please the most fastidious. The necessity of having a place for the women and children of the household to recreate themselves, is one reason for having an open space within the inclosure, even if it be only a plat of flowers or a bed of vegetables. In the imperial gardens, the attempt to make an epitome of nature has been highly successful; and such is the case too in others which foreigners have visited, where the owner was able to gratify his taste. De Guignes describes their art of gardening as "imitating the beauties and producing the inequalities of nature. Instead of alleys planted symmetrically or uniform grounds, there are winding footpaths, trees here and there as if by chance, woody or sterile hillocks, and deep gulleys with narrow passages, whose sides are steep or rough with rocks, and presenting only a few miserable shrubs. They like to bring together in gardening in the same view, cultivated grounds and arid plains; to make the field uneven, and cover it with artificial rockwork; to dig caverns in mountains, on whose tops are arbors half overthrown, and around which tortuous footpaths run and return into themselves, prolonging, as it were, the extent of the grounds and increasing the pleasure of the walk."

A pool or fish pond, supplied by a rivulet running wildly through the grounds or over the hillocks when possible, forms an indispensable feature of such gardens, in which if there be room, a summer-house is erected on a rocky islet, or on piles over the

water, accessible by a rugged causey of rockwork. The lotus is grown in the pools, its large plate-like leaves and magnificent flowers rendering it a general favorite, and carp and other fish are reared in their waters; gold fish are kept in small vessels or tanks. Whenever it is possible, a gallery runs along the sides of the pond for the pleasure and use of the females in the household. Jets-d'eau are uncommon, nor are dwelling-houses furnished with water by pipes, wells and cisterns being the usual sources of supply. A pretty device in some gardens, which beguiles the visitor's ramble, is to make a rude kind of shell or pebble mosaic in the gravelly paths, representing birds, animals, or other figures; the time required to decipher them prolongs the walk, and apparently increases the size of the grounds. The pieces of rockwork are cemented together, and bound with strong wire; and in fish-pools, grottoes, or causeways, this unique ornament almost always has a pretty effect, partly because the moss and plants which grow upon it from neglect add rather to its appropriateness.

The wood and mason work of the Chinese is showy and unsubstantial, requiring constant repairs, and therefore both their gardens and houses, when neglected, soon fall into a ruinous condition; but when new they present a pretty appearance. The *Fa tí* or Flower gardens near Canton, well known to foreigners there, are merely shops for the sale of plants kept in pots, and make no pretensions to ornamental gardening. Some of the principal merchants there have cultivated grounds of greater or less extent attached to their establishments, but none of them have gardens exhibiting much of the peculiar style of the country. One of the late hong-merchants built a glass summer-house on his premises covered by a light roof, and so that it could be closed with shutters. All who entered it could hardly avoid quoting the old adage, "Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones."

The arrangement of shops and warehouses necessarily differs from that of dwelling-houses, but either from not feeling its necessity, or from the value of the ground, few of them have any rear yard. The rear room of the shop is a small dark apartment, used for a dormitory, store-room, or workshop, and sometimes for all, according as the case may be. Small ones are usually lighted from the front, but the largest by a skylight, in

which cases there is a latticed partition screen reaching nearly across the room just behind the door, to seclude the inside of the shop from the street. There are in most cases no windows in front, but the whole is thrown open by day and closed at night by shutters running in grooves, and secured by heavy crossbars to a row of posts, which fit in sockets in the threshold and lintel. The doorway recedes a foot or two, and the projecting roof serves to protect customers from the rain and sun, and such goods as are exposed for sale. In small shops there are two counters, a long one running in from the door, and another upon the wall of the shop, at right angles to it, reaching from the door across the front. The shopman sits within the angle of the two, and as they are low he can easily serve a customer in the street as well as in the shop. At night, the smaller one often forms a lodging place for homeless beggars. The front of the outer counter is of granite, and a niche containing a tablet inscribed to Plutus or Mammon, is cut in the end, where incense is burned every day to invoke a profitable business. Another shrine is placed within the apartment, dedicated to the deity of the place, whoever he may be. It is the duty of the clerks to light incense sticks and burn paper before these shrines twice, if not oftener, every day.

The loft over shops is much smaller than the main apartment, for as its floor must not intercept the skylight, it is merely a small chamber towards the street reached by a gallery along the sides of the wall, and lighted by the windows in front. Chinese tradesmen do not make the display of shopkeepers in western cities in exhibiting their goods, and the partial use made of glass renders it not always safe to do so. The want of a yard compels shopmen to do their cooking and washing either behind or on top of the building, for in most cases the clerks and workmen both eat and sleep under the same roof. In the densest parts of the city of Canton, the roofs are covered with a loose framework, on which firewood is piled, clothes washed and dried, and meals cooked; it also affords a lounging and sleeping place in summer. In case of fire, however, these lumbered roofs become like so many tinder-boxes, and aid not a little to spread the flames.

The narrowness of the streets in Chinese cities is a source of more inconveniences than benefits; few of them exceed ten or twelve feet in width, and most of those in Canton are less than eight. No public squares filled with fountains and shrubbery,

nor any open spaces except small areas in front of temples, relieve the closeness of these lanes. The absence of horses and carriages, and a custom of huddling together, a desire to screen the path from the sun, and their ignorance of the advantages of another mode, are perhaps the reasons for making them so narrow. In case of fire, it is difficult to get access to the burning buildings, and troublesome and dangerous for the inmates to move or save their property. At all times, porters carrying burdens are impeded by the crowd of passengers thronging the thoroughfares, who likewise must pass Indian file lest they tilt against the porters. Ventilation is very imperfect where the buildings are packed so closely; and the public necessaries and offal carried through the streets by the scavengers, still further pollute the air. Drainage is only partially attended to, and the sewers often get choked or the coverings are broken, and exude their contents over the pathway. The ammoniacal and other gases which are generated by all this filth aggravate the ophthalmic diseases so prevalent among the Chinese; and it is a matter of surprise that the cholera, plague, or yellow fever does not visit the inhabitants of such confined abodes, who breathe so tainted an atmosphere.

The streets are usually paved with slabs of stone laid crosswise, and except near markets and wells are comparatively clean. They are not laid out straight, and some of them present a singularly irregular appearance from the slight angle which each house makes with its neighbors; it being considered rather unlucky to have them exactly even. The names of the streets, instead of being marked on the corners of the blocks, are written on the gateways at their ends; and as each division makes a separate neighborhood, and has its own name, a single long street will in its course have five, six, or more names. The general arrangement of a Chinese city presents a labyrinth of streets, alleys, and byways, very perplexing to a stranger who has neither plan nor directory to guide him, nor numbers upon the houses and shops to direct him. The sign-boards are hung from the eaves or wall each side of the door, or securely inserted in stone sockets; some of them are ten or fifteen feet high, and being gaily painted and gilded on both sides with picturesque characters, a succession of them as seen down a street produces a pleasing effect. The inscriptions on these signs simply mention

the kind of goods sold, and without half the puffing seen in western cities; and the accounts sometimes given of the inscriptions on sign-boards in Chinese cities, as "No cheating here," and others, are the exception and not the rule. The edicts and official notices of government, handbills of medicines to cure all diseases, and the famous doctors who make them, notices announcing the loss of children or escape of slaves, houses to let, or other events, cover blank walls in great abundance and variety, printed on red, black, or yellow paper; but the absence of newspapers leads the shopmen to depend more for patronage upon a circle of customers, and the distribution of cards, than to spend much money in handbill advertising. The shrines of the street gods are usually located in little niches in the wall, sometimes with altars before them, and receiving no other regard than a few incense sticks.

The temples and assembly-halls are almost the only public buildings in Chinese cities, except the governmental offices, but although very numerous, they present few architectural points to distinguish them from other edifices. A few of the temples at Canton, and the grounds attached to them, occupy a large space, among which the *Hai-chwang sz'*, or Budhist monastery in Honam, noticed in the account of that city, is the best known. The temples in all parts of the country derive no small portion of their income from travellers, and are consequently made more commodious and extensive than the number of priests or the throng of worshippers require. There are no public buildings erected for markets, each butcher, greengrocer, and poulterer hiring stalls, or hawking his commodities around the street as suits his own convenience.

The assembly-halls are built somewhat like warehouses, with one spacious hall for public use. There are more than a hundred of them in Canton, and the same proportion in other cities. Some of them are partly like a hotel, being occupied by traders, coming in from the country to sell their produce, and to buy goods, who club together, because they speak the same dialect, or are engaged in the same commerce. All the houses, shops, and halls, pay a ground rent to the general government, depending on their size and value, but no data are available for comparing this tax with that levied in western cities. The government furnishes the owner of the ground with a *hung ki* or red deed, in testimony

of his right to occupancy, which puts him in perpetual possession as long as he pays the taxes.

Houses are rented on short leases, and the rent collected quarterly in advance; the annual income from real estate is between nine and twelve per cent. The yearly rent of the best shops in Canton is from $150 to $400; there is no system of insuring buildings, which, with the municipal taxes and the difficulty of collecting bad rents, enhances their price.

The taverns, *tsiu tien*, or "wine shops," are numerous in all parts of the country, but though they will not bear comparison with the hotels of western cities, they are far in advance of the cheerless khans and caravansaries found in Asia Minor. Boarding-houses, as they exist in western cities, are unknown as distinct from taverns or restaurants; nor are grog shops, beer shops, or gin palaces, found in Chinese cities. The traveller usually brings his own bedding, and sometimes his own provision also, and when night comes spreads his mat upon the floor or bedstead, and lies down in his clothes. The better sort of travellers order a room for themselves, but owing to the common practice of men of wealth going to the temples, or hiring a separate boat when travelling, in which they sleep during their stay, the taverns are not much frequented by those who would pay well. One considerable source of income to innkeepers is the preparation of dinners for parties of men, who either come to the house or send to it for so many covers, for when a gentleman invites his friends to an entertainment it is common to serve it up at his warehouse, or at an inn. In towns and cities, thousands of men take their meals at tables or at eating-stands in the streets, and the number of these conveniences with the cooking-stalls attached, strikes a stranger singularly. The noisy hilarity of the customers, as they ply their "nimble lads" or chopsticks, and the vociferous cries of the cooks recommending their cakes and dishes, with the steaming savor from the frying-pan and kettles, form, however, but a small part of the various objects in these streets to attract the eyes, ears, and nose of the observer. Their appearance to a foreigner is very amusing, and the variety of bustling scenes and picturesque novelties presented to him on arrival from sea, afford no little entertainment. They have been thus described by an eye-witness.

"The number of itinerant workmen of one kind or another which line the sides of the streets or occupy the areas before public buildings in Chinese towns, is a remarkable feature. Fruiterers, pastrymen, cooks, venders of gimcracks and wayside shopmen are found in other countries as well as China; but to see a travelling blacksmith or tinker, an itinerant glassmender, a peripatetic repairer of umbrellas, a locomotive seal-cutter, an ambulatory barber, a migratory banker, a peregrinatory apothecary or druggist, or a walking shoemaker and cobbler, one must travel hitherwards. These movable establishments, together with fortune-tellers, herb and booksellers, chiromancers, &c., pretty well fill up the space, so that one often sees both sides of the streets literally lined with the stalls, wares, or tools of persons selling or making something to eat or to wear. The money-changer sits behind a small table, on which his strings of cash are chained, and where he weighs the silver he is to change; his neighbor, the seal-cutter, sits next him near a like fashioned table. The barber has his chest of drawers made to serve for a seat, and if he has not a furnace of his own he heats his water at the cook's or the blacksmith's fire near by, perhaps shaving his friend gratis by way of recompense.

"The herbseller chooses an open place where he will not be trampled on, and there displays his simples and his plasters, while the dentist, with a ghastly string of fangs and grinders around his neck, testimonials of his skill, sits over against him, each with his infallible remedy. The bookpeddler and chooser of lucky days, and he who finds stolen goods by divination, arrange themselves on either side, with their tables and stalls, and array of sticks, pencils, signs, and pictures, all trying to 'catch a little pidgeon.' The spectacle-mender and razor-grinder, the cutler and seller of bangles and bracelets, and the maker of clay puppets or mender of old shoes, are not far off, all plying their callings as busily as if they were in their own shops. Then, besides the hundreds of stalls for selling articles of food, dress, or ornament, there are innumerable peddlers going up and down with baskets and trays slung on their shoulders, each bawling or making his own peculiar note, which, with coolies transporting burdens, chairbearers carrying sedans, and passengers following one another like a stream, with here and there a woman among them, so fill up the streets that it is no easy matter to navigate them. Notwithstanding all these obstructions, it is worthy of note and highly praiseworthy in the Chinese, that these crowds pass and repass with the greatest rapidity in the narrow streets without altercation or disturbance, and seldom with accident."—*Chi. Rep.* Vol. X., p. 473.

Streets at the north present a little different aspect. Barrow thus delineates those in Peking: "The multitude of movable workshops of tinkers and barbers, cobblers and blacksmiths, the

tents and booths where tea and fruit, rice and other eatables were exposed for sale, with the wares and merchandise arrayed before the doors, had contracted this spacious street to a narrow road in the middle, just wide enough for two little vehicles to pass each other. The processions of men in office attended by their numerous retinues, bearing umbrellas and flags, painted lanterns and a variety of strange insignia of their rank and station, different trains that were accompanying, with lamentable cries, corpses to their graves, and with squalling music, brides to their husbands; the troops of dromedaries laden with coals from Tartary; the wheelbarrows and hand-carts stuffed with vegetables, occupied nearly the whole of this middle space in one continued line. All was in motion. The sides of the streets were filled with an immense concourse of people, buying and selling and bartering their different commodities. The buzz and confused noises of this mixed multitude, proceeding from the loud bawling of those who were crying their wares, the wrangling of others, with every now and then a strange twanging sound like the jarring of a cracked jewsharp (the barber's signal), the mirth and laughter that prevailed in every group, could scarcely be exceeded. Peddlers with their packs, jugglers and conjurers, fortune-tellers, mountebanks and quackdoctors, comedians and musicians, left no space unoccupied."*

All shops are closed at nightfall, and persons going abroad carry a lantern or torch. Over all the thoroughfares, watch-towers are erected, where notice of a fire is given, and the watches of the night announced by striking a gong. Few persons, comparatively speaking, are met in the streets at night, except beggars, and the private watch kept by all who are able, greatly assists the regular police in preserving order and apprehending thieves. These men go up and down their wards beating large bamboos to let "thieves know they are on the look-out." Considering all things, large Chinese cities are remarkably quiet at night. Beggars find their lodgings in the porches of temples, or the sides of the streets, and nestle together in their rags for mutual warmth. This class of people is under the care of a headman, who, with the advice of the elders and constables, apportions them in the separate neighborhoods. During the day, they go from one shop or house door to another, and receive their

* Travels in China, page 96

allotted stipend, which cannot be less than one cash to each person; they sit in the doorway, and sing a ditty or beat their clap-dishes and sticks to attract attention, and if the shopkeeper has no customers, he lets them keep up their cries, for he knows that the longer they are detained at the door, so much the more time will elapse before they come again to his shop. Many of them are blind, and all of them present a sickly appearance, their countenances begrimed with dirt, and furrowed by sorrow and suffering. The areas before temples and the vicinity of markets, are the resort of numbers, and there too they die by scores from disease and starvation, presenting an affecting illustration of the cold indifference heathenism exhibits towards the distress of the poor. Many persons give the headman a dollar or more per month to purchase exemption from the daily importunity of the beggars; and families about to perform housewarming, a marriage, or funeral, and newly arrived junks, are obliged to fee him to get rid of the clamorous and loathsome crowd.

When fires occur, the officers of government are held responsible; the law being, that if ten houses are burned *within the walls*, the highest officer in it shall be fined nine months' pay; if more than thirty, a year's salary; and if three hundred are consumed, he shall be degraded one degree. The governor and other high officers, attended by a few troops, are frequently seen at fires in Canton, as much to prevent thievery as to direct in extinguishing the flames. The engines are hurried through the narrow streets at a fearful rate; those who carry away property are armed with swords to defend it, and every one adds to the crash of the burning houses by loud cries. The police are authorized to pull down houses, if the fire can thereby be sooner extinguished, but there is no independent organized body of firemen, nor any well arranged system of operations in such cases, though conflagrations are ordinarily soon got under. The condition of the women and children at such times is pitiable, and cruel men often take the opportunity to steal and carry off defenceless persons, especially young girls.

In addition to the edifices already described, is the pagoda, a building considered as so peculiar to the Chinese, that a landscape or painting relating to China without a pagoda perched on a hill, like one of Egyptian scenery destitute of a pyramid or a desert plain, would be considered deficient. The term *pagoda*

has been applied by De Guignes and other writers on China, to temples, in conformity with the usage of the word in India, where it originated; by other authors, principally English, it has been appropriated to the polygonal towers occurring in all parts of the country; and this restricted application is the best use of the term, since the word *temple* is better understood as designating edifices containing idols. The pagodas are usually called *tah* but some which are inhabited and contain idols are called *sz'*, or monastery. The two in the city of Canton were erected, it is affirmed, to bring and secure good luck to the region in accordance with the rules of the *fungshwui*, or wind and water doctrine. There are six others between Canton and Macao, none of them inhabited, but the people believe all of them exert a great influence upon the fortunes and prosperity of the surrounding region. These edifices are strongly built; one near West lake in Chehkiang is stated to have been erected fifteen centuries. They are always an odd number of stories, seldom less than five, and none more than eleven. Small octagonal houses, three stories high, are sometimes built as temples or literary halls, dedicated to the god of Letters.

There is a temple and pagoda near Hangchau fu, described by De Guignes, as "well built and kept in good repair, with the single exception of one building used for a magazine. The court contains two pavilions, one has a bell, the other a gong. The pagoda is beautiful, each of its eight sides being 28 feet wide, and the wall at the base, including the covered stairway, 18 feet thick. This stairway is about three feet wide, and ascends spirally between two walls, the inner of which is about six feet thick; the diameter of the room within is 18 feet, and each one contains niches for idols, except the top one, which upholds a large post that projects many feet beyond the roof; including this, the height is about 170 feet. There is a covered gallery at each story on the outside, which had begun to show the effects of time. The prospect from the summit is superb; we could discover the course of the river, and a part of the city and suburbs; near by were many tombs, which with vegetable gardens attached to the establishment, and the trees in their environs, heightened the picturesque scene. Fifty priests reside here, who told us the pagoda had been built seven hundred years; if so, the woodwork must have been often repaired.'

Sir John Davis visited one near Lintsing chau in Shantung, in very good repair, inhabited by Budhist priests, and containing two idols; each of its nine stories was inscribed with Ometo Fuh, in large characters. It was erected since the completion of the Grand canal. A winding stairway of near 200 steps conducted to the top, about 150 feet from the ground, from whence an extensive and beautiful view was obtained of the surrounding country. The basement was excellently built of granite, and all the rest of glazed brick, beautifully joined and cemented.*

The appearance of a Chinese city when seen from a distance is unlike the view of European cities, in which spires, domes, and towers of churches and cathedrals, halls, palaces, and other public buildings, and green spots from squares and gardens intervening between the streets, relieve the uniformity of rows of dwellings; and stacks of chimneys or glittering roofs further add to the liveliness of the scene. In China, temples, houses, and palaces are nearly of one height; their sameness being only partially relieved by trees here and there, and pairs of tall flag-staffs with frames near their tops, which at a distance not a little resemble dismantled gallows. Nature, however, charms and delights, and few countries present more beautiful landscapes; even the tameness of the works of man serves as a foil for the diversified beauties of the cultivated landscape.

A Chinese usually travels by water, and in the south-eastern provinces, it may be said that vehicles solely designed for carrying travellers or goods do not exist, for the carts and wheelbarrows which are met with are few and so miserably made, as hardly to serve any purpose, or prove an exception to the remark. In the plains of Chihli and about the capital, and further northward, they are more common but wretchedly made, the wheels being often solid, and fixed to short axletrees. Hundreds of them are to be hired in the streets of Peking, which are no better than oblong boxes fastened to an axle and cushioned to alleviate the jolting, and drawn by one horse; the passengers get in and out at the sides or front, where the driver sits close to the horse. In Kiangsi, wheelbarrows are made of a peculiar shape, and employed for transporting passengers and their baggage, but not to any great distance, nor is the same description of vehicle common in the other provinces.

* Voyage à Peking, tom. II., p. 79. Davis' Sketches, Vol. I., p. 213.

Wheelbarrows used for travelling in Kiangsi.

Where travelling by water is impossible, sedan chairs are used to carry passengers, and coolies with poles and slings transport their luggage and goods. There are two kinds of sedan, in both of which the traveller sits; the light one is made of bamboo, and so narrow that the sitter is obliged to lean forward as he is carried; the large one, called *kiau*, is, whether viewed in regard to lightness, comfort, or any other quality associated with such a mode of carriage, one of the most convenient articles found in any country. It is prohibited to the common people, but those possessing any kind of privilege are allowed to use it; two men easily support it on their shoulders, and can carry it four miles an hour. Goods are safely carried upon poles, and however large or heavy the package may be, the porters contrive to subdivide its weight between them by means of their sticks and slings. The number of persons who thus gain a livelihood is great, and in cities they are employed by headmen, who contract for work just as carmen do elsewhere; or when unengaged by overseers, parties station themselves at corners and other public places, ready to start at a beck. A person going through the streets of Canton will often meet groups of brawny fellows idling away their time in smoking, gambling, sleeping, or jeering at the

wayfarers; and, like the husbandmen mentioned in the parable, if he ask them why they stand there all the day idle? will be in like manner answered, "Because no man hath hired us."

The chairbearers also form a somewhat distinct clan, and the establishments where sedans and their bearers are to be hired suggest a comparison with the livery stables of western cities; the men in fact are nicknamed at Canton *mo mí ma*, i. e. tailless horses. There is a vehicle used sometimes by the emperor and high officers, consisting of an open chair set upon poles, and so made that the incumbent can be seen as well as see around him. It undergoes many changes in different parts of the country, as it is both cheap and light, and well fitted for traversing mountainous regions.

In the construction and management of their river craft the Chinese excel. Most of the boats are intended to be the residences of those who navigate them, and regard is had to this in their arrangement. Only a part of the fleets of boats seen on the river at Canton are intended for transportation, a large number being designed for fixed residences, and perhaps half of them are moored stem and stern in rows. They are not obliged to remain where they station themselves, but both the boats and their inmates are under the supervision of a water police, who register them and point out the position they may occupy. Boats for families, those in which oil, salt, fuel, or other articles are sold, lighters, passage-boats, flower-boats, and other kinds, are by this means grouped together, and more easily found. It was once ascertained that there were 84,000 boats registered as belonging to the city of Canton, but whether they all remained near the city and did not go to other parts of the district, or whether the old ones were erased from the register when broken up, was not ascertained; though it is not likely that at one time this number of boats ever lay opposite the city. No one who has been at Canton, can forget the bustling, noisy, and animating sight the river offers, nor failed to have noticed the good humored carefulness with which boats of every size pass each other without collision.

It is difficult to describe the many kinds of craft found on the Chinese waters, without the assistance of drawings. They are furnished with stern sculls, which move upon a pivot, and easily propel the boat amid the crowd. Large boats are furnished

with two or three, which, when not in use, are conveniently hauled in upon the side. They are provided with oars, the loom and blade of which are fastened by withs, and run in a band attached to a stake. The mast in some of the large cargo boats consists of two sticks, resting on the gunwales and meeting above, and so arranged as to be hoisted at pleasure; in those designed for residences, no provision is made for a mast, the oars and scull being sufficient for the moving required. Fishing boats, lighters, and craft required for the outer waters, have one or two permanent masts. In all except the smallest, a wale or frame projects from the side, on which the boatmen walk when poling the vessel. The sails are made of common matting, and sewed into a single sheet, and provided with yards at the top and bottom and bamboo ribs on the face, which serve to retain the loops that run on the mast, and enable the boatmen to haul them close on the wind. A driver is sometimes placed on the taffrail, and a small foresail near the bow, but the mainsail is the chief dependence; no Chinese boat has a bowsprit. Few sailors are more expert at managing their craft than the Chinese on the coast, but the boatmen in the interior are greatly their inferiors for address and courage.

The internal arrangement of the dwelling-boats is simple, nor are they as dirty as the houses. The better sort are from 60 to 80 feet long, and about 15 wide, divided into three rooms; the stem is sharp, and upholds a platform on which, when they are moored alongside, it is easy to pass from one boat to another. Each one is secured by ropes to large hawsers, which run along the whole line at the bow and stern. The room nearest the bow is a sort of porch to the principal apartment, which occupies about half the body of the boat; the two are separated by trellis panels or a bulkhead, but the sternmost room, or sleeping apartment, is carefully screened. The cooking and washing are performed on the high framework astern, which is admirably contrived by means of furnaces and other conveniences above, and hatches and partitions below deck, to serve all these purposes, contain all the fuel and water necessary, and answer for a sleeping place for servants. By means of awnings and frameworks, the top of the boat also subserves many objects of work or pleasure. The windows are closed with shutters and curtains, and the woodwork is fancifully carved and painted, and no incon-

siderable expense bestowed upon beautifying and furnishing them. The handsomest are called *hwa ting*, or flower-boats, and are let to parties for pleasure excursions on the river; a large proportion of them are also the abodes of public women.

A large part of the boats at Canton are *tankia* boats, about 25 feet long, containing only one room, and covered with movable mats, so contrived as to cover the whole vessel; they are usually rowed by women, who thus earn a livelihood, while their husbands "go out to day's work." In these cockboats whole families are reared, live, and die; the room which serves for passengers by day, is a bedroom by night; a kitchen at one time, a washroom at another, and a nursery always. The inside partitions are movable, and when "house-cleaning" is to be done, the boat is floated ashore, emptied to the skin, turned bottom up and breamed, the boards and furniture scrubbed, and the whole put to rights and floated off, the entire performance occupying two or three hours.

The lighters, or chopboats, are of various sizes, and some of them serve indifferently for passage-boats or barges. Those in which tea, oil, and salt are transported are about 90 feet long, and will carry three or four hundred tons. The passage-boats are similar to the lighters, with the exception of a small cabin for women in the bow. The passengers bring their own bedding, and choose a place their own size in the main room, where as many sleep as can find a place, the residue accommodating themselves on deck. Many tens of these boats arrive and depart from Canton daily, so loaded down with passengers that they have been compared to floating ant-hills. There are many varieties of boats designed for travellers, some of them both commodious and fleet; a small kind, called *hwai ting*, or fast-boats, pass up and down the river from the outer anchorages to Canton. On the headwaters of the river Kan, the boats are of a peculiarly light construction, with upper works entirely of matting, and the hull like a crescent, and well fitted to encounter the rapids and rocks which beset their course.

Besides the various kinds used for houses and passengers, the revenue service employ a narrow, sharp-built boat, propelled by forty or fifty rowers, at the rate of twelve or fourteen miles an hour. They are armed with swivels, spears, boarding-hooks, and pikes, and lined on the sides with a ghastly array of rattan

shields painted with tigers' heads. The smugglers about Canton have similarly made boats, and now and then simulate the government boats in their appearance, which, on their part, often compete with them in smuggling. Having no national flag, each officer hoists the titular banner belonging to his own office. Junks carry a great assortment of flags, but no private vessel can hoist the imperial yellow. The flags and streamers are triangular and square, of white, red, and other colors, most of them bearing inscriptions. The number of governmental boats and war junks, and those used for transporting the revenue and salt, is proportionately very small; but if all the craft found on the rivers and coasts of China be included, their united tonnage probably exceeds that of all other nations put together. The dwellers on the water are not, as has been sometimes said, debarred from living ashore. A boat can be built cheaper than a brick house, and is equally comfortable; it is kept clean easier, pays no ground-rent, and is not so obnoxious to fire and thieves. Most of them are constructed of fir or pine, and cost from thirty dollars for the *tankia*, or "egg-houses," up to three and four thousand and more for the largest lighters and sea boats. Few, except the flower-boats, are painted, being smeared with wood oil; the seams are caulked with bamboo or rattan shavings mixed with wood oil, and paid over with a cement of oil and gypsum. Most of the sailing craft are flat-bottomed, sharp forward, and broad astern, and go about by means of the large rudder when beating to windward; the stern is open, and the rudder can be hoisted through it in shallow water. The anchors are of wood, with iron-bound flukes, and held by cables of coir or bamboo.

The junks are larger than the river craft, but are inferior in usefulness. The three masts are single sticks, stepped in a framework and supported by stays, but having no yards or shrouds. The original model of a junk is said to be a huge sea monster; the teeth at the cutwater and top of the stern define its mouth, while the long boards on each side of the bow, form the armature of the head, the eyes being painted on them; the masts and sails are the fins, and the high stern is the tail frisking aloft. The cabins look more like niches in a sepulchre than the accommodations for a live passenger. The crew live upon deck most of the time, and most of them have an adven-

ture of their own. The hold has no decks, and is divided into watertight compartments, a contrivance that has its advantages when the vessel strikes a rock, but prevents her carrying a cargo comparable to her size. The channel-wale is a large beam, and in some junks projects so much as to give the sides a bulging appearance. The quarter-galleries and frames about the stern are high and numerous, and add not a little to the danger of the vessel in heavy weather. The native commerce in junks is at present principally with Siam, Singapore, Borneo, and Japan; with all which countries it is rather decreasing than otherwise, for the Chinese merchants are learning that foreign vessels are both safer and cheaper. Most of the larger junks trading with Borneo and Siam employ Portuguese pilots; but even with their assistance and a favorable monsoon, many are annually lost. The number of passengers which are stowed into these vessels is very great, and when wrecked, a frightful loss of life frequently ensues. In February, 1822, Capt. Pearl, of the English ship Indiana, coming through Gaspar straits, fell in with the cargo and crew of a wrecked junk, and saved 198 persons out of 1600 with whom she had left Amoy, whom he landed at Pontianak; this humane act cost him £11,000.*

Other architectural works of the Chinese deserving notice are their bridges and honorary portals. There is good reason for supposing that the Chinese have been acquainted with the arch for many ages, though they make comparatively little use of it. The gentlemen attached to the several embassies have given many descriptions of the bridges they saw in the course of their journey; some with pointed arches, some semicircular, and others approaching the form of a horse-shoe, the transverse section of an ellipse, or even like the Greek Ω, the space being widest at the top. In some, the arches are comparatively very high, for the accommodation of the masts of boats; and where there are no heavy wains or carriages to cross and jar the fabric, it can safely be made light. The balustrades and paving of some of the bridges near Peking and Hangchau are of marble, and adorned with statues of elephants, lions, and other animals, presenting in some instances a pleasing effect, notwithstanding the rudeness of the sculptures. In some places, cheaper struc-

* Chinese Repository, Vol. VI., p. 149.

tures made of wood are used, and at Ningpo is a serviceable bridge of boats. The one at Fuhchau has suffered some dilapidations since its description by Du Halde, and a close examination has shown it to be built in an inferior manner. Some of the mountain streams and passes in the west and north are crossed by rope bridges of ingenious construction.

Mr. Lowrie describes a bridge at Changchau fu near Amoy, which from its appearance was perhaps built or repaired by government contract. "It is built on twenty-five piles of stone about thirty feet apart, and perhaps twenty feet each in height. Large round beams are laid from pile to pile, and smaller ones across in the simplest and rudest manner; earth is then placed above these, and the top paved with brick and stone. One would suppose that the work had been assigned to a number of different persons, and that each one had executed his part in such manner as best suited his own fancy, there being no regularity whatever in the paving." Bricks and stone were intermingled in the most confused manner, and the railing was here wood and there stone. We were particularly struck with the length of some of the granite stones used in paving the bridge; one was eight, another eleven, and three others eighteen paces, or about forty-five feet long, and two broad. The bridge averaged eight or ten feet in width, and about half its length on both sides was occupied by shops."*

A causeway of ninety arches crosses one of the feeders of the Grand canal near Hangchau fu, but Chinese skill unaided, is unable to erect such structures as those which span the Thames and Seine. The stones for the arch, in one bridge noticed by Barrow, were cut so as to form a segment of the arch, and at each end were morticed into transverse blocks of stone stretching across the bridge; they decreased in length from ten feet at the spring of the arch to three at the vertex, and the summit stone was morticed like the rest, into two transverse blocks lying next to it.† The tenons were short, and the disposition of the principal pieces such that a bridge built in this way would not support great weights or endure many ages. The mode of placing the pieces can be seen in the cut. In other instances, the stones

* Chinese Repository, Vol. XII., page 528.

† Barrow's Travels, page 338.

Bridge, showing the mode of morticing the arch.

are laid in the same manner as in Europe; many of the small bridges over creeks and canals have cambered or straight arches. According to Du Halde, the Chinese are the first who ever employed iron in bridges, and they still make suspension bridges on the same principle as that across the Menai strait. When one of these structures falls into ruins or becomes dangerous, the people seldom bestir themselves to repair the damage; preferring to wait for the government, they thereby lose the benefit of self-dependence and action.

It is singular how the term *triumphal arch* came to be applied to the *pai lau* or honorary portals or tablets of the Chinese; for a triumph was perhaps never heard of in that country, and these structures are never arched; they merely consist of a broad gateway flanked with two smaller ones, and looking more like a turnpike gate with side-ways for foot passengers than a triumphal arch. They are scattered in great numbers over the provinces, and are erected in honor of distinguished persons, or by them to commemorate their parents, by special favor from the emperor. Some are put up in honor of women who have distinguished themselves for their chastity and filial duty, or to widows who

have refused a second marriage. Permission to erect them is considered a high honor, and perhaps the term *triumphal* was given them from this circumstance. The economical and peaceful nature of such honors conferred upon distinguished men in China is highly characteristic; a man is allowed to build a stone gateway to himself or his parents, and the emperor furnishes the inscription, or perhaps sends with it a patent of nobility. Their general arrangement is exhibited in the title page of this work, but they vary exceedingly in their proportions and ornaments; the two characters *shung chí* at the top, meaning "sacred will," intimate that it was erected by his majesty's permission.

Some of the *pai lau* are elaborately ornamented with carved work and inscriptions; and as a protection from the weather, an unsightly thatch of tiles is placed over the top which renders them top-heavy; when this is omitted, their appearance is not destitute of beauty. They are placed in conspicuous places in the outskirts of towns, and in the streets before temples, or near government edifices. Travellers looking for what they had read about, have sometimes strangely mistaken the gateways at the heads of streets, or the entrance to temples, for the honorary portals.* Those built of stone are fastened by mortices and tenons in the same manner as the wooden ones; they seldom exceed 20 or 25 feet in height. The skill and taste displayed in the symmetry and carving upon some of them are creditable, but as the man in whose honor it is erected, is, generally speaking, "the architect of his own fame," he prudently considers the worth of that commodity, and makes an inferior structure to what would have been done if his fellow-subjects, "deeply sensible of the honor," had come together to appoint a committee, and open a subscription list for the purpose.

The construction of forts and towers presents little worthy of observation, since there is no other evidence of science than what the erection of lines of massive stone wall displays. The port-holes are too large for protection, and the parapet too slight to resist European cannonading, but the foundations are very solid. The Chinese idea of a fortification is to erect a wall along the water's edge, with embrasures and battlements, and a plain wall landward without port holes or parapets, inclosing an area, in

* Encyclopædia Americana, Art. CANTON.

which a few houses are built for the garrison and ammunition. Some of those erected at the junction of streams are pierced on all sides, others are so unscientifically planned that the walls can be scaled at angles where not a single gun can be brought to bear. The towers are square edifices of brick on a stone foundation, forty feet square and fifty or sixty high, to be entered by ladders through a door halfway up the side. During the late war, batteries of sandbags were thrown up for defence, well fitted for an extemporaneous fortification if the troops had possessed the courage to stand by their guns.

Dress, like other things, undergoes its changes in China, and fashions alter there as well as elsewhere, but they are not as rapid or as striking as among European nations. The full costume of both sexes is, in general terms commodious and graceful, combining all the purposes of warmth, beauty, and ease, which could be desired; excepting always the shaven crown and braided queue of the men, and the crippled stumps of the women, in both of which fashions they have not less outraged nature than deformed themselves. On this point different tastes doubtless exist, and some prefer the close fitting dress of Europeans to the loose robes of Asiatics; but when one has become a little habituated to the latter, he is willing to allow the force of the criticism that the European male costume is "a mysterious combination of the inconvenient and the unpicturesque: hot in summer and cold in winter, useless for either keeping off rain or sun, stiff but not plain, bare without being simple, not durable, not becoming, and not cheap." Unlike our own, the Chinese dress has remained in its general style, the same for centuries; and garments of fur or silk are handed down from parent to child without fear of attracting attention by their antique shapes. The fabrics most worn are silk, cotton, and linen for summer, with the addition of furs and skins in winter; woollen is used sparingly, and almost wholly of foreign manufacture. Leather is employed for the soles of shoes, felt for coarse caps and shoes, and straw for summer caps. Laborers out of doors wear a grotesque thatch-work of leaves to shelter themselves from the rain.

The principal articles of dress are inner and outer tunics of various lengths made of cotton or silk, reaching below the loins or to the feet; the lapel on the right side folds over the breast, and fits close about the neck, which is left uncovered. The sleeves

are much wider and longer than the arms, have no cuffs or facings, and in common cases serve for pockets. A Chinese, instead of saying "he pocketed the book," would say "he sleeved it." In robes of ceremony, the end of the sleeve resembles a horse's hoof, and good breeding requires the hand when sitting to be kept in a position to exhibit it. In warm weather one upper garment is deemed sufficient; in winter a dozen can be put on without discommodity, and this number is sometimes actually seen upon persons engaged in sedentary employments, or on those who sit in the air. At Canton, undershirts of flannel have become common among the better sort. The lower limbs are comparatively slightly protected; a pair of loose trousers, covered to the knee by cloth stockings, is the usual summer garment; tight leggings are pulled over both in winter, and attached to the girdle by loops; and as the trousers are rather voluminous and the tunic short, the excess shows behind from under these leggings in a strangely unpleasant manner. Gentlemen and officers always wear a robe with the skirt opened at the sides, which conceals this intermission of the under garments.

The shoes are made of silk or cotton, with thick felt soles, which keep the feet dry and unchilled on the tiles or earthy ground; so that a Chinese may be said really to carry the floor of his house under his feet, instead of laying it on the ground. The thick soles of the shoes render it necessary for ease in walking to round up their ends, which constrains the toes into an elevated position so irksome that all go slipshod who conveniently can do so. The cost of a cotton suit for a day laborer need not exceed five dollars, and a complete silken one, of the gayest colors and best materials, can easily be procured for twenty-five or thirty. Quilted cotton garments are much worn, and supply the place of woollens.

The ancient Chinese wore their hair long, and bound upon the top of the head, somewhat after the style of the Lewchewans; and taking pride in its glossy black, called themselves the *black-haired race*. But, in 1627, while the Manchus were in possession of only Liautung, they issued an order, that all the Chinese under them should adopt their coiffure on penalty of death, as a sign of *allegiance*; the fashion thus begun by compulsion, is now followed from choice. The head is shaved to the crown, and the hair carefully braided in a single plait behind. Labor-

Barber's establishment, showing also the dress of the common people.

ers often wind it about the head, or roll it into a ball behind out of the way, when barebacked or at work. The size of the tress can be enlarged, by permitting an additional line of hair to grow: the appearance it gives the wearer is thus described by Mr. Downing, and the quotation is not an unfair specimen of the remarks of travellers upon China:—"At the hotel, one of the waiters was dressed in a peculiar manner about the head. Instead of the hair being shaved in front, he had it cut round the top of the forehead about an inch and a half in length. All the other part was turned as usual, and plaited down the back. This thin semicircular ridge of hair was then made to stand bolt upright, and as each hair was separate and stiff as a bristle, the whole looked like a very fine toothed comb turned upwards.

This I imagined to be the usual way of dressing the head by single unengaged youths, and of course must be very attractive." Thus, what the wearer regarded as ill-looking, and wished to braid it into the tress as soon as it was long enough, is here taken as a device for beautifying himself in the eyes of those he never saw or cared to see. The people are vain of a long thick queue, and now and then play each other tricks with it, as well as

Tricks played with the queue.

use it as a ready means for correction; but nothing irritates them more than to cut it off. The headdress in winter consists of a silken skullcap, or felt hood; most men go bareheaded in summer, and screen their eyes with a fan. Outdoor laborers protect themselves from the heat with flat bamboo hats like umbrellas. As an illustration of the remark at the beginning of this chapter, it might be added, that if they were not worn on the head, these hats would be called trays or baskets, so unlike are they to the English article of that name. At Ningpo and other places, a common covering is the conical-shaped bonnet, sometimes with, and sometimes without, the fringe.

The various forms, fabrics, colors, and ornaments of the dresses worn by the different grades of officers are regulated by sumptuary laws. Citron-yellow distinguishes the imperial family, but his majesty's apparel is less showy than many of his

courtiers, and in all that belongs to his own personal use there is an appearance of disregard of ornament. That which peculiarly distinguishes him is a kind of baton or sceptre made of jade, in such a shape that it can lie upon the hand and arm while sitting; the name is *ju-i*, signifying "as you please." Perhaps the origin of this name is derived from a use similar to that ascribed to the golden sceptre of the king of Persia, which assured the safety of the person who came into his presence unbidden when it was held out to him. The five-clawed dragon is figured upon the dress and whatever pertains to the emperor, and in certain things to members of his family. The monarchs of China formerly wore a sort of flat-topped crown, shaped somewhat like a Cantab's cap, and having a row of jewels pendent from each side. The summer bonnet of officers is made of finely woven bamboo or straw, covered with a red fringe, depending from the vertex; in winter, it is covered or trimmed with fur. A string of amber beads hanging over the embroidered robes, the button on the apex of the cap, the clumsy thick-soled official boots, and a number of pouches and fobs for containing chopsticks, fans, flint, steel, and tobacco, and occasionally a watch or two hanging from the girdle, constitute the principal points of difference between the official and plebeian costume. The common people are not forbidden the use of the boots and caps, but the rosary and girdle, and especially the official insignia, they may not wear. No company of men can appear more splendid than a large party of Chinese officers in their winter robes, made of different colored crapes, trimmed with rich furs, and brilliant with gay embroidery. In winter a silk spencer, lined with fur or quilted, is worn over the robe, and forms a handsome and warm garment. Lambskins are much used, and the downy coats of unyeaned lambs when well curried bear a high price; these, with the finer furs, and the pelage of hares, cats, rabbits, squirrels, &c., are worn by all ranks. Some years ago, a lad used to parade the streets of Canton, who presented an odd appearance in a long spencer made of a tiger's skin. The Chinese are fond of strong contrasts in the color of their garments, as yellow leggings showing underneath a light blue robe, itself set off by a purple spencer.

The dress of women is likewise liable to few fluctuations, and all ranks can be sure of a fashion lasting as long as a gown. The

garments of both sexes among the common people resemble each other, with a few distinctions in color and shape. The tunic or gown is open in front, buttoning around the neck and down the side, and reaching to the knee; the trousers among the lower orders are usually worn over the stockings, but when fully dressed are both covered by a petticoat reaching to the feet. Laboring women, whose feet are of the natural size, often wear neither stockings nor shoes, or go slipshod. Women seldom wear white, blue being their favorite color. Both sexes have a paucity of linen in their habiliments, and if not a shiftless, the Chinese certainly are a shirtless race; and even such undergarments as they have are not too often washed. External elegance poorly compensates for personal uncleanliness; and hydrophobia, or a dread of water, may be said to be a national ailment, especially in the northern provinces. If cleanliness be next to godliness, as an old writer has remarked, it will not surprise any one to learn that the Chinese, having none of the latter, have but little of its neighbor.

The headdress of married females is becoming and even elegant. The copious black hair is bound upon the head in an oval formed knot, which is secured in its place and shape by a broad pin placed lengthwise on it, and fastened by a shorter one thrust across and under the bow. The hair is drawn back from the forehead into the knot, and elevated a little in front by combing it over the fingers; in order to make it lie smooth, the locks are drawn through resinous shavings moistened in warm water, which also adds an additional gloss, at the cost, however, of serious injury to the hair. In front of the knot, a tube is often inserted, in which a sprig or bunch of flowers can be placed. The custom of wearing natural flowers in the hair is quite common in the southern provinces, especially when dressed for a visit. Mr. Stevens mentions that the animated appearance of the dense crowd which assembled on the bridge and banks of the river at Fuhchau when he passed, was still more enlivened by the flowers worn by the women. The women at Peking supply the want of natural by artificial flowers.

No caps, bonnets, hoods, or veils, are worn abroad; a light bamboo hat or an umbrella protects from the sun. Matrons wear an embroidered fillet on the forehead, an inch or more wide, pointed between the eyebrows, and covering the front of the hair,

PROCESSION OF LADIES TO AN ANCESTRAL TEMPLE.

though not concealing the baldness which often comes upon them even in middle age. This fillet is occasionally worked or adorned with pearls, a favorite ornament with the Chinese ladies. The women of Kiangsu wear a band of fur around the head, which relieves their colorless complexions. A substitute for bonnets is worn in Kiangsí, consisting of a flat piece of straw trimmed with a fringe of blue cloth. The hair of children is unbound, but girls more advanced allow the side locks to reach to the waist, and plait a tress down the neck; their coarse hair does not curl naturally, nor do they endeavor to form it into curls. False hair is worn by both sexes; and the men are particularly fond of eking out their queues to the fullest length.

The dress of gentlewomen, like that of their husbands, is regulated by sumptuary laws, but none of them prevent it being as splendid as rich silks, gay colors, and beautiful embroidery can make it. The neck of the robe is protected by a stiff band, and the sleeves are large and long, just the contrary of the common style, which being short allows the free use and display of the well turned arm. The same embroidery allowed to the husband is worked upon the breast. No belt or girdle is seen, nor are stays used to compress the waist to its lasting injury. One of the prettiest parts of a Chinese lady's dress is the petticoat, which appears about a foot below the upper robe covering the feet. Each side of the skirt is plaited about six times, and in front and rear are two pieces of buckram to which they are attached; both the plaits and front pieces are stiffened with wire and lining. Embroidery is worked upon the two pieces, and upon the plaits within and without in such a way that as the wearer steps, the action of the feet alternately opens and shuts them on each side, disclosing the part or the whole of two different colored figures. The plaits are so contrived, that they are the same when seen in front or from behind, and the effect is more elegant when the colors are well contrasted. In order to produce this, the plaits close around the feet in just the contrary manner to the wide skirt of western ladies.

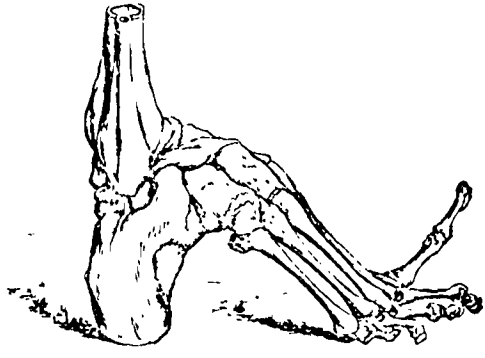
Ornaments are less worn by the Chinese than other Asiatic nations. The men suspend a string of fragrant beads from the lapel of the jacket with the tobacco pouch; or occasionally wear seal-rings, finger-rings, and armlets of stone or glass. They are by law prohibited from carrying weapons of any sort,

The women wear bangles, bracelets, and ear-rings of glass, stone, and metal; some of these appendages are regarded more as amulets to ward off evil influences than mere ornaments. Felicitous charms are attached to the persons of children, consisting of aromatic bags, old coins, and rings. The custom of wearing long nails for which they have been celebrated is practised by comparatively few; and although a man or woman with these appendages would not be deemed singular, it is not regarded as in good taste by well bred persons; pedantic scholars wear them more than other professions, perhaps in order to show that they are above manual labor.

The practice of compressing the feet, so far as investigation has gone, is more an inconvenient than a dangerous custom, for among the many thousands of patients who have received aid in the missionary hospitals, few or none have presented themselves with ailments chargeable to this source. A difference of opinion exists respecting its origin, some accounts stating that it arose from a desire to pattern the club feet of a popular empress, others that it gradually came into use from the great admiration and attempt to imitate delicate feet, and others that it was imposed by the men to keep their wives from gadding; the most probable accounts do not place its origin further back than A. D. 950. It is practised by all classes of society, except among the Tartars, poor as well as rich (for none are so poor as not to wish to be fashionable), and so habituated does one become to it after a residence in the country, that a well-dressed Chinese female with large feet seems denationalized. There is no certain age at which the operation is commenced, but in families of easy circumstances the bandages are put on as soon as the child is well able to walk; otherwise, the feet are permitted to grow until betrothment, or till seven or eight years old. The whole operation is performed, and the shape maintained, by bandages, which are never permanently removed or covered by stockings; iron or wooden shoes are not used, the object being rather to prevent the feet growing than to make them smaller.

A good account of the effects of this singular practice is given in a paper contained in the Transactions of the Royal Society of London, written by Dr. Cooper, detailing the appearances presented on dissection. The foot belonged to a person in low life; it was 5½ inches long, which is full eighteen lines over the most

fashionable size. The big toe was bent upward and backward on the foot, and the second twisted under it and across, so that the extremity reached the inner edge of the foot. The third toe somewhat overlapped the second, but lying less obliquely, and reaching to the first joint of the great toe. The ball of the great toe, much flattened, separated these two from the fourth and fifth toes. The fourth toe stretched obliquely inwards under the foot, but less so than the little toe, which passed under and nearly across the foot, and had been bound down so strongly as to bend the tarsal bone. The dorsum of the foot was much curved, and a deep fissure crossed the sole and separated the heel and little toe, as if the two ends of the foot had been forced together; this was filled for three inches with a very condensed cellular tissue; the instep was 3½ inches high. The heel bone, which naturally forms a considerable angle with the ankle, was in a direct line with the leg-bones; and the heel itself was large and flat, covered with a peculiarly dense integument, and forming, with the end of the metatarsal bone of the great toe, and the two smallest toes bent under the sole, the three points of taction in walking. When the operation is begun earlier, and the bones are more flexible, four of the toes are bent under the foot, and only the big toe laid upon the top. The development of the muscles of the calf being checked, the leg tapers from the knee downwards, though there is no particular weakness in the limb. The appearance of the deformed member when uncovered is shocking, crushed out of all proportion and beauty, and covered with a wrinkled and lifeless skin like that of a washer*woman's* hand daily *immersed* in soapsuds. It is somewhat remarkable how the circulation is *kept up in the member without any pain* or wasting away; for one would think that if any nutrient was



Appearance of the bones of a foot when compressed.

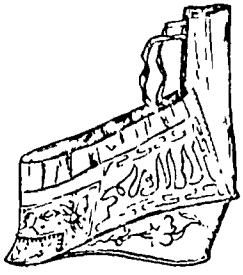
conveyed to it, there would be a disposition to grow until maturity was attained, and consequently constant pain ensue; or else that it would be destroyed or mortify for want of nourishment.

The gait of these victims of fashion is like that exhibited when walking on the heels; and women walking alone, swing their arms and step quick to prevent themselves falling. When it is practicable, elderly women avail themselves of an umbrella, or lean upon the shoulder of a lad or maid for support,—which is literally making a walking-stick of them. The pain is said to be severe for about six weeks at first, and a recurrence now and then is felt in the sole; but the evident freedom from distress exhibited in the little girls who are seen walking or playing in the streets, proves that the amount of suffering, and injurious effects upon life and health resulting from this strange fashion, are perhaps not so great as has been imagined. The case is different when the girl is not victimized until nearly grown. The toes are then bent under, and the foot forced into the smallest compass; the agony arising from the constrained muscles and excoriated flesh is dreadful, while too the shape of the member is, even in Chinese eyes, a burlesque upon the beautiful littleness so much desired.

Feet of Chinese Ladies.

The opinion prevails abroad that only the daughters of the rich or noble pay this price to Dame Fashion. A greater proportion is indeed found among the higher classes, and, in the vicinity of Canton, the unfashionables form perhaps half of the whole; for those who dwell in boats, and all who in early life may have lived on the water, all those employed, or who wish to be, as maid-servants by foreigners, and slave-girls sold in infancy for domestics, are usually left in the happy, though lowlife freedom of nature. Foreigners, on their arrival at Canton, seeing so many women with natural feet on the boats and about the streets, often express their surprise, and wonder where the "little-footed celestials" they had heard of were, the only specimens they see

being a few crones by the wayside mending clothes. The inland parts of the country show a different aspect. All the women seen by Mr. Stevens in Shantung, and all who came to the hospital at Chusan in 1841, to the number of 800 or 1000, had their feet more or less cramped; and some of them walked several miles to the hospital and home again the same day. Although the operation may be less painful than has been represented, and perhaps not so dangerous as compressing the waist, the people are so much accustomed to it, that most men would refuse to wed a woman, though they might take her as a concubine, whose feet were of the natural size. The shoes worn by those who have the *kin lien*, or "golden lilies," are made of red silk, and prettily embroidered; but no one acquainted with Chinese society would say, "that if a lady ever breaks through the prohibition against displaying her person, she presents her feet as the surest darts with which a lover's heart can be assailed!"*



Shape of a lady's shoe.

Cosmetics are used by females to the serious injury of the skin. On grand occasions the face is entirely bedaubed with white paint, and rouge is added to the lips and cheeks, giving a singular starched appearance to the physiognomy. A girl thus beautified has no need of a fan to hide her blushes, for they cannot be seen through the paint, her eye being the only index of emotion. The eyebrows are blackened with charred sticks, and arched or narrowed to resemble a nascent willow leaf, or the moon when a day old. A belle is described as having cheeks like the almond flower, lips like a peach's bloom, waist as the willow leaf, eyes bright as dancing ripples in the sun, and footsteps like the lotus flower. Much time and care is bestowed, or said to be, by females upon their toilet, but if those in the upper classes have anything like the variety of domestic duties which their sisters in common life perform, they have little leisure left for superfluous adorning. If dramas are any index of Chinese manners and occupations, they do not convey the idea that most of the time of well bred or high born ladies is spent in idleness or dressing.

* Murray's China, Vol. II., page 266.

At his toilet, a Chinese uses a basin of tepid water and a cloth in his ablutions, and it has been aptly remarked that he never appears so dirty as when trying to clean himself. Shaving is always done by the barber, for no man can shave the top of his head. Whiskers are never worn, even by the very few who have them, and mustaches are not considered proper for a man under forty. Pomatum and cologne-water are unknown. Snuff bottles and tobacco pipes are carried and used by both sexes, the practice of chewing betel-nut is confined to the men, and reddens their teeth, notwithstanding the pains taken to keep them white.

The articles of food which the Chinese eat, and the mode and ceremonies attending their feasts, have aided in giving them the odd character they bear abroad, though uncouth or unsavory viands hardly form an infinitesimal portion of their food, and ceremonious feasts not one in a thousand of their repasts. Travellers have so often spoken of birdsnest soup, canine hams, and grimalkin fricasees, rats, snakes, worms, and other culinary novelties, served up in equally strange ways, that their readers get the idea that these articles form as large a proportion of the food as their description does of the narrative. In general, the diet of the Chinese is sufficient in variety, wholesome, and well cooked, though many of the dishes are unpalatable to a European from the vegetable oil used in their preparation, and the alliaceous plants introduced to savor them. In the assortment of dishes, Barrow has truly said, "that there is a wider difference, perhaps, between the rich and the poor of China than in any other country. That wealth, which if permitted would be expended in flattering the vanity of its possessors, is now applied to the purchase of dainties to pamper the appetite."

The proportion of animal food is probably smaller among the Chinese than other nations on the same latitude, one dish of fish or flesh, and sometimes both, being the usual allowance on the tables of the poor. Rice, millet, and wheat furnish most of the cereal food; the first is emphatically the staff of life, and considered indispensable all over the country. Its long use is indicated in the number of terms employed to describe it, and the variety of allusions to it in common expressions. To *take a meal* is *chih fan*, i. e. eat rice; and the salutation equivalent to *how d'ye?* is *chih kwo fan?* i. e. have you eaten rice? The grain is de-

prived of its skin by wooden pestles worked in a mortar by levers, either by a water-wheel, or more commonly by oxen or men. It is cleaned by rubbing it in an earthen dish scored on the inside, and steamed in a shallow iron boiler partly filled with water, over which a basket or sieve containing the rice is supported on a framework; a wooden dish fits over the whole and confines the steam. By this process the kernels are thoroughly cooked without forming a pasty mass as when boiled in water. Bread, vegetables, and other articles are cooked in a similar manner; four or five sieves, each of them full, and nicely fitting into each other, are placed upon the boiler, and covered with a cowl; in the water beneath which supplies the steam, meats or other things are boiled at the same time. Wheat flour is boiled into cakes, dumplings, and other articles, but not baked into bread; foreigners at Canton are, however, supplied with loaves of a pretty good quality; cakes are also made of rice and millet flour. Maize, buckwheat, oats, and barley, are not ground, but the grain is cooked in various ways, alone or mixed with other dishes.

The Chinese have a long list of culinary vegetables, and much of their agriculture consists in rearing them. Leguminous and cruciferous plants occupy the largest part of the kitchen garden; many sorts of peas and beans are cultivated, and the pods and seeds of two species of Dolichos are eaten, and the beans of another species made into soy by boiling and powdering the kernels, and then fermenting them with yeast, and mixing other ingredients according to the taste of the maker or purchaser. Another still more common condiment made from beans, is called bean curd or bean jam, by boiling and grinding them, and mixing the flour with water, gypsum, and the juice of yellow seeds. Vegetables are mostly cultivated to supply the region where they are grown, and not for exportation further than the nearest market town. The quantity consumed of cabbage, broccoli, kale, cauliflower, cress, colewort, and other plants of the same family, is enormous; and many modes are adopted for cooking, preserving, and improving them. The leaves and stems of many plants besides these are included in the variety of greens, and a complete enumeration of them would form a curious list. Lettuce, sow thistle (*Sonchus*), spinach, celery, dandelion, succory, sweet basil, ginger, mustard, radishes, artemisia, amaranthus, tacca, pig weed (*Chenopodium*), purslane, shepherd's purse, clover,

beans, peas, and others having no English names, all furnish green leaves for Chinese tables. Garlics, leeks, scallions, onions, and chives, are eaten by all classes, perceived upon all persons, and smelt in all rooms where they are eating or cooking. Carrots, gourds, squashes, cucumbers, watermelons, tomatoes, turnips, radishes, brinjal, pumpkins, okers, &c., are among the list of garden vegetables seen in the streets of Canton; the variety of cucurbitaceous plants extends to nearly twenty. Most of the vegetables raised are inferior to the same articles in the markets of western cities, where science has improved their size or flavor. Several aquatic plants increase the list, among which the nelumbium covers extensive marshes in the eastern and northern provinces, otherwise unsightly and barren. The root is two or three feet long, and pierced longitudinally with several holes; when boiled it is of a yellowish color and sweetish taste not unlike a turnip. Taro is used less than the nelumbium, and so are the water-caltrops and water-chestnuts. The taste of water-caltrops when boiled resembles that of new cheese; water-chestnuts are the round roots of a kind of sedge, and resemble that fruit in color more than in taste, which is mealy and crisp. The sweet potatoe is the most common tuber, for although the Irish potatoe has been cultivated about Canton and Whampoa for scores of years, it has not become a common vegetable among the people.

The catalogue of fruits comprises most of those occurring elsewhere in the tropic and temperate zones, but their quality is inferior. This is particularly the case with apples, pears, peaches, and plums, none of which have received the care or attained the flavor given to them in Europe. The pears are large and juicy, sometimes weighing 8 or 10 *lbs.*, but remarkably tasteless and coarse; the apples are still worse, being dry and spongy. The peaches, plums, quinces, and apricots, are comparatively better; there are four or five varieties of the first, one of them found at Shanghai is ten inches and more in circumference. Cherries are almost unknown. The orange is the most common fruit at the south, and the baskets, stalls, and piles of this golden fruit, mixed with and heightened by contrast with other fruits and green vegetables, which line the streets of Canton and Amoy in winter, present a beautiful sight. Ten or twelve distinct species of the Citrus grow in China, including the lemon,

pumelo, and citron, and many varieties of the orange. The most delicious is the *chu-sha kih*, or mandarin orange; the skin is of a cinnabar red color, and adheres to the pulp by a few loose fibres. The citron is more prized for its fragrance than taste, and the thick rind is made more abundant by cutting the skin into strips when growing, each of which becomes a roundish end like a finger, whence the name of *Fuh shau*, or Budha's hand, given it. It will remain uncorrupt for two or three months, diffusing an agreeable perfume.

Chapter VI. contains brief notices of other fruits. The shaddock, plantain, and persimmon, are common, and several varieties are enumerated of each; the plantain is eaten raw and cooked, and forms no inconsiderable item in the subsistence of the poor. The pomegranate, carambola or tree gooseberry, mango, custard-apple, pine-apple, rose-apple, breadfruit, fig, guava, and olive, some of them as good and others inferior to what are found in other countries, increase the list. The *whampe*, *lichí*, *lungan*, or "dragon's eyes," and *loquat*, are the native names of four indigenous fruits at Canton. The first resembles a grape in size, and a gooseberry in taste; the loquat (*Eriobotrya*) is a kind of medlar. The lichí looks like a strawberry in size and shape; the tough, rough red skin incloses a sweet watery pulp of a whitish color surrounding a hard seed. Grapes are plenty and tolerably good, but the Chinese have not yet ascertained that they contain wine; at least none is made.

Chestnuts, walnuts, ground-nuts, filberts, almonds, and the seeds of the Salisburia and Nelumbium, are the most common nuts. The Chinese date is a species of Rhamnus, and has a sweetish, pleasant flesh; the olive is a species of Cannarium, and used chiefly as a pickle: the names of both these fruits are given them chiefly because of a partial resemblance to the western sorts, for neither the proper date nor olive grows in China. Almost the only berry at Canton is the mulberry; a pleasant sweetmeat is made from the seeds of the Arbutus which tastes like cranberry. The currant, gooseberry, blackberry, raspberry, and strawberry, are not seen in Canton, though the latter has been found at Fuhchau.

Preserved fruits are common among all classes, and the list of sweetmeats and delicacies is increased by the addition of many roots, some of which are preserved in syrup and others as comfits. Ginger, nelumbium roots, bamboo shoots, the common potatoe, and

other vegetables are prepared in this way, and form articles of export as well as domestic consumption. Pickles of an inferior quality are abundant, of which the natives consume enormous quantities, especially cabbages and onions, but foreigners consider them detestable. The Chinese eat but few spices; pepper is used medicinally, and mustard as greens.

Oils and fats are in universal use for cooking; crude lard or pork fat, castor oil, and that expressed from two species of Camellia and the ground-nut, are all employed for domestic and culinary purposes. The Chinese use little from the dairy, as milk, butter, or cheese; the very small number of cattle raised in the country, and the consequent dearness of these articles, may have caused them to fall into disuse, for they are all common among the Manchus and Mongols. A Chinese table seems ill furnished to a foreigner, when he sees neither bread, butter, nor milk upon it, and if he express his disrelish of the oily dishes or alliaceous stews before him, the Chinese thinks that he distils a sufficient retort to his want of taste, when he answers, "You eat cheese, and sometimes when it can almost walk." Milk is used a little, and no one who has lived in Canton can forget the prolonged mournful cry *ngau nai!* of the men hawking it about the streets late at night. Women's milk is sold in the streets of Ningpo and elsewhere, for the sustenance of infants and superannuated people, the idea being prevalent that it is peculiarly nourishing to aged persons.

Sugar is granulated and crystallized, and the cane in small sticks is hawked about the streets warm for chewing, and coarse molasses syrup is peddled by the wayside, as an accompaniment to bean-curd. The tobacco is weaker than the American plant; it is smoked and not chewed, and but little is made into cigars; snuff is largely used. The betel-nut is a common masticatory, consisting of a slice of the areca-nut and the fresh leaf of the betel-pepper with a little lime rubbed on it. The common beverages of the Chinese are tea and whiskey, both of which are drunk warm; cold water is not often drunk, as cold liquids of any kind are considered unwholesome. The constant practice of boiling water before drinking it, in preparing tea, doubtless tends to purify it, and make it less noxious, when the people are not particular as to its sources. Coffee, chocolate, and cocoa are unknown; and also beer, cider, porter, wine, and brandy.

The meats consumed by the Chinese comprise perhaps a greater variety than are used in other countries; while, at the same time, very little land is appropriated to rearing animals for food. Beef is not a common meat, nor seen upon the tables of the natives, chiefly from a Budhistic prejudice against killing so useful an animal. Mutton is both rare and dear, and sheep have profitably been brought from Sydney to Canton. The beef of the buffalo, and the mutton of the goat, are still less used; pork is consumed more than all other kinds, and no meat can be raised so economically. Hardly a family can be found so poor as not to be able to possess a pig, and they are kept even on the boats and rafts, to consume what others leave till they are themselves devoured. Fresh pork probably constitutes more than half of the meat eaten by the Chinese; hams are tolerably plenty, but corned or salt pork is little used. Horseflesh and venison are now and then seen, and probably also the flesh of the camel in those parts where he is reared, but in passing through the markets and streets, pork, fowls, and fish are the viands which everywhere meet the eye; the rest form the exception.

A few kittens and puppies are sold alive in cages, mewing and yelping as if in anticipation of their fate, or from pain caused by the pinching and handling they receive at the hands of dissatisfied customers. Those intended for the table are usually reared upon rice, so that if the nature of their food be considered, their flesh is far more cleanly than that of the omnivorous hog; few articles of food have, however, been so identified with the tastes of a people as kittens and puppies, rats and snails, have with the Chinese. The school geographies in the United States usually contain pictures of a market-man carrying baskets holding these unfortunate victims of a perverse taste (as we think), or else a string of rats and mice hanging by their tails to a stick across his shoulders, which almost necessarily convey the idea that such things form the usual food of the people. Travellers hear beforehand that the Chinese devour everything, and when they arrive in the country straightway inquire if these animals are eaten, and hearing that such is the case perpetuate the idea that they form the common articles of food. However commonly kittens and puppies may be exposed for sale, the writer never saw rats or mice in the market during a residence of twelve years there, and heard of but one gentleman who had seen them; in

fact, they are not so easily caught as to be either common or cheap. He once asked a native if he or his countrymen ever served up *lau-shu tang*, or rat-soup, on their tables; who replied that he had never seen or eaten it, and added, "Those who do use it should mix cheese with it, that the mess might serve for us both." Rats and mice are no doubt eaten now and then, and so are many other undesirable things by those whom want compels to take what they can get, but to put these and other strange eatables in the front of the list, gives a distorted idea of the every day food of the people.

Frogs are eaten by all classes. They are caught in a curious manner by tying a young and tender jumper, just emerged from tadpole life, by the waist to a fish-line, and bobbing him up and down in the grass and grain of a rice field, where the old croakers are wont to harbor. As soon as one sees the young frog, sprawling and squirming in the grass, he makes a plunge at him and swallows him whole, whereupon he is immediately conveyed to the frog-fisher's basket, losing his life, liberty, and lunch together, for the bait is rescued from his maw, and used again as long as life lasts.

Next to pork, poultry is the most common meat, including chickens, geese, and ducks; of these three, the geese are the best flavored, the flesh of the fowls and ducks being stringy and tasteless. All are reared cheaply, and supply a large portion of the poor with the principal meat they eat. The eggs of chickens and ducks are hatched artificially, and every visitor to Canton remembers the duck boats, in which those birds are hatched and reared, and carried up and down the river seeking for pasture along its muddy banks. Hatching ducks and poultry is practised in all parts of the country. Sheds are erected for the purpose, in which are a number of baskets well plastered with mud each one so placed over a fireplace that the heat shall be equally conveyed to the eggs through the tile in its bottom, and retained in it by a close cover. When the eggs are brought, a layer is put into the bottom of each basket, and the fire kindled underneath a uniform heat of about 100° F. being maintained for four or five days. They are then carefully taken out, and looked through in a strong light to separate the addled ones; the others are replaced in the baskets, and the heat kept up for ten days longer, when they are all placed upon shelves in the centre of the shed, and

covered with cotton and felt for fourteen days. At the end of the 28th day, the ducklings break their shells, and are sold to persons whose business is to rear them. Pigeons are raised to some extent; their eggs form an ingredient in soups. Wild and water fowl are caught in nets or killed by iron shot; the wild duck, teal, grebe, wild goose, plover, snipe, heron, egret, partridge, pheasant, and ortolan or rice bird, are all procurable at Canton; and the list could doubtless be increased elsewhere.

If the Chinese eat many sorts of birds and beasts rejected by others, they are still more omnivorous with respect to aquatic productions; here nothing comes amiss; all waters are vexed with their fisheries. Their nets and various contrivances for capturing fish display great ingenuity, and most of them are admirably adapted to the purpose. Rivers, creeks, and stagnant pools, the great ocean and the little tank, mountain lakes and garden ponds, all furnish their quota to the sustenance of man, and tend to explain, in a great degree, the dense population. The right to fish in running streams and natural waters is open to all, while artificial reservoirs, as ponds, pools, tanks, tubs, &c., are brought into available use; even rice grounds are turned into fishponds in winter, if they will thereby afford a more profitable return. The inhabitants of the water are killed with the spear, caught with the hook, scraped up by the dredge, ensnared by traps, and captured by nets; they are decoyed into boats by painted boards, and frightened into nets by noisy ones, taken out of the water by lifting nets, and dived for into it by birds; in short, every possible way of catching or rearing fish is practised among the Chinese. Tanks, with water running through them, are placed in the streets, where carp or salmon are reared until they become so large they can hardly turn round in their pens; and eels and water snakes of every color and size are fed in tubs and jars until customers carry them off.

King crabs, cuttle fish, sharks, rays, gobies, tortoises, turtles, crabs, prawns, crawfish, and shrimps, are all consumed. The best fish in the Canton market are the garoupa or rock cod, pomfret, sole, mackerel, bynni carp or mango fish, and the polynemus (commonly called salmon). Carp and tench of many kinds, herring, shad, perch, mullet, and bream, with others less usual at the west, are found in great abundance. They are usually eaten fresh, or merely opened and dried in the sun, as stockfish;

for salt fish require too much salt, and are too expensive for the poorest. Both salt and freshwater shell-fish are abundant. The oysters are not so large and well flavored as those reared in this country; the crabs and prawns are excellent, but the clams, mussels, and other freshwater species are less palatable. Insect food is confined to locusts and grasshoppers, ground grubs and silkworms; the latter are fried to a crisp when cooked. These and the water snakes are decidedly the most repulsive things the Chinese eat.

Many articles of food are sought after by this sensual people for their supposed aphrodisiac qualities, and most of the singular productions brought from abroad for food are of this nature. The famous birdsnest soup is prepared from the nest of a swallow (*Hirundo esculenta*) found in caves and damp places in some islands of the Indian Archipelago; the bird macerates the material of her nest from seaweed and other marine substances with her bill, and constructs it by drawing the food out in fibres and attaching them to the rock, from whence the natives of those islands collect them. The nests are carefully cleaned and stewed with pigeons' eggs, spicery, and other ingredients into a soup; when cooked, they resemble isinglass, and the dish depends upon sauces and seasoning for most of its taste. The biche-de-mer, tripang, or sea-slug, is a marine substance procured from the Polynesian islands; it is sought after under the same idea of its invigorating qualities, and being cheaper than the birdsnest is a more common dish; when cooked, it resembles pork-rind in appearance and taste. Sharks' fins and fishmaws are imported and boiled into gelatinous soups that are nourishing and palatable; and the sinews, tongues, palates, udders, and other parts of different animals are sought after as delicacies. A large proportion of the numerous made dishes seen at great feasts among the Chinese consists of such odd articles, most of which are supposed to possess some peculiar strengthening quality.

The art of cooking has not reached any high degree of perfection among the Chinese, consisting chiefly of stews of various kinds, in which garlic and grease are more abundant than pepper and salt. Meats and vegetables are cooked by boiling and frying; but roast or baked dishes are not common, owing partly to the greater amount of fuel required, and the idea that they

are more heating than moist dishes. The articles of kitchen furniture in a dwelling are few and simple; an iron boiler, shaped like the segment of a sphere, for stewing or frying, a portable earthen furnace, and two or three different shaped earthenware pots for boiling water or vegetables, constitute the whole establishment of thousands of families. A few other utensils, as tongs, ladles, forks, sieves, mills, &c., are used to a greater or less extent; though the variety is quite commensurate with the simple cookery. Both meats and vegetables, previously hashed into mouthfuls, are stewed or fried in oil or fat; they are not cooked in large joints or steaks for the table of a household, but hogs are baked whole for sacrifices and for sale in the cookshops, and when eaten are hashed and fried again. Cutting the food into small pieces secures its thorough cooking with less fuel than it would otherwise require, and is moreover indispensable for eating it with chopsticks. Two or three vegetables are often boiled together; meat soups are seldom seen, and the immense variety of puddings, pastry, cakes, pies, custards, ragouts, creams, &c., made in western lands is almost unknown in China.

CHAPTER XIV.

Social Life among the Chinese.

The preceding chapter, in a measure, exhibits the attainments the Chinese have reached in the comforts and elegances of living. The terms *comfort* and *elegance* are, however, as tests of civilization so comparative, that it is rather difficult to define them; for the notions an Englishman, an Egyptian, and a Chinese, severally have of them in the furniture and arrangement of their houses, are almost as unlike as their languages. If Fisher's Views of China be taken as a guide, one can easily believe that the Chinese need little from abroad to better their condition in these particulars; while, if he listen to the descriptions of some persons who have resided among them, he will think they possess neither comfort in their houses, civility in their manners, nor cleanliness in their persons. In passing to an account of their social life, this variety of tastes should not be overlooked; and if some points appear objectionable when taken alone, a little further examination will perhaps show that they form part of a system which requires complete reconstruction before they could be happily and safely altered.

The observations of a foreigner upon Chinese society are likely to be modified not a little by his own feelings, and the way in which he has been treated by them; and their behavior to him might be very unlike what would be deemed good breeding among themselves. If a Chinese feared or expected something from a foreigner, he might act towards him more politely than if the contrary was the case; on one hand better, on the other, worse, than he would towards one of his own countrymen in like circumstances. In doing so, it may be remarked, by the way, that he would only imitate the conduct of some of the foreigners who visit China, and whose coarse remarks, rude actions, and general supercilious conduct towards the natives, ill comport with their superior civilization and advantages. One

who looked at the matter reasonably would not expect much true politeness among a people whose conceit and ignorance, selfishness and hauteur, were nearly equal; nor be surprised to find the intercourse between the extremes of society present a strange mixture of brutality and commiseration, formality and disdain. The separation of the sexes modifies and debases the amusements, even of the most moral, leads the men to spend their time in gambling, devote it to the pleasures of the table, or dawdle it away when the demands of business, study, or labor, do not arouse them. Political parties, which exert so powerful an influence upon the conduct of men in Christian countries, leading them to unite and communicate with each other for the purpose of watching or resisting the acts of government, do not exist; and where there is a general want of confidence, such institutions as insurance companies, banks, corporate bodies, and associations of any kind, in which persons unite their funds and efforts to accomplish an object, are not to be expected; they do not exist in China, nor did they in Rome or ancient Europe. Nor will any one expect to hear that literary societies, or voluntary philanthropic associations are common. These, as they are found in the west, are the products of Christianity alone, though a few charitable institutions are met with. The legal profession, as distinct from the possession of office, is not an occupation in which learned men can obtain an honorable livelihood; the priesthood is confined to monasteries and temples, and its members do not enter into society; while the practice of medicine is so frequently taken up by persons possessed of little experience and less knowledge, that the few intelligent practitioners are not enough to redeem the class. These three learned professions, which elsewhere do so much to elevate society and guide public opinion, being wanting, educated men have no stimulus to draw them out into independent action; and the competition for literary degrees and official rank, the eager pursuit of trade, or the dull routine of mechanical and agricultural labor, form the leading avocations. Unacquainted with the intellectual enjoyments found in books and the conversation of learned men, and having no taste for them, deprived of general and virtuous female society, and suspicious of all around him, the Chinese resorts to the dice-box, the opium pipe, or the brothel, for his pleasures,—though even there with a loss of character.

The separation of the sexes has many bad results, only partially compensated by some conservative ones. Woman owes her present elevation at the west to Christianity, not only in the degree of respect, support, freedom from servile labor, and education, she receives, but also in the reflex influences she exerts of a purifying, harmonizing, and elevating character. Where the requirements of the gospel are unacknowledged, her rights are more or less disregarded, and if she become as debased as the men, she can exert little good influence even upon her own family, and still less upon the community. General mixed society can never be maintained with pleasure unless the better parts of human nature have the acknowledged preëminence, and where she, who imparts to it all its gracefulness and purity, is herself uneducated, unpolished, and immodest, the common sense of mankind sees its impropriety. By advocating the separation of the sexes, legislators and moralists in China have acted as they best could in the circumstances of the case, and by preventing the evils beyond their remedy, provided the best safeguards they could against general corruption. In her own domestic circle, a Chinese female, in the character and duties of daughter, wife, or mother, finds as much employment, and probably as many enjoyments, as the nature of her training has fitted her for. She does not hold her proper place in society, chiefly because she has never been taught its duties or exercised its privileges.

In ordinary cases, strict separation prevails between the male and female branches of a household; not only the servants, but even brothers and sisters do not freely associate after the boys commence their studies. At this period of life, or even earlier, an anxious task devolves upon parents, which is to find suitable partners for their children. Betrothment is entirely in their hands, and is conducted through the medium of a class of persons called *mei-jin* or go-betweens, who are expected to be well acquainted with the character and circumstances of the parties. Mothers sometimes contract their unborn progeny on the sole contingency of a difference of sex, but the usual age of forming these engagements is ten, twelve, or later, experience having shown that the casualties attending it render an earlier period undesirable. There are six ceremonies which constitute a regular marriage. 1. The father and elder brother of the young man send

a go-between to the father and brother of the girl, to inquire her name and the moment of her birth, that the horoscope of the two may be examined, in order to ascertain whether the proposed alliance will be a happy one. 2. If so, the boy's friends send the *mei-jin* back to make an offer of marriage; 3. if that be accepted, the second party is again requested to put their assent in writing. 4. Presents are then sent to the girl's parents according to the means of the parties. 5. The go-between requests them to choose a lucky day for the wedding; and 6. the preliminaries are concluded by the bridegroom going or sending a party of his friends with music to bring his bride to his own house. The match-makers contrive to multiply their visits, and prolong the negotiations, when the parties are rich, to serve their own ends.

In Fuhkien, parents often send pledges to each other when their children are mere infants, and registers containing their names and particulars of nativity are exchanged in testimony of the contract. After this has been done, it is impossible to retract the engagement, unless one of the parties becomes a leper or is disabled. When the children are espoused older, the boy sometimes accompanies the go-between and the party carrying the presents to the house of his future mother-in-law, and receives from her some trifling articles, as melon-seeds, fruits, &c., which he distributes to those around. Among the presents sent to the girl are fruits, money, vermicelli, and a ham, of which she gives a morsel to each one of the party, and sends the foot back. These articles are neatly arranged, and the party bringing them is received with a salute of fire-crackers.

From the time of engagement till marriage, a young lady is required to maintain the strictest seclusion. Whenever friends call upon her parents, she is expected to retire to the inner apartments, and in all her actions and words guard her conduct with careful solicitude. She must use a close sedan whenever she visits her relations, and in her intercourse with her brothers and the domestics in the household maintain the strictest reserve. Instead of having any opportunity to form those friendships and acquaintances among her own sex, which among ourselves are a source of so much pleasure at the time and advantage in after life, the Chinese maiden is confined to the circle of her relations and her immediate neighbors. She has none of the pleasing remembrances and associations that are usually connected with

school-day life, nor has she often the ability or opportunity to correspond by letter with girls of her own age. Seclusion at this time of life, and the custom of crippling the feet, combine to confine women in the house almost as much as the strictest laws against their appearing abroad; for in girlhood, as they know only a few persons except relatives, and can make very few after marriage, the difficulty of going out disinclines them to extend their acquaintances. This privacy impels them to learn as much of the world as they can, and among the rich, their curiosity is gratified through maid-servants, matchmakers, peddleresses, visitors, and others. Curiosity also stimulates young ladies to learn something of the character and appearance of their intended husbands, but the rules of society are too strict for young persons to endeavor to form a personal attachment, though it is not impossible for them to *see* each other if they wish, and there are, no doubt, many contracts suggested to parents by their children.

The office of matchmaker is considered honorable, and both men and women are employed to conduct nuptial negotiations. Great confidence is reposed in their judgment and veracity, and as their employment depends somewhat upon their good character, they have every inducement to act with strict propriety in their intercourse with families. The father of the girl employs their services in collecting the sum agreed upon in the contract, which, in ordinary circumstances, varies from twenty-five to forty dollars, increasing to a hundred and over according to the condition of the bridegroom; until that is paid the marriage does not take place. The presents sent at betrothment are sometimes costly, consisting of silks, rice, cloths, fruits, &c.; the bride brings no dower, but both parents frequently go to expenses they can ill afford when celebrating the nuptials of their children.

The principal formalities of a marriage are everywhere the same, but local customs are observed in some regions which are quite unknown and appear very singular elsewhere. In Fuhkien, when the lucky day for the wedding comes, the guests assemble in the bridegroom's house to celebrate it, where also sedans, a band of music, and porters are in readiness. The courier, who acts as guide to the chairbearers, takes the lead of the procession, and in order to prevent the onset of malicious demons lurking in the road, a baked hog or large piece of pork is carried in front, that it may safely pass while they are devouring the meat.

Meanwhile the bride arrays herself in her best dress and richest jewels. Her girlish tresses have already been bound up, and her hair arranged by a matron, with all due formality; an ornamental and complicated headdress made of rich materials, not unlike a helmet or corona, often forms part of her coiffure. Her person is nearly covered by a large mantle, over which is an enormous hat like an umbrella, that descends to the shoulders and shades the whole figure. Thus attired, she takes her seat in the red gilt marriage sedan, called *hwa kiau*, borne by four men, in which she is completely concealed. This is locked by her mother or some other relative, and the key given to one of the bridemen, who hands it to the bridegroom or his representative on reaching his house.

The procession is now reärranged, with the addition of as many red boxes to contain her wardrobe, kitchen utensils, and the feast, as the means of the family, or the extent of her paraphernalia require. As the procession approaches the bridegroom's house, the courier hastens forward to announce its coming, whereupon the music at his door strikes up, and fire-crackers are let off until she enters the gate. As she approaches the door, the bridegroom conceals himself, and the go-between brings forward a young child to salute her, while she goes to seek the closeted bridegroom. He approaches with becoming gravity, and opens the sedan to hand out his bride, she still retaining the hat and mantle; they approach the ancestral tablet, which they salute with three bows, and then seat themselves at a table upon which are two cups of spirits. The go-between serves them, though the bride can only make the motions of drinking, as the large hat completely covers her face. They soon retire into a chamber, where the husband takes the hat and mantle from his wife, and sees her, perhaps, for the first time in his life. After he has considered her for some time, the guests and friends enter the room to survey her, when each one is allowed to express an opinion, but the criticisms of the women are severest, perhaps because they remember the time they stood in her unpleasant position. This cruel examination being over, she is introduced to her husband's parents, and then salutes her own. Such are some of the customs among the Fuhkienese.

The bridegroom, previous to the wedding, receives a new name or "style," and is formally capped by his father in presence of

his friends, as an introduction to manhood. He invites the guests, sending two red cakes with each invitation; to which each guest, a few days before the marriage, returns a present or a sum of money worth about ten or fifteen cents, equal to the expenses he will be considered as occasioning. Another invitation is sent the day after to a feast, and the bride also calls on the ladies who attended her wedding, from whom she receives a ring or some other article of small value. The gentlemen also make the bridegroom a present of a pair of lanterns to hang at his gateway. On the night of the wedding, they sometimes endeavor to get into the house when the pair is supposed to be asleep, in order to carry off some article, which the bridegroom must ransom at their price.

Among the poor, the expenses of a wedding are avoided by purchasing a girl, whom the parents bring up as a daughter until she is marriageable, and in this way, moreover, secure her services in the household. A girl already affianced is for a like reason sometimes sent to the parents of the boy for them to support. In small villages, the people call upon a newly married couple about full moon, when they are received standing near the bedside. The men enter first and pay their respects to the bride, while her husband calls the attention of his visitors to her charms, praises her little feet, her beautiful hands, and other features, and then accompanies them into the hall, where they are regaled with refreshments. After the men have retired, the women enter and make their remarks upon the newly married lady, whose future character depends a good deal upon the manner in which she conducts herself. If she shows good temper, her reputation is made, and in order not to run a risk of offending, many say nothing, and suffer themselves to be examined without saying a word.* Far different is this introduction to married life from the bridal tour and cordial greetings of friends, western ladies receive in their honeymoon!

The bridal procession is as showy and stylish as the means of the parties will allow, consisting of friends, a band of music, sedans, and boxes containing the marriage feast and other things, all of them painted red, and their bearers wearing red jackets. The tablets of literary rank held by members of the

* Chinese Repository, Vol. X., pp. 65–70. Annales de la Foi, No. XL. 1835.

family, wooden dragons' heads, titular lanterns, and other official insignia, are borne in the procession, which with all these additions sometimes stretches along for a quarter of a mile or more. In some cases, an old man, elegantly dressed, heads the procession, bearing a large umbrella to hold over the bride when she enters and leaves her sedan; behind him come bearers with tablets and lanterns, one of which bears the inscription, "The phœnixes sing harmoniously." To these succeed the music and the honorary tablets, titular flags, state umbrella, &c., and two stout men as executioners dressed in a fantastic manner, wearing long feathers in their caps, and lictors, chain-bearers, and other emblems of office. Parties of young lads, prettily dressed and playing on drums, gongs, and flutes, or carrying lanterns and banners, occasionally form a pleasing variety in the train, which is continued by the trays and covered tables containing the bride's trousseau, and ended with the sedan containing herself. The ceremonies attending her reception at her husband's house are not uniform. In some parts of the country, she is lifted out of the sedan, over a pan of charcoal placed in the court, and carried into her chamber. After a brief interval, she returns into the hall, bearing a tray of betel-nut for the guests, and then worships a pair of geese brought in the train with her husband, this bird being an emblem of conjugal affection. On returning to her chamber, the bridegroom follows her, and takes off the red veil, after which they pledge each other in wine; the cups being joined by a thread. While there, a matron who has borne several children to one husband comes in to pronounce a blessing upon them, and make up the nuptial bed. The assembled guests then sit down to the feast, and ply the *sin lang*, "new man" or bridegroom, pretty well with liquor; the Chinese on such occasions do not, however, often overpass the rules of sobriety. The *sin fujin*, "new lady" or bride, and her mother-in-law also attend to those of her own sex who are present in other apartments, but among the poor a pleasanter sight is now and then seen in all the guests sitting at one table.

In the morning, the pair worship the ancestral tablets and salute all the members of the family. The pledging of the bride and groom in a cup of wine and their worship of the ancestral tablets, and in some cases a united prostration to his parents, may be considered as the important ceremonies of a wedding, after

the procession has reached the house. Marriage processions are held at all hours, though twilight and evening are considered the most propitious; and the spring season, or the last month in the year, are regarded as the most felicitous nuptial periods. From the way in which the whole matter is conducted, there is some room for deception by sending another person in the sedan than the one betrothed, or the man may mistake the name of the girl he wishes to marry. Mr. Smith mentions one of his acquaintances, who, having been captivated with a girl he saw in the street, sent a go-between with proposals to her parents, which were accepted; but he was deeply mortified on receiving his bride to find that he had mistaken the number of his charmer, and had received the fifth daughter instead of the fourth.

The Chinese do not marry another woman with these observances, while the first one is living, but they may bring home concubines with no other formality than a contract with her parents though it is considered somewhat discreditable for a man to take another bedfellow, if his wife have borne him sons, unless he can afford each of them a separate establishment. It is not unfrequent for a man to secure a maidservant in the family with the consent of his wife, by purchasing her for a concubine, especially if his occupation frequently call him away from home, in which case he takes her as his travelling companion and leaves his wife in charge of the household. The fact that the sons of a concubine are considered as legally belonging to the wife, induces parents to betrothe their daughters early, and thus prevent their entering a man's family in this inferior capacity. The Chinese are sensible of the evils of a divided household, and the laws place its control in the hands of the wife. If she has no sons and heirs, for daughters are accounted as nothing in this case, she looks out for a likely boy among her clansmen to adopt, knowing that otherwise her husband will probably bring a concubine into the family. It is of course difficult even to guess at the extent of polygamy, for no statistics have or can be easily taken. Among the laboring classes, it is rare to find more than one woman to one man, but tradesmen, official persons, landholders, and those in easy circumstances, frequently take one or more concubines; perhaps two-fifths of such families have them. Show and fashion lead some to increase the number of their women, though aware of the discord likely to arise, for they

fully believe their own proverb, That nine women out of ten are jealous; in a few instances, the multiplication of concubines seems to be ascribable to the wife, who wishes to have a larger number of servants and handmaids to rule over and assist her, or of children to support her. The Chinese illustrate the relation by comparing the wife to the moon and the concubines to the stars, both of which in their appropriate spheres wait upon and revolve around the sun.

If regard be had to the civilization of the Chinese, and their opportunities for moral training, the legal provisions of the Code to protect females in their acknowledged rights, and punish crimes against the peace and purity of the family relation, reflect credit upon their legislators. In these laws, the obligation of children to fulfil the contract made by their parents is enforced, even to the annulling of an agreement made by a son himself in ignorance of the arrangements of his parents. The position of the *tsí*, or wife taken by the prescribed formalities, and that of the *tsieh*, or women purchased as concubines without them, are accurately defined, and the degradation of the former or elevation of the latter so as to interchange their places, or the taking of a second *tsí*, are all illegal and void. The relation between the two is more like that which existed between Sarah and Hagar in Abraham's household, or Zilpah and Bilhah and their mistresses in Jacob's, than that indicated by the terms first and second wife. The degrees of unlawful marriages are comprehensive, extending even to the prohibition of persons having the same *sing* or family name, and to two brothers marrying sisters. The laws forbid the marriage of a brother's widow, of a father's or grandfather's wife, or a father's sister, under the penalty of death; and the like punishment is inflicted upon whoever seizes the wife or daughter of a freeman and carries them away to marry them.

These regulations not only put honor upon marriage, but render it more common among the Chinese than almost any other people, thereby preventing a vast train of evils. The tendency of unrestrained desire to throw down the barriers to the gratification of lust must not be lost sight of; and as no laws on this subject can be effectual unless the common sense of a people approve of them, the Chinese, by separating the sexes in general society, have removed a principal provocation

to sin, and by compelling young men to fulfil the marriage contracts of their parents, have also provided a safeguard against debauchery at the age when youth is most tempted to indulge, and when indulgence would most strongly disincline them to marry at all. They have, moreover, provided for the undoubted succession of the inheritance by disallowing more than one *wife;* and yet have granted men the liberty they would otherwise take, and which immemorial usage in Asiatic countries has sanctioned. They have done as well as they could in regulating a difficult matter, and better on the whole perhaps than in most other unchristianized countries. If any one supposes, however, that because these laws exist, sins against the seventh commandment are uncommon in China, he will be as mistaken as those who infer that because the Chinese are pagans, nothing like modesty, purity, affection, or love exists between the sexes.

When a girl "spills the tea," that is, loses her intended husband by death, public opinion honors her if she refuse a second engagement; and instances are cited of young ladies committing suicide rather than contract a second marriage. They sometimes leave their father's house and live with the parents of their affianced husband as if they had been really widows. It is considered reproachful for widows to marry; though it may be that the instances quoted in books with so much praise only indicate how rare the practice is in reality. The widow is occasionally sold as a concubine by her father-in-law, and the grief and contumely of her degradation is enhanced by separation from her children, whom she can no longer retain. Such cases are, however, not common, for the impulses of maternal affection are too strong to be thus trifled with, and widows usually look to their friends for support, or to their own exertions if their children be still young; and they are assisted too by their relatives in this laudable industry and care. A widower is not restrained by any laws, and weds one of his concubines or whoever he chooses; nor is he expected to defer the nuptials for any period of mourning for his first wife.

The seven legal reasons for divorce, viz. barrenness, lasciviousness, jealousy, talkativeness, thievery, disobedience to her husband's parents, or leprosy, are almost nullified by the single provision that a woman cannot be put away whose parents are

not living to receive her back again. Parties can separate on mutual disagreement, but the Code does not regulate the alimony; and a husband is liable to punishment if he retain a wife convicted of adultery. If a wife merely elopes, she can be sold by her husband; but if she marry while absent, she is to be strangled; if the husband be absent three years, a woman must state her case to the magistrates before presuming to remarry. In regard to the condition of females in China, the remark of De Guignes is applicable, "that though their lot is less happy than that of their sisters in Europe, their ignorance of a better state renders their present or prospective one more supportable; happiness does not always consist in absolute enjoyment, but in the idea which we have formed of it."* She does not feel that any injustice is done her by depriving her of the right of assent as to whom shall be her partner; her wishes and her knowledge go no further than her domestic circle, and where she has been trained in her mother's apartments to the various duties and accomplishments of her sex, her removal to a husband's house is no great change.

This, however, is not always the case, and the power accorded to the husband over his wife and family is sometimes used with great tyranny. The young wife finds in her new home little of the sympathy and love her sisters in Christian ands receive. Her mother-in-law is not unfrequently the source of her greatest trials, and demands from her both the submission of a child and the labor of a slave, which is not seldom returned by bitter revilings. If the husband interfere, she has less likelihood of escaping his exactions; though in the lower walks of life, his cruelty is restrained by fear of losing her and her services, and in the upper diverted by a sort of indifference to what she does, in the pursuit of other objects. If the wife behave well till she herself becomes a mother and a mother-in-law, from being a menial she then becomes almost a goddess. The Chinese moralist Luhchau, mentions an indirect mode of reproving a mother-in-law. "Loh Yang travelled seven years to improve himself, during which time his wife diligently served her mother-in-law, and supported her son at school. The poultry from a neighbor's house once wandered

* Voyages à Peking, Vol II., p. 283.

into her garden, and her mother-in-law stole and killed them for eating. When she sat down to table and saw the fowls, she would not dine, but burst into tears, at which the old lady was much surprised, and asked the reason. 'I am much distressed that I am so poor and cannot afford to supply you with all I wish I could, and that I should have caused you to eat flesh belonging to another.' Her parent was affected by this, and threw away the dish."

The evils attending early betrothment induce many parents to defer engaging their daughters until they are grown, and a husband of similar tastes can be found; for even if the condition of the families in the interval of betrothment and marriage unsuitably change, or the lad grows up to be a dissipated, worthless, or cruel man, totally unworthy of the girl; still the contract must be fulfilled, and the worse party generally is most anxious for it. The unhappy bride in such cases often escapes from her present sufferings and dismal prospects by suicide. A case occurred in Canton in 1833, where a young wife visiting her parents shortly after marriage, so feelingly described her sufferings at the hands of a cruel husband to her sisters and friends, that she and three of her auditors joined their hands together and drowned themselves in a pond, she to escape present misery, and they to avoid its future possibility. Another young lady, having heard of the worthless character of her intended, carried a bag of money with her in the sedan, and when they retired after the ceremonies were over, thus addressed him: "Touch me not; I am resolved to abandon the world, and become a nun. I shall this night cut off my hair. I have saved $200, which I give you; with the half you can purchase a concubine, and with the rest enter on some trade. Be not lazy and thriftless. Hereafter, remember me." Saying this, she cut off her hair, and her husband and his kindred fearing suicide if they opposed her, acquiesced, and she returned to her father's house.* Such cases are not uncommon, and young ladies implore their parents to rescue them in this or some other way from the sad fate which awaits them. Sometimes girls become skilled in female accomplishments to recommend themselves to their husbands, and their disappointment is the greater

* Chinese Repository, Vol. I., p. 293.

when they find him to be a brutal, depraved tyrant. A melancholy instance of this occurred in Canton in 1840, which ended in the wife committing suicide. Her brother had been a scholar of one of the American missionaries, and took a commendable pride in showing specimens of his sister's exquisite embroidery, and not a few of her attainments in writing, which indicated their reciprocal attachment. The contrary happens too, sometimes, where the husband finds himself compelled to wed a woman totally unable to appreciate or share his pursuits, but he has means of alleviating or avoiding such misalliances which the weaker vessel has not.

Pursuing this brief account of the social life of the Chinese, the right of parents in managing their children comes into notice. It is great though not unlimited, and in allowing them very extensive power, legislators have supposed that the natural affection of the parents, a desire to see their children come to honor, and continue the succession of the family, and the influence of proper education, were as good securities against paternal cruelty and neglect as any laws which could be made. Fathers give their sons the *ju ming*, or "milk name," about a month after birth. The mother, on the day appointed for this ceremony, worships and thanks the goddess of Mercy, and the boy, dressed and having his head shaved, is brought into the circle of assembled friends, where the father confers the name, and celebrates the occasion by a feast. The milk name is kept until the lad enters school, at which time the *shu ming*, or school name, is conferred upon him, as already mentioned. The *shu ming* generally consists of two characters, selected with reference to the boy's condition, prospects, studies, or some other event connected with him; sometimes the milk name is continued, as the family have become accustomed to it. Such names as Ink-grinder, Promising-study, Opening-olive, Entering-virtue, Rising-advancement, &c., are given to young students; while children are called by the names of flowers, virtues, or some endearing or fanciful epithet, and sometimes by their number, as Wei Ayih, Wei Asan, i. e. No. 1 Wei, No. 3 Wei, &c. The personal names of the Chinese are written contrariwise to our own, the *sing* or surname coming first, then the *ming* or given name, and then the complimentary title; as Liang Wăntai siensăng, where *Liang* or Millet is the family name, *Wăntai* or Terrace of Let-

ters, the given name, and *siensăng*, Mr. (i. e. Master), or Teacher. A few of the surnames are double, as *Sz'ma Tsien*, where Sz'ma is the family name, and Tsien the official title. A curious idea prevails among the people of Canton, that foreigners have no surname, which, as Pliny thought of the inhabitants of Mt. Atlas, they regard as one of the proofs of their barbarism; perhaps this notion came by inference from the fact that the Manchus have only one name, as Kíshen, Kíying, Îlípu, &c. When writing Chinese names in translations and elsewhere, some attention should be paid to these particulars, but the names of Chinese persons and places are constantly written so as to appear as singular as *Williamhenryharrison*, *Rich-Ard-Ox-Ford*, or *Phila Delphia-city*, do in English. The name being in a different language, and its true nature unknown to most of those who write it, accounts for the misarrangement.

In Canton and its vicinity, the names of people are abbreviated in conversation to one character, and an A prefixed to it; as *Tsinteh* is called *Ateh*. In Amoy, the A is placed after, as *Chin-a;* and in other parts not employed at all. Some families, perhaps in imitation of the imperial usage, distinguish their members from others in the clan by adopting a constant character for the first one in the *ming* or given name; thus, a family of brothers will be named Lin Tungpei, Lin Tungfung, Lin Tungpeh, where the word *Tung* distinguishes this branch of the clan Lin from all others. There are no characters exclusively appropriated to proper names or different sexes, as George, Julia, &c., all being chosen out of the language with reference to their meanings. Consequently, a name is sometimes felt to be incongruous, as Naomi, when saluted on her return to Bethlehem, felt its inappropriateness to her altered condition, and suggested a change to Mara. Puns on names and sobriquets are common, from the constant contrast of the sounds of the characters with circumstances suggesting a comparison or a play upon their meanings; sly jokes are also played upon foreigners, when writing their names, by choosing such characters as have a ridiculous meaning.

When a man marries, he adopts a third name called *tsz'* or style, by which he is usually known through life; this is either entirely new, or combined from previous names. When a girl is married, her family name becomes her given name, and the

given name is disused, her husband's name becoming her family name. Thus *Wa Salah* married to *Wei Sanwei* drops the Salah, and is called *Wei Wa shí*, i. e. Mrs. Wei [of the clan] Wa, though her husband or near relatives sometimes retain it as a trivial address. Among friends and relatives, a man is frequently known by another compellation, called *pieh tsz'*, or "second style," which the public do not presume to employ. When a young man is successful in attaining a degree, or enters on office, he takes a title called *kwan ming*, or "official name," by which he is known to government. The members or heads of licensed mercantile companies each have an official name, which is entered in their permit, from whence it is called among foreigners, their *chop name*. Each of the heads of the co-hong or companies, formerly licensed to trade with foreigners at Canton, had such an official name. Besides these various names, old men of fifty, shopkeepers, and others, take a *hau* or "designation;" tradesmen use it on their signboards, as the name of their shop, and not unfrequently receive it as their personal appellation. Of this nature are the names of the tradesmen who deal with foreigners, as Cutshing, Chanlung, Linchong, &c., which are none of them the names of the shopmen, but the designation of the shop. It is the usual way in Canton for foreigners to go into a shop and ask Is Mr. Wanglik in? which would be almost like one in New York inquiring if Mr. Alhambra, or Mr. Atlantic House was at home, though it does not sound quite so ridiculous to a Chinese. The names taken by shopkeepers allude to trade or its prospects, such as Mutual Advantage, Obedient Profit, Extensive Harmony, Rising Goodness, Great Completeness, &c., all of which are translations of real shop-names. The names of the partners as such, are not employed to form the firm as with us. Besides this use of the *hau*, it is also employed as a brand upon goods; the terms *Hoyuen*, *Kinghing*, *Yuenkí*, meaning Harmonious Springs, Cheering Prospects, Fountain's Memorial, &c., are applied to particular parcels of tea, silk, or other goods, just as brands are placed on lots of wine, flour, or pork. This is called *tsz'-hau*, or mark-designation, but foreigners call both it and the goods it denotes, a *chop*. When a man dies, he receives another and last name in the hall of ancestors, though not necessarily a new one; emperors and empresses have new ones given them, as Benevolent, Pious, Discreet, &c., by which they are wor-

shipped, and referred to in history, as *that* designation which is most likely to be permanent.

In their common intercourse, the Chinese are not more formal than is elsewhere considered to be well-bred; it is on extraordinary or official occasions, that they observe the precise etiquette for which they are famous. The proper mode of behavior towards all classes is perhaps more carefully inculcated upon youth than it is in the west, and habit renders easy what custom requires to be observed. The ceremonial obeisance of a court or a levee, or the salutations proper for a festival, are not carried into the everyday intercourse of life; for as one chief end of the formalities prescribed for such times is to teach due subordination among persons of different rank, they are in a measure laid aside with the robes which suggested them. True politeness, exhibited in an unaffected regard for the feelings of others, cannot, of course, be taught by rules merely; but a great degree of urbanity and kindness is everywhere shown, whether owing to the naturally placable disposition of the people, or to the effects of their early instruction in the forms of politeness. Whether in the crowded and narrow thoroughfares, the village green, the bustling market, the jostling ferry, or the thronged procession,—wherever the people are assembled promiscuously, good humor and courtesy are observable; and when altercations do arise, wounds or serious injuries seldom ensue, although from the furious clamor one would imagine half the crowd were in danger of their lives.

Chinese ceremonial requires superiors to be honored according to their station and age, and equals to depreciate themselves while lauding those they address. The emperor, considering himself as the representative of divine power, exacts the same prostration which is paid the gods; and the ceremonies which are performed in his presence, partake, therefore, of a religious character, and are not merely particular forms of etiquette, which may be altered according to circumstances. There are eight gradations of obeisance, commencing "with the lowest form of respect called *kung shau*, which is merely joining the hands and raising them before the breast. The next is *tso yih*, bowing low with the hands thus joined. The third is *ta tsien*, bending the knee as if about to kneel; and *kwei*, an actual kneeling, is the fourth. The fifth is *ko tau*, kneeling and striking the head on the ground

which when thrice repeated makes the sixth called *san kau*, or 'thrice knocking.' The seventh is the *luh kau*, or kneeling and knocking the head thrice upon the ground, then standing upright and again kneeling and knocking the head three times more. The climax is closed by the *san kwei kiu kau*, or thrice kneeling and nine times knocking the head. Some of the gods of China are entitled to the *san kau*, others to the *luh kau*, while the emperor and heaven are worshipped by the last. The Tartar family now on the throne consider this last form as expressing in the strongest manner the submission and homage of one state to another."* The extreme submission which the emperor demands is partaken by and transferred to his officers of every grade in a greater or less degree; the observance of these forms is deemed, therefore, of great importance, and a refusal to render them is considered to be nearly equivalent to a rejection of their authority.

Minute regulations for the times and modes of official intercourse are made and promulgated by the Board of Rites; and to learn and practise them is one indispensable part of official duty. In court, the master of ceremonies stands in a conspicuous place, and with a loud voice commands the courtiers to rise and kneel, stand or march, just as an orderly sergeant directs the drill of recruits. The same attention to the ritual is observed in their mutual intercourse, for however much an inferior may desire to dispense with the ceremony, his superior will not fail to exact it. In the salutations of entrée and exit among officers, these forms are particularly conspicuous; but when well acquainted with each other and in moments of conviviality, they are in a great measure laid aside; but the juxtaposition of art and nature among them, at one moment laughing and joking, and the next bowing and kneeling to each other as if they had never met, sometimes produces very amusing scenes to a foreigner.

Without particularizing the tedious forms of official etiquette, it will be sufficient to describe what is generally required in good society. Military men pay visits on horseback, but civilians and others go in sedans or afoot. Common visiting cards are made of vermilioned paper, cut into slips about eight inches long and three wide, and are single or folded four, six, eight, or more

* Memoir of Dr. Morrison, Vol. II., page 112.

times, according to the quality of the visitor. If he is in recent mourning, the paper is white and the name written in blue ink, but after a stated time this is indicated by an additional character. The simple name is stamped on the upper right corner, or if written on the lower corner, with an addition thus, "Your humble servant (*lit.* stupid younger brother) Pí Chíwăn bows his head in salutation." On approaching the house, his attendant takes a card out of the case hanging at the side of the sedan, and hands it to the doorkeeper to carry in. If he cannot be received, instead of saying "not at home," the host sends out to "stay the gentleman's approach," and the card is left; if contrariwise, the sedan is carried through the doorway, and he comes forth to receive his guest as he steps out, each one advancing just so far, bowing just so many times, and going through the ceremonies which they mutually understand and expect, until both have taken their places on the couch at the head of the hall, the guest sitting on the left of the host, and his companions, if he have any, in the chairs on each side. The inquiries made after the mutual welfare of friends and each other are couched in a form of studied laudation and depreciation, which when literally translated seem somewhat affected, but to them convey no more than similar civilities do among ourselves,—in truth, perhaps not so much of sincere goodwill. For instance, to the remark, "It is a long time since we have met, Sir," the host replies, (literally) "How presume to receive the trouble of your honorable footsteps; is the person in the chariot well?"—which means simply, "I am much obliged for your visit, and hope you enjoy good health."

Tea and pipes are always presented, and betel-nut or sweetmeats on some occasions, but it is not, as among the Turks, considered disrespectful to refuse them, though it would be looked upon as singular. If the guest inquire after the health of relatives, he should commence with the oldest living, and then ask how many sons the host has; but it is not considered good breeding for a formal acquaintance to make any remarks respecting his wife. If the sons of the host are at home they are generally sent for, and make their obeisance to their father's friend, by coming up before him and performing the *kotau* as rapidly as possible, each one making haste, as if he did not wish to delay him. The guest raises them with a slight bow, and the lads stand facing him at a respectful distance. He will then remark, per-

haps, if one of them happen to be at his studies, that "the boy will perpetuate the literary reputation of his family" (*lit.* he will fully carry on the fragrance of the books); to which his father rejoins, "The reputation of our family is not great (*lit.* hills and fields' happiness is thin), high expectations are not to be entertained of him; if he can only gain a livelihood it will be enough." After a few such compliments, the boys say *shau pei*, "slightly waiting on you," i. e. pray excuse us, and retire. Girls are seldom brought in, and young ladies, never.

The periphrases employed to denote persons and thus avoid speaking their names, in a measure indicate the estimation in which they are held. For instance, "Does the honorable great man enjoy happiness?" means "Is your father well?" "Distinguished and aged one what honorable age?" is the mode of asking how old he is; for among the Chinese, as it seems to have been among the Egyptians, it is polite to ask the names and ages of all ranks and sexes. "The old man of the house," "excellent honorable one," and "venerable great prince," are terms used by a visitor to designate the father of his host. A child terms his father "family's majesty," "old man of the family," "prince of the family," or "venerable father." When dead, a father is called "former prince," and a mother "venerable great one in repose;" and there are particular characters to distinguish deceased parents from living. The request, "Make my respects to your mother," for no Chinese gentleman ever asks to *see* the ladies, is literally, "Excellent-longevity hall place for me wish repose," the first two words denoting she who remains there. Care must be taken not to use the same expressions when speaking of the relatives of the guest, and one's own; thus, in asking, "How many worthy young gentlemen (sons) have you?" the host replies, "I am unfortunate in having had but one boy," literally, "My fate is niggardly, I have only one little bug." This runs through their whole Chesterfieldian code. A man calls his wife *tsien nui*, i. e. "the mean one of the inner apartments," or "the foolish one of the family;" while another speaking of her, calls her "the honorable lady," "worthy lady," "your favored one," &c. Something of this is found in all oriental languages, and to become familiar with the right application of these terms in Chinese is no easy lesson for a foreigner. In their salutations of ceremony, they are, however, far behind the Arabs,

with their kissing, bowing, touching foreheads, and repeated motions of obeisance. The Chinese seldom embrace or touch each other, except on unusual occasions of joy, or among family friends. When the visitor rises to depart, he remarks, "Another day I will come to receive your instructions;" to which his friend replies, "You do me too much honor, I rather ought to wait on you to-morrow." The common form of salutation among equals is for each to clasp his own hands before his breast, and make a slight bow, saying *Tsing! Tsing!* i. e. Hail! Hail! This is repeated by both at the same time, on meeting as well as separating. The formalities of leave-taking correspond to those of saluting in the degree of respect paid the guest, but if the parties are equal or nearly so, the host sees his friend quite to the door and into his sedan.*

Officers avoid meeting each other, especially in public, except when etiquette requires them. An officer of low rank is obliged to stop his chair or horse, and on his feet to salute his superior, who receives and returns the civility without moving. Those of equal grades leave their place, and go through a mock struggle of deference to get each first to return to it. The common people never presume to salute an officer as he passes through the streets, nor look at him very carefully. In his presence, they speak to him on their knees, but an old man, or one of consideration, is usually requested to rise when speaking, and even criminals with grey hairs are treated with respect. Officers do not allow their inferiors to sit in their presence, and have always been unwilling to concede this to foreigners, those of the lowest rank considering themselves far above the best of them.

Children are early taught the forms of politeness towards their parents, their superiors, and their teachers. The duties owed by younger to elder brothers are peculiar, the former having a sort of birthright in the ancestral worship, in the division of property, and in the direction of the family after the father's decease. The degree of formality in the domestic circle inculcated in the Book of Rites is seldom observed to its full extent, and would perhaps chill the affection which should exist among its members, did not habit render it easy and proper; and the extent to which it is actually carried depends a good deal upon the education of the

* Chinese Chrestomathy, Chap. V., Sect 12, page 182.

family. In sending presents it is customary to send a list with the note, and if the person deems it proper to decline some of them, he marks on the list those he takes and returns the rest; a douceur is always expected by the bearer, and needy fellows sometimes pretend to have been sent with some insignificant present from a grandee in hopes of receiving more than its equivalent as a cumshaw from the person thus honored. De Guignes mentions one donor who waited until the list came back, and then sent out and purchased the articles he had marked for his friend.

The Chinese formal dinners have been so often described by travellers, that they have almost become, abroad, one of their national traits, though so many of these banquets were given by or in the name of the sovereign, that they are hardly a fair criterion of usual private feasts. The Chinese are both a social and a sensual people, and the pleasures of the table form a principal item in the list of their enjoyments, nor are the higher delights of mental recreation altogether wanting, though this part of the entertainment is according to their taste and not ours. Private meals and public feasts among the higher classes, are both dull and long to us, because the ladies do not participate; but perhaps we think more of what our own tables would be without their cheerful presence, while in China, each sex thinks they best enjoy their tables by themselves.

An invitation to dinner is written on a slip of red paper like a visiting-card, and sent some days before. It reads, "On the — day, a trifling entertainment will await the light of your countenance: Tsau Sanwei's compliments." Another card is sent on the day itself stating the hour of dinner, or a servant comes to call the guests. The host, dressed in his cap and robes, awaits their arrival, and after they are all assembled, requests them to follow his example and lay aside their dresses of ceremony. The usual way of arranging guests is by twos on each side of small uncovered tables, placed in lines; an arrangement as convenient for serving the numerous courses which compose the feast, and removing the dishes, as the Roman way of reclining around a hollow table; it also allows a fair view of the musical or theatrical performances. On some occasions, however, a single long table is laid out in a tasteful manner, having pyramids of cakes alternating with piles of fruits and dishes of preserves, all covered more or less with flowers, and the table itself

partly hidden from view by nosegays and leaves. If the party be large, ten minutes or more are consumed by the host and guests going through a tedious repetition of requests and refusals to take the highest seats, for not a man will sit down until he sees the host just filling his chair, it being always considered a breach of etiquette for a visitor to be seated before his host.

On commencing, the host, standing up, salutes his guests, in a cup, apologizing for the frugal board spread before them, his only desire being to show his respects to them. At a certain period in the entertainment, they reply by simultaneously rising and drinking his health. The western custom of giving a sentiment is not known; and politeness requires a person when drinking healths to turn the bottom of the tiny wine-cup outwards to show that it is drained. Glass dishes are not common, most of the table furniture consisting of porcelain cups, bowls, and saucers of various sizes and quality, porcelain spoons shaped like a child's pap-boat, and two smooth sticks made of bamboo, ivory, or wood, of the size of quills, well known as the *chop-sticks*, from the native name *kwai tsz'*, i. e. nimble lads. Grasping these implements on each side of his forefinger, the eater pinches up the meat, fish, or vegetables, already cut into mouthfuls, from the dishes, and conveys one to his mouth. The bowl of rice or millet is brought to the lips, and the grain shovelled into the mouth in an expeditious manner, quite suitable to the name of the tools employed. Less convenient than forks, chopsticks are still an improvement on the fingers, as every one will acknowledge who has seen the Hindus throw the balls of curried rice into their mouths.

The succession of dishes is not uniform; soups, meats, stews, fruits, and preserves, are introduced somewhat at the discretion of the major-domo, but the end is announced by a bowl of plain rice and a cup of tea. The fruit is often brought in after a recess, during which the guests rise and refresh themselves by walking and chatting, for three or four hours are not unfrequently required even to taste all the dishes. It is not deemed impolite for a guest to express his satisfaction with the good fare before him, and exhibit evidences of having stuffed himself to repletion; nor is it a breach of manners to retire before the dinner is ended. The guests relieve its tedium by playing the game of *chai mei*, or morra (the *micare digitis* of the Romans), which consists in show-

ing the fingers to each other across the table, and mentioning a number at the same moment; as, if one opens out two fingers and mentions the number four, the other instantly shows six fingers, and repeats that number; if he mistake in giving the complement of ten, he pays the forfeit by drinking a cup. This convivial game is common among all ranks, and the boisterous merriment of parties at their meals is frequently heard as one passes through the streets in the afternoon. The Chinese generally have but two meals a day, breakfast at nine and dinner at four, or thereabouts.

The liquor is drunk warm, and usually at meals; the comparative temperance of the Chinese is ascribable more to its being taken with the food and at a high temperature, than to any notions of sobriety or dislike of spirits. A little flushes their faces, mounts into their heads, and induces them when flustered to remain in the house to conceal the suffusion, although they are not drunk. The spirit is distilled from the yeasty liquor in which boiled rice has fermented under pressure many days. Only one distillation is made for common liquor, but when more strength is wanted, it is distilled two or three times, and for foreign sailors, who wish it very fiery, oil of tobacco, cubebs, aniseed, or other stimulating ingredients are put in; the term *samshoo* or *sam shiu*, by which this noxious stuff is called, means *thrice fired*. The Chinese moralists have always inveighed against the use of spirits, and Í-tih, the name of the discoverer of the deleterious drink, more than two thousand years before Christ, has been handed down with opprobrium, as he was himself banished by the great Yu for his discovery. The etymology of the character *tsiu* signifies "sacrificial water," to which there seems to be a reference in the following extract from the Book of Records, called the Wine Announcement of Wu wang, dated B. C. 1120, and the oldest temperance address on record. He thus spoke to his brother Fung, "Your venerable predecessor Wăn wang founded a kingdom in the western land, and warned and cautioned all the states, all the officers, together with the assistants and managers, morning and evening, saying, 'In sacrifices use this wine.' Heaven only sent down the decree at first for our people [to make wine] on account of the great sacrifices. Heaven's sending down inflictions on our people, and causing formidable rebellions [among them], and the destruction

of virtue, is invariably on account of wine: only that does it. And the cause of the ruin of small and large states [by princes] is also invariably on account of wine. Wăn wang instructed the youth, the office-holders, and men of business, thus: 'Don't be constantly guzzling wine; let the occasion of a national drinking be when sacrifices are offered, and then use it moderately, so as not to become drunk.' "*

The general and local festivals of the Chinese are numerous, but only a few of them are observed by entire cessation from labor. The first three days of the year, one or two in the spring to worship at the tombs, the two solstices, and the festival of dragon-boats, are common days of relaxation and merry-making, but only on the first named are shops shut and business suspended. Some persons have expressed their surprise that the unceasing round of toil, which the Chinese laborer pursues, has not rendered him more degraded. It is usually said that a weekly rest is necessary for the continuance of the powers of body and mind in man in their full activity, and that decrepitude and insanity would oftener result were it not for this relaxation The arguments in favor of this observation seem to be deduced from undoubted facts in countries where its obligations are acknowledged, though where the vast majority cease from business and labor, it is not easy for a few to work all the time even if they wish, owing to the various ways in which their occupations are involved with those of others; yet, in China, people who apparently tax themselves uninterruptedly to the utmost stretch of body and mind, live in health to old age. A few facts of this sort incline one to suppose that the Sabbath was designed by its Lord as a day of rest from mental and physical labor, in order that mankind might have leisure for attending to the paramount duties of religion, and not alone as a day of invigorating rest, without which they could not live out all their days. Nothing like a seventh day of rest, or religious respect to that interval of time is known among the Chinese, but they do not, as a people, exercise their minds to the intensity, or upon the high subjects common among Christian nations, and this perhaps is one reason why their yearly toil produces no disastrous effects. The countless blessings which flow from an observance of the fourth commandment can be better appreciated by seeing the wearied condition of

* Chinese Repository, Vol. XV., page 433.

the society where it is not acknowledged, and whoever sees such a society can hardly fail to wish for its introduction.

The return of the year is an occasion of unbounded festivity and hilarity, as if the whole population threw off the old year with a shout, and clothed themselves in the new with their change of garments. The evidences of the approach of this chief festival appear some weeks previous. The principal streets are lined with tables, upon which articles of dress, furniture, and fancy are disposed for sale in the most attractive manner. Necessity compels many to dispose of rare articles or superfluous things at this season, and sometimes very curious articles, long laid up in families, can be procured at a cheap rate. It is customary for superiors to give their dependents and employées a present at this season, and for shopmen to send an acknowledgment of favors to their customers; one of the most common gifts among the lower classes is a pair of new shoes. Among the stands for presents are other tables, at which persons are seated, provided with pencils and gilt red paper of various sizes, on which they write sentences appropriate to the season in various styles, to be pasted upon the doorposts and lintels of dwellings and shops,* or suspended from the halls. The shops also appear very brilliant with an array of these papers interspersed among the *kin hwa*, or golden flowers, which are sprigs of artificial leaves and flowers made of brass tinsel and fastened upon wires; the latter are made for an annual offering in temples, or before the household tablet. Small strips of red and gilt paper, some bearing the word *fuh*, or happiness, large and small red candles, gaily painted, and other things used in idolatry, are likewise sold in stalls and shops, and with the increased throng impart an unusually lively appearance to the streets. Another evident sign of the approaching change is the use of water upon the doors, shutters, and other woodwork of houses and shops, washing chairs, utensils, clothes, &c., as if cleanliness had not a little to do with joy, and a well-washed person and tenement were indispensable to the proper celebration of the festival. The small craft, tanka-boats, and lighters, are also beached and turned inside out for a scrubbing.

A still more praiseworthy custom attending and announcing

* A like custom existed among the Hebrews, now continued in the modern mezuzaw. Deut. vi., 9. Jahn's Archæology.

this season is that of settling accounts and paying debts; and shopkeepers are very busy waiting upon their customers, and creditors on their debtors, to arrange these important matters. No debt is allowed to overpass newyear without a settlement or satisfactory arrangement, if it can be avoided; and those whose liabilities altogether exceed their means, are generally obliged to wind up their concerns, and give all their available property into the hands of their creditors. The consequences of this general payday are a high rate of money, great resort to the pawnbrokers, and low price of most kinds of produce and goods. Many good results flow from the practice, and the general experience of the difficulty and expense of resorting to legal proceedings to recover debts, induces all to observe and maintain it. De Guignes mentions one expedient to oblige a man to pay his debts at this season, which is, to carry off the door of his shop or house, for then his premises and person will be exposed to the entrance and anger of all the hungry and malicious demons prowling around the streets, and happiness no more revisit his abode; to avoid this he had better settle his accounts. It is a common practice among devout persons to settle with the gods, and during a few days before the newyear, the temples are unusually thronged by devotees, both male and female, rich and poor. Some persons fast and engage the priests to intercede for them that their sins may be pardoned, while they prostrate themselves before the images amidst the din of gongs, drums, and bells; and thus clear off the old score. On newyear's eve, the streets are full of people, all hurrying to and fro, to conclude the many matters which press upon them. Some are busy pasting the five papers upon their lintels, signifying their desire that the five blessings which constitute the sum of all human felicity, namely, longevity, riches, health, love of virtue, and a natural death, may be their favored portion. Such sentences as "May the five blessings descend upon this door," "May heaven confer happiness," "May rich customers ever enter this door," are placed above them; and the doorposts are adorned with others on plain, or sprinkled gilt red paper, making the entrance altogether look quite picturesque. In the hall are suspended scrolls more or less costly, containing antithetical sentences carefully chosen. A literary man would have, for instance, a distich like the following:—

May I be so learned as to secrete in my mind three myriads of volumes:

May I know the affairs of the world for six thousand years.

Other professions and tastes would exhibit sentences of a different character.

Boat-people are peculiarly liberal of their paper prayers, pasting them on every board and oar in the boat, and suspending them from the stern in scores, making the vessel flutter with gaiety. The farmers paste them upon their barns, trees, wattles, baskets, and implements, as if nothing was too insignificant for a blessing. The house is arranged in the most orderly manner, and purified with many religious ceremonies and lustrations, firing of crackers, &c., and as the necessary preparations occupy a considerable portion of the night, the streets are not quiet till nearly dawn. In addition to the bustle arising from business and religious observances, which marks this passage of time, the constant explosion of fire-crackers, and the clamor of gongs, make it still more noisy. Strings of these crackling fireworks are burned at the doorposts, before the outgoing and incoming of the year, designed to expel and deter evil spirits from the house; and the consumption is so great as to cover the streets with the fragments, and farmers come the week after and sweep up hundreds of bushels for manure.

The first day of the year may moreover be regarded as the birthday of the entire population, for the practice among the Hebrews of dating their ages from the beginning of the year, prevails also in China; so that a child born only a week before newyear, is considered as entering its second year on the first day of the first month. This does not, however, altogether supersede the observance of the real anniversary, and parents frequently make a gala day of the birthday of their young sons. Mr. Lowrie (Miss. Chronicle, 1846) describes the ceremonies observed by one father, who came to a temple in Ningpo to celebrate the sixth birthday of his son. "The little fellow was dressed in his best clothes, and his father had brought gilt paper, printed prayers, and a large number of bowls of meats, rice, vegetables, spirits, nuts, &c., as an offering to be spread out before the idols. The ceremonies were performed in the apartment of the *Tau Mu*, or Bushel Mother, who has special charge of

infants before and after birth. The old abbot was dressed in a scarlet robe, with a gilt image of a serpent fastened in his hair; one of the monks wore a purple, another a grey robe. A multitude of prayers, seemingly a round of repetitions, were read by the abbot, occasionally chanting a little, when the attendants joined in a chorus, and a deafening clamor of bells, cymbals, and wooden blocks, added force to their cry; genuflexions and prostrations were repeatedly made. One part of the ceremony was to pass a live cock through a barrel, which the assistants performed many times, shouting some strange words at each repetition; this act symbolized the dangers through which the child was to pass in his future life, and the priests had prayed that he might as safely come out of them all, as the cock had passed through the barrel. In conclusion, some of the prayers were burned and a libation poured out, and a grand symphony of bell, gong, drum, and block, closed the scene."

A great diversity of local usages are observed at this period in different parts of the country. In Amoy, the custom of "surrounding the furnace" is generally practised. The members of the family sit down to a substantial supper on newyear's eve, with a pan of charcoal under the table, as a supposed preservative against fires. After the supper is ended, the wooden lamp-stands are brought out and spread upon the pavement with a heap of gold and silver paper, and set on fire after all demons have been warned off by a volley of fire-crackers. The embers are then divided into twelve heaps, and their manner of going out carefully watched as a prognostic of the kind of weather to be expected the ensuing year. Many persons wash their bodies in warm water, made aromatic by the infusion of leaves, as a security against disease; this ceremony, and ornamenting the ancestral shrine, and garnishing the whole house with inscriptions, pictures, flowers, and fruit, in the gayest manner the means of the family will allow, occupy most of the night.

The stillness of the streets and closed shops on newyear's morning presents a striking contrast to the usual bustle and crowd resembling the Christian Sabbath. The red papers on the doors are here and there interspersed with blue ones, announcing that during the past year death has come among the inmates of the house,—a silent but expressive intimation to passers that some who

saw the last newyear have passed away. In some places, white, yellow, and carnation colored papers are employed, as well as blue, to distinguish the degree of the deceased kindred. Etiquette requires that those who mourn remain at home at this period. In a few hours, the streets begin to be filled with well-dressed persons, hastening in sedans or afoot to make their calls; and those who cannot afford to buy a new suit, hire one for this purpose, so that a man hardly knows his own domestics in their finery and robes. The meeting of friends in the streets, both bound on the same errand, is attended with particular demonstrations of respect, each politely struggling who shall be most affectedly humble. On this day, parents receive the prostrations of their children, teachers expect the salutations of their pupils, magistrates look for the calls of their inferiors, and ancestors of every generation, and gods of various powers, are presented with the offerings of devotees in the hall or temple. Much of the visiting is done by cards, on which is stamped an emblematic device representing the three happy wishes of children, rank, and longevity; a common card suffices for distant acquaintances and customers. It might be a subject of speculation whether the custom of visiting and renewing one's acquaintances on newyear's day practised among the Dutch and in some parts of America, was not originally imitated from the Chinese: but as in some other things, so in this, the westerns have improved upon the easterns, in calling upon the ladies. Persons, as they meet, salute each other with *Kunghi! Kunghi!* i. e. I respectfully wish you joy! which from its use at this season, is quite like the *Happy Newyear!* of Englishmen. Towards evening, the merry sounds proceeding from the closed doors announce that the sacrifice provided for presentation before the shrines of departed parents is cheering the worshippers; while the great numbers who resort to the gambling-shops show full well that the routine of ceremony soon becomes tiresome, and a more exciting stimulus is needed. The extent to which play is carried at this season is almost indescribable. Jugglers, mountebanks, and actors, also endeavor to collect a few coppers by amusing the crowds. Generally speaking, however, the three days devoted to this festival pass by without turmoil, and business and work gradually resume their usual course for another twelvemonth.

The festival of the dragon-boats, on the fifth day of the fifth month, presents a very lively scene. Pairs of long narrow boats, holding sixty or more rowers, race up and down the rivers with huge clamor, as if searching for some one who had been drowned. This festival was instituted in memory of the statesman Wuh Yuen, about 300 B.C., who drowned himself in the Yangtsz' kiang; search was made for his body by the people, who loved him for his virtues, and this mode of remembering him has been since continued. The bow of the boat is ornamented or carved into the head of a dragon, and men beating gongs and drums, and waving flags, inspirit the rowers to renewed exertions. The exhilarating exercise of racing leads the people to prolong the festival two or three days, and generally with commendable good humor, but their eagerness to excel often breaks the boats, or leads them into so much danger that the magistrates sometimes forbid the races to save the people from drowning.

The first full moon of the year is the feast of lanterns, a childish and dull festival compared with the two preceding. Its origin is not certainly known, but it was observed as early as A. D. 700. Its celebration merely consists in suspending lanterns of different forms and materials before each door, and illuminating those in the hall, but their united brilliancy is dimness itself compared with the light of the moon. Fireworks are also exhibited by the rich, some of them very elegant. Magaillans describes one he saw, which was an arbor covered with a vine, the woodwork of which seemed to burn, while the trunk, leaves, and clusters of the plant gradually consumed, yet so that the redness of the grapes, the greenness of the leaves, and natural brown of the stem, were all maintained until the whole was burned. The feast of lanterns coming so soon after newyear, and being somewhat expensive, is not very enthusiastically observed, at least in the southern cities.

In the manufacture of lanterns the Chinese surely excel all other people; the variety of their forms, their elegant carving, gilding, and coloring, and the laborious ingenuity and taste displayed in their construction, render them among the prettiest ornaments of their dwellings. They are made of paper, silk, cloth, glass, horn, basket-work, and bamboo, exhibiting an infinite variety of shapes and decorations, varying in size from a small hand light costing two or three cents, up to a magnificent

chandelier, or a complicated lantern fifteen feet in diameter, containing several lamps within it, and worth three or four hundred dollars. The uses to which they are applied are not less various than the pains and skill bestowed upon their construction are remarkable. One curious kind is called the *tsau-ma tăng*, or horse-racing lantern, which consists of one, two, or more wire frames, one within the other, and arranged on the same principle as the smoke-jack, by which the current of air caused by the flame sets them revolving. The wire framework is covered with paper figures of men and animals placed in the midst of appropriate scenery, and represented in various attitudes; or, as Magaillans describes them, "You shall see horses run, draw chariots and till the earth; vessels sailing, kings and princes go in and out with large trains, and great numbers of people, both afoot and a horseback, armies marching, comedies, dances, and a thousand other divertisements and motions represented."

One of the prettiest shows of lanterns is seen in a festival observed in the spring or autumn by fishermen to propitiate the spirits of the waters. One indispensable part of the procession is a dragon fifty feet or more long, made of light bamboo frames of the size and shape of a barrel, connected and covered with strips of colored cotton or silk; the extremities represent the gaping head and frisking tail. This monster symbolizes the ruler of the watery deep, and is carried through the streets by men holding the head and each joint upon poles, to which are suspended lanterns; and as they walk they give the body a wriggling, waving motion. Huge figures of fish, similarly lighted, precede the dragon, and music and fireworks—the never-failing warning to wayside demons to keep out of the way—accompany the procession, which presents a very brilliant sight as it winds its way through the dark streets. These sports and processions give idolatry its hold upon a people; and although none of them are required or patronized by government, still, in China as in other heathen countries, most of the scenes and games which please the people are recommended by connecting with them the observances or hopes of religion, and the merrymaking of the festive board.

In the middle of the sixth month, lanterns are hung from the top of a pole placed on the highest part of the house. A single small lantern is deemed sufficient, but if the night be calm, a greater display is made by some householders, and especially in

boats, by exhibiting colored glass lamps arranged in various ways. The illumination of a city like Canton, as seen from a high spot, there made still more brilliant by the moving boats on the river, is extremely beautiful. On one of these festivals at Canton, an almost total eclipse of the moon called out the entire population bearing every description of noise-making implements, kettles, pans, sticks, drums, gongs, guns, crackers, and what not, to raise a din and frighten away the dragon of the sky from his hideous feast. The advancing shadow gradually showed the myriads of lanterns more and more distinctly, and started a still increasing clamor, till the darkness and the noise were both at their climax; after which silence gradually resumed its sway as the moon recovered her fulness.

The Chinese are fond of processions, and if marriages and funerals be included, have them far more frequently than any other people. There are numerous livery establishments in every city and town, where processions are arranged and supplied with everything necessary for bridal and funeral occasions as well as religious festivals. Not only sedans, bands of music, biers, pavilions for carrying idols, shrines, and sacrificial feasts, boxes for holding the bride's trousseau, &c., are supplied, but also banners, tables, stands, curiosities, and uniforms, in great variety. The men and boys required to carry them and perform the various parts are hired, and a uniform just thrown over their ragged garments and dirty limbs. Guilds often go to a heavy expense in getting up a procession in honor of their patron saint, whose image is carried through the streets, attended by the members of the corporation dressed in holiday robes and boots. Splendid silken banners worked with rich embroidery, alternating with young girls bedizened with paint and flowers, and perched on high seats under an artificial tree, or apparently almost in the air, resting upon frames on men's shoulders; add to the pomp. Bands of music, sacrificial meats and fruits adorned with flowers, shrines, images, and curious rarities laid out upon red pavilions, still further enliven the scene. Sometimes boys gaily dressed like officers and riding upon ponies, or harnessed up in a covered framework to represent horses, so contrived and painted that the spectator can hardly believe they are not riding Lilliputian ponies as big as dogs, add to the diversion of the spectacle. A child standing in a car, and carrying a

branch on its shoulder, on one twig of which stands another child on one foot; or a girl holding a plate of cakes in her hand, on the top of which stands another miss on tiptoe, the whole borne by coolies, are among the parts of the exhibition. Small companies dressed in a great variety of military uniforms, carrying spears, shields, halberds, &c., now and then volunteer for the occasion, and give it a more martial appearance. The carpenters at Canton are famous for their splendid processions in honor of their hero, Lupan, in which also other craftsmen join, for this demi-god, the Tubal-cain of Chinese legends, is regarded as the patron of all workmen. Besides these festivities and processions, there are several more strictly religious, such as the annual mass of the Budhists, the supplicatory sacrifice of farmers for a good crop, and others of more or less importance, which add to the number of days of recreation.

Theatrical representations constitute a common amusement, and when public are connected with the religious celebration of the festival of the god before whose temple they are exhibited. They are got up by the priests, who send their neophytes around with a subscription paper, and then engage as large and skilful a band of performers as their funds will allow. There are no permanent buildings erected for theatres, but the Thespian band still retains its original strolling character, and stands ready to pack up its trappings at the first call. The erection of sheds for playing constitutes a separate branch of the carpenter's trade; one large enough to accommodate two thousand persons can be put up in a day, and almost the only part of the materials wasted is the rattan which bind the posts and mats together. There is usually one large shed for the stage, and three smaller ones before it, inclosing an area, and furnished with rude seats for the spectators. The collections are acknowledged by pasting red sheets containing the names and amounts upon the walls of the temple. The purlieus are let as stands for the sale of refreshments, for gambling tables, or for worse purposes, and by all these means the priests generally contrive to make gain of their devotion.

Parties of actors and tumblers are numerous, and can be hired cheaply, and their performances frequently relieve the tedium of the private life of rich families who engage them to come to their houses. They are constituted into separate corporations or

guilds, and each takes a distinguishing name, as the Happy and Blessed company, the Glorious Appearing company, &c.

The performances usually extend through three entire days, with brief recesses for sleeping and eating, and in villages where they are comparatively rare, the people act as if they were bewitched, neglecting everything to attend them. The female parts are performed by lads, who not only paint and dress like women, but even squeeze their toes into the "golden lilies," and imitate, upon the stage, a mincing, wriggling gait. These fellows personate the voice, tones, and motions of the sex with wonderful exactness, taking every opportunity, indeed, that the play will allow to relieve their feet by sitting when on the boards, or retiring into the greenroom when not speaking. The acting is chiefly pantomime, and its fidelity shows the excellent tuition of the players; this development of their imitative faculties is probably still more encouraged by the difficulty the audience find to understand what is said; for, owing to the differences in the dialects, the open construction of the theatre, the high falsetto recitative key in which the words are spoken, and the din of the orchestra intervening between every few sentences, not one quarter of the people hear or understand a word.

The scenery is very simple, consisting merely of rudely painted mats arranged on the back and sides of the stage, a few tables, chairs, or beds, which successively serve for many uses, and are brought in and out from the robing-room. The orchestra is seated on the side of the stage, and not only play interludes but strike a crashing noise by way of emphasis, or to add energy to the rush of opposing warriors. No falling curtain divides the acts or scenes, and the play is carried to its conclusion without intermission. The dresses are made of gorgeous silks, and present the best specimens of ancient Chinese costume of former dynasties now to be seen. The imperfections of the scenery require much to be suggested by the spectator's imagination, though the actors themselves supply the defect in a measure by each man stating what part he performs, and what the person he represents has been doing while absent. If a courier is to be sent to a distant city, away he strides across the boards, or perhaps gets a whip and cocks up his leg as if mounting a horse, and on reaching the edge of the stage, cries out that he has arrived, and there delivers his message. Passing a bridge, or

crossing a river, are indicated by stepping up and then down, or by the rolling motion of a boat. If a city is to be impersonated, two or three men lie down upon each other, when warriors rush on them furiously, overthrow the wall which they formed, and take the place by assault. Ghosts, or supernatural beings, are introduced through a wide trap-door in the stage, and if he thinks it necessary, the impersonator cries out from underneath that he is ready, or for assistance to help him up through the hole.

Mr. Lay describes a play he saw in which a medley of celestial and terrestrial personages were introduced. "The first scene was intended to represent the happiness and splendor of beings who inhabit the upper regions, with the sun and moon and the elements curiously personified playing around them. The man who personated the sun held a round image of the sun's disk, while the female, who acted the part of the moon, had a crescent in her hand. The actors took care to move so as to mimic the conjunction and opposition of these heavenly bodies as they revolve round in their apparent orbs. The Thunderer wielded an axe, and leaped and dashed about in a variety of extraordinary somersets. After a few turns the monarch, who had been so highly honored as to find a place, through the partiality of a mountain nymph, in the abodes of the happy, begins to feel that no height of good fortune can secure a mortal against the common calamities of this frail life. A wicked courtier disguises himself in a tiger's skin, and in this garb imitates the animal itself. He rushes into the retired apartments of the ladies, frightens them out of their wits, and throws the heir-apparent into a moat. The sisters hurry into the royal presence, and casting themselves on the ground divulge the sad intelligence that a tiger has borne off the young prince, who it appears was the son of the mountain nymph aforesaid. The loss the bereaved monarch takes so much to heart, that he renounces the world, and deliberates about the nomination of a successor. By the influence of a crafty woman, he selects a young man who has just sense enough to know that he is a fool. The settlement of the crown is scarcely finished, when the unhappy king dies, and the blockhead is presently invested with the crown, but instead of excelling in his new preferment, the lout bemoans his lot in the most awkward strains of lamentation, and cries 'O dear! what shall I do?' with such piteous action, and yet withal so truly ludi-

crous, that the spectator is at a loss to know whether to laugh or to weep. The courtier, who had taken off the heir and broken the father's heart, finds the new king an easy tool for prosecuting his traitorous purposes, and the state is plunged into the depths of civil discord at home and dangerous wars abroad.

"In the sequel a scene occurred, in which the reconciliation of this court and some foreign prince depends upon the surrender of a certain obnoxious person. The son-in-law of the victim is charged with the letter containing this proposal, and returns to his house and disguises himself for the sake of concealment. When he reaches the court of the foreign prince, he discovers that he has dropped the letter in changing his clothes, and narrowly escapes being taken for a spy without his credentials. He hurries back, calls for his garments, and shakes them one by one in an agony of self-reproach, but no letter appears. He sits down, throwing himself with great violence upon the chair, with a countenance inexpressibly full of torture and despair: reality could have added nothing to the imitation. But while every eye was riveted upon him, he called the servant-maid, and inquired if she knew anything about the letter; she replied she overheard her mistress reading a letter whose contents were so and so. The mistress had taken her seat at a distance from him, and was nursing her baby; and the instant he ascertained the letter was in her possession, he looked towards her with such a smile upon his cheek, and with a flood of light in his eye, that the whole assembly heaved a loud sigh of admiration, for the Chinese do not applaud by clapping and stamping, but express their feelings by an ejaculation that is between a sigh and a groan. The aim of the husband was to wheedle his wife out of the letter, and this smile and look of affection were merely the prelude; for he takes his chair, places it beside her, lays one hand softly on her shoulder, and fondles the child with the other in a style so exquisitely natural, and so completely English, that in this dramatic picture it was seen that nature fashioneth men's hearts alike. His addresses were, however, ineffectual, and her father's life was not sacrificed."*

The morals of the Chinese stage, so far as the sentiments of the pieces are concerned, are better than the acting, which sometimes panders to depraved tastes, but no indecent exposure, as of

* Chinese as They Are, page 114.

the persons of dancers, is ever seen in China. The audience stand in the area fronting the stage, or sit in the sheds around it, and the women present are usually seated in the galleries. The police are at hand to maintain order, but the crowd, although in an irksome position, and sometimes exposed to a fierce sun, is remarkably peaceable. Accidents seldom occur on these occasions, but whenever the people are alarmed, or the stage takes fire, loss of life or limb generally ensues. A dreadful destruction of life took place at Canton in May, 1845, by the conflagration of a stage during the performances, by which more than 2000 persons lost their lives; and the survivors remembered that fifty persons were killed many years before in the same place and occasion by the falling of a wall.*

Active, manly plays are not popular in the south, and instead of engaging in a cricket-match or regatta, going to a bowling alley or fives' court, to exhibit their strength and skill, they lift beams headed with heavy stones to prove their brawn, or kick up their heels in a game of shuttlecock. The outdoor amusements of gentlemen consist in flying kites, carrying birds on perches, sauntering hand in hand through the fields, or lazily boating on the water, while pitching coppers, fighting crickets or quails, kicking a shuttlecock, snapping sticks, chucking stones, or guessing the number of seeds in an orange, are plays for lads.

Gambling is universal. Hucksters at the roadside are provided with a cup and saucer, and the clicking of their dice is heard at every corner. A boy with two cash prefers to risk their loss on the throw of a die, to simply buying a cake without trying the chance of getting it for nothing. Gaming-houses are opened by scores, their keepers paying a bribe to the local officers, who can hardly be expected to be very severe against what they were brought up in and daily practise; and women in the privacy of their apartments while away their time at cards and dominoes. Porters play by the wayside while waiting for employment, and hardly have the retinue of an officer seen their superiors enter the house, than they pull out their cards or dice, and squat down to a game. The most common game played at Canton is called *fan tan* or quadrating cash, and so simple as to be almost childish. The keeper of the table is provided with a pile of bright coin, of which he takes a double handful, and lays them on the

* Chinese Repository, Vol. XIV., page 335.

table, covering them with a bowl. The persons standing outside the rail guess the remainder there will be left after the pile has been divided by four, whether 1, 2, 3, or nothing, the guess and stake of each person being first recorded by a clerk; the keeper then carefully picks out the coins four by four, all narrowly watching his movements. Cheating is almost impossible in this game, and twenty people can play at it as easily as two. Their cards are smaller and more numerous than our own; but the dominoes are the same.

Boys gambling with Crickets

Combats between crickets are contested with great spirit, and tubfuls of them are caught in the autumn, and sold in the streets to supply gamesters. Two well chosen combatants are put into a basin, and irritated with a straw, until they rush upon each other with the utmost fury, chirruping as they make the onset, and the battle seldom ends without a tragical result in loss of life or limb. Quails are also trained to mortal combat; two are placed on a railed table, on which a handful of millet has been strown, and as soon as one picks up a kernel, the other flies at him with beak, claws, and wings, and the struggle is kept up till one retreats by hopping into the hand of his disappointed owner. Hundreds of dollars are occasionally betted

upon these cricket or quail fights, which, if not as sublime, are perhaps less inhuman than the pugilistic fights and bull-baits of Christian countries, while both show the same brutal love of sport at the expense of life. The flying of paper kites is a favorite amusement of men as well as children; they are made in imitation of birds, butterflies, lizards, and other living creatures, and flown in a manner that is unequalled; contrivances are sometimes attached to make a whistling sound in the air.

Chess and draughts are unlike the same games in Europe. In chess each player has sixteen pieces arranged on the intersections of the lines; the board contains 72 squares, divided from each other by a line representing a river, on the banks of which the battle is supposed to be fought. There are five pawns stationed in the van, two artillery-men in their rear, and the king, with his suite of two aids, two elephants, two horsemen, and two charioteers, stands in the top row. The king and his two aids cannot go out of the foursquare inclosure in which they stand, but the other men can cross the river; the horsemen, and charioteers correspond to our knights and castles, but the aids, artillery-men, and elephants, have different powers from any pieces in European chess. Draughts are not often played; the number of men is 360, half of them white and half black, intended to represent the number of days in a year; it partly resembles our game of fox and geese.

If this sketch of the customs and amusements of the Chinese in their social intercourse and public entertainments is necessarily brief, it is perhaps enough to exhibit their character. Dr. Johnson has well remarked, that no man is a hypocrite in his amusements. The absence of some of the violent and gladiatorial sports of other countries, and of the adjudication of doubtful questions by ordeals or duels; the general dislike of a resort to force, their inability to cope with enemies of vastly less resources and number, and the comparative disesteem of warlike achievements, all indicate the peaceful traits of Chinese character. Duels are unknown, assassinations are infrequent, betting on horseraces is still to begin, and running a muck à la Malay is unheard of; and when two persons fall out upon a matter, after a vast variety of gesture and huge vociferation of opprobrium, they will blow off their wrath, and separate almost without touching each other. Some contrarieties in their ideas

and customs from those practised among ourselves, have frequently been noticed by travellers, a few of which are grouped in the following sketch :—

"On inquiring of the boatman in which direction Macao lay, I was answered west-north; and the wind, he said, was east-south. 'We do not say so in Europe,' thought I, but imagine my surprise when in explaining the utility of the compass, he added that the needle pointed south. On landing, the first object that attracted my attention was a military officer, who wore an embroidered petticoat, with a string of beads around his neck, and a fan in his hand. His insignia of rank was a peacock feather pointing downwards instead of a plume turning upwards, and a button on the apex of his sugar-loaf cap instead of a star on his breast, or epaulettes on his shoulders; and it was with some dismay I observed him mount on the right side of his horse. Several scabbards hung from his belt, which, of course, I thought must contain dress-swords or dirks, but on venturing near through the crowd, I was surprised to see a pair of chopsticks and a knife-handle sticking out of one, and soon his fan was folded up and put into the other, whereupon I concluded he was going to a dinner instead of a review. The natives around me had all shaved their hair on the front of their heads, and let it grow long behind; many of them did not shave their faces, but their mustaches grew over their mouths, and lest some straggling hairs should diverge cheek-ways, the owners were busily employed pulling them down. 'We arrange our toilets differently,' thought I, but I acknowledged the happy device of chopsticks, which enabled these gentlemen to put their food into the mouth endwise underneath this natural fringe.

"On my way to the hotel, I saw a group of old people, some of whom were greybeards; a few were chirruping and chuckling to singing-birds, which they carried perched on a stick or in cages, others were catching flies to feed them, and the remainder of the party seemed to be delightfully employed in flying fantastic paper kites; while a group of boys were gravely looking on and regarding these innocent occupations of their seniors with the most serious and gratified attention.

"As I had come to the country to reside for some time, I made inquiries respecting a teacher, and happily found one who understood English. On entering, he stood at the door, and instead of coming forward and shaking my hands, he politely bowed and shook his own, clasping them before him: I looked upon this mode as a decided improvement, especially in doubtful cases, and requested him to be seated. I knew I was to study a language without an alphabet, but was somewhat astonished to see him begin at what I considered to be the end of the book. He read the date of publication, 'the fifth year, tenth month

and first day.' 'We arrange our dates differently,' I observed, and begged him to read, which he did from top to bottom, and proceeding from right to left. 'You have an odd book here,' remarked I, taking it up; 'what is the price?' 'A dollar and eight thirds,' said he; upon which I counted out $3⅓, and went on looking at it. The paper was printed only on one side, the running title was on the edge of the leaves instead of the top of the page, the paging was near the bottom, the number and contents of the chapters were at their ends, the marginal notes on the top, where the blank was double the size at the foot, and a broad black line across the middle of each page separated the two works composing the volume, instead of one being printed after the other. The back was open and sewed outside, and the name of the work written on the bottom edge. 'You have given me too much,' said he, handing me $2⅓, and then explained that eight thirds was eight divided by three, or only three eighths. A small vocabulary he carried with him had the sounds arranged according to their termination, *ming*, *sing*, *king* being all in a row, and the first word in it was *sien*. 'Ah! my friend,' said I, 'English won't help you find a word in that book; please give me your address.' He accordingly took out a red card as big as a sheet of paper, instead of a neat white strip, and wrote Wu Tăyuen. 'I thought your name was Mr. Wu; why do you write your name wrong end first?' inquired I. 'It is you who are wrong,' replied he; 'look in your own Directory, where alone you write names as they should be, placing the honored family name first.'

"I could only say, 'customs differ;' and giving back the book, begged him to speak of ceremony. He commenced, 'When you receive a distinguished guest, do not fail to place him on your left, for that is the seat of honor; and be cautious not to uncover the head, as it would be an unbecoming act of familiarity.' This was a severe blow to my established notions; but when he reöpened the volume and read, 'The most learned men are decidedly of opinion that the seat of the human understanding is in the belly,' I exclaimed, 'Better say it is in the feet!' and immediately shut up the book, dismissing him until another day, for this shocked all my principles of correct philosophy, even if Solomon was against me.

"On going abroad, I met so many things contrary to all my preconceived ideas of propriety that I readily assented to a friend's observation, 'that the Chinese were our antipodes in many things besides location.' 'Indeed,' said I, 'they are so; I shall expect shortly to see a man walking on his head: look! there's a woman in trousers, and a party of gentlemen in petticoats; she is smoking a segar, and they are fanning themselves;' but I was taught not to trust to appearances too much, as on passing, I saw the latter wore tight under-garments. We soon after met the steward of the house dressed in white, and I stopped

to ask him what merrymaking he was invited to; with a look of the deepest concern he told me he was then returning from his father's funeral. Soon we passed where we heard sobbing and crying, and I inquired who was ill; the man, suppressing a smile, said, 'It is a girl about leaving home to be married, who is lamenting with her fellows.'

"I thought, after these unlucky essays, I would ask no more questions, but use my eyes instead. Looking into a shop, I saw a stout fellow sewing lace on a bonnet for a Portuguese lady; and going on to the landing-place, behold! all the ferry-boats were rowed by women, and from a passage-boat just arrived, I saw the females get out of the cabin in the bow. 'What are we coming to next?' said I, and just then, saw a carpenter take his foot-rule out of his stocking to measure some timber which his apprentice was cutting with a saw whose blade was set nearly at right angles with the frame. Before the door sat a man busily engaged in whitening the thick soles of a pair of shoes; 'that's a shoe-white, I suppose,' said I; 'and he answers to the shoeblack of other lands.' 'Just so,' said my friend, 'and beyond him is a poor wretch with a board round his neck for a shirt-collar, who has got into *chokey*; an article of his toilet which answers to the gyves with which those lads in the Tombs are garnished instead of bangles.'

"In the alleys called streets, the signs stood on their ends, and the pigs were packed in baskets, which coolies were carrying to the infinite satisfaction of the inmates; and the shops seemed to have lost their fronts, and ejected their inmates into the streets, where they were eating, cooking, working, selling, and sleeping in every imaginable way. A loud voice led us to look in at an open door to see what was going on, when we saw it was a school, and the boys learning their lessons all crying like auctioneers. We next passed a fashionable lady stepping out of her chair, her feet only three inches long, her plaited and embroidered petticoat a foot longer than her gown, and smallest at bottom, and her waist quite concealed. Then came an acquaintance of my friend's, accompanying a splendidly carved coffin. 'Who's dead?' asked he. 'No man hab die,' replied the celestial, 'this one piece coffin I present my olo fader; he lik-ee too much, count-a my number one proper; 'spose he die, he can us-ee he!' 'So, eh!' rejoined my friend; 'how much price can catchee one all same same for that?' 'I tinky can catchee one alla same so fashion one tousand dollar so; this hab first chop, handsome, lo.'

"'Do you call that gibberish English or Chinese?' said I, for the language sounded no less strange than the custom of presenting a coffin to a live father differed from my preconceived notions of filial affection. 'That's the pure Canton-English,' said he; 'you must be the Jack Downing of Canton to immortalize it.' 'Come, rather let us

go home,' said I, 'for I am getting dizzy, and shall soon be upside-down in this strange country.' "*

In summing up the moral traits of Chinese character, a far more difficult task than the enumeration of its oddities, we must necessarily compare it with that perfect standard given us from above; while also we should not forget that the teachings of that book are unknown. While their contrarieties indicate a different external civilization, a slight acquaintance with their morals proves their similarity to their fellowmen in the lineaments of a fallen and depraved nature. As among other people, the lights and shadows of virtue and vice are blended in their character, and the degree of advancement they have made while destitute of the great encouragements offered to perseverance in well-doing in the Bible, afford grounds for hoping that when they are taught out of that book, they will receive it as the rule of their conduct. Some of the better traits of their character have been remarkably developed. They have attained, by the observance of peace and good order, to a high degree of security for life and property; the various classes of society are linked together in a remarkably homogeneous manner by the diffusion of education and property, and equality of competition for office; and industry receives its just reward of food, raiment, and shelter, with a uniformity which encourages its constant exertion. If any one asks how they have reached this point, we would primarily ascribe it to the blessing of the Governor of the nations, who has, for his own purposes, continued one people down to the present time from remote antiquity. The roots of society among them have never been broken up by emigration or the overflowing conquest of a superior race, but have been fully settled in a great regard for the family compact and deep reverence for parents and superiors. Education has strengthened and disseminated the morality they had, and God has blessed their filial piety by making their days long in the land which he has given them. Davis lays rather too much stress upon geographical and climatic causes in accounting for their advancement in these particulars, though their isolation has no doubt had much to do with their security and progress.

When, however, these traits have been mentioned, the Chinese

* Chinese Repository Vol X., page 106.

are still more left without excuse for their wickedness, since being without law, they are a law unto themselves: they have always known better than they have done. With a general regard for outward decency, they are vile and polluted in a shocking degree, their conversation is full of filthy expressions and their lives of impure acts. They are somewhat restrained in the latter by the fences put around the family circle, so that seduction and adultery are comparatively infrequent, the former may even be said to be rare; but brothels and their inmates occur everywhere on land and on water. One danger attending young girls going abroad alone, is, that they will be stolen for incarceration in these gates of hell. By pictures, songs, and aphrodisiacs, they excite their sensuality, and, as the apostle says, "receive in themselves that recompense of their error which is meet." As long as they love to wallow in this filth, they cannot advance, and all experience proves that nothing but the gospel can cleanse and purify its fountain.

More uneradicable than the sins of the flesh is the falsity of the Chinese, and its attendant sin of base ingratitude; their disregard of truth has perhaps done more to lower their character in the eyes of Christendom than any other fault. They feel no shame at being detected in a lie, though they have not gone quite so far as not to know when they do lie, nor do they fear any punishment from their gods for it. Every resident among them, and all travellers declaim against their mendacity, but can it be expected that the heathen should practise truth without knowing a God of truth, who is everywhere present to see the infractions of his law, when even those who do know it fail so much in this particular? It would be a strange wonder in the world to find a heathen people who did speak the truth; and yet the necessity of the case compels them, in their daily intercourse with each other, to pay some regard to it, and each man, from his own consciousness, knows just about how much to expect. Ambassadors and merchants have not been in the best position to ascertain their real character in this respect; for on the one hand the courtiers of Peking thought themselves called upon by the mere presence of an embassy to put on some fictitious appearances, and on the other, the integrity and fair dealing of the hong-merchants and great traders at Canton, is in advance of the usual mercantile honesty of their countrymen. A Chinese requires but little

motive to falsify, and he is constantly sharpening his wits to cozen his customer, wheedle him by promises, and cheat him in goods or work. There is nothing which tries one so much when living among them as their disregard of truth, and renders him so indifferent as to what calamities befall so mendacious a race; an abiding impression of suspicion rests upon the mind towards everybody, which chills the warmest wishes for their welfare, and thwarts many a plan to benefit them. Their better traits diminish in the distance, and the patience is exhausted, when in daily proximity and friction with this ancestor of sins. Their proneness to this fault is one of the greatest obstacles to their permanent improvement as a people, while it constantly disheartens those who are making efforts to teach them. Mr. Abeel mentions a case of deceit, which may serve as a specimen.

"Soon after we arrived at Kulang su, a man came to us who professed to be the near relation and guardian of the owners of the house in which we live, and presented a little boy as the joint proprietor with his widowed mother. From the appearance of the house and the testimony of others, we could easily credit his story that the family were now in reduced circumstances, having not only lost the house when the English attacked the place, but a thousand dollars besides by native robbers; we therefore allowed him a small rent, and gave the dollars to the man who put them into the hands of the child. The next month he made his appearance, but our servant, whom we had taken to be peculiarly honest for a heathen, suggested the propriety of inquiring whether the money was ever given to those for whom it was professedly received; and soon returned with the information that the mother had heard nothing of the money, the man who received it not living in the family, but had now sent a lad to us who would receive it for her, and who our servants assured us would give it to the proper person. A day or two afterwards our cook whispered to me that our *honest* servant, who had taken so much pains to prevent all fraud in the matter, had made the lad give him one half of the money for his disinterestedness in preventing it from falling into improper hands; and further examination showed us that this very cook had himself received a good share to keep silent."

Thieving is exceedingly common, and the illegal exactions of the rulers are burdensome. This vice, too, is somewhat restrained by the punishments inflicted on criminals, though the root of the evil is not touched. While the licentiousness of the Chinese may be in part ascribed to their ignorance of pure intellectual plea-

sures, and the want of virtuous female society, so may their lying be attributed partly to their truckling fear of officers, and their thievery to the want of sufficient food or work. Hospitality is not a trait of their character; on the contrary, the number and wretched condition of the beggars show that public and private charity is almost extinct; yet here too, the sweeping charge must be modified when we remember the efforts they make to sustain their relatives and families in so densely peopled a country. Their avarice is not so distinguishing a feature as their love of money, but the industry which this desire induces or presupposes is the source of most of their superiority to their neighbors. The politeness which they exhibit seldom has its motive in good-will, and consequently, when the varnish is off, the rudeness, brutality, and coarseness of the material is seen; still, among themselves, this exterior polish is not without some good results in preventing quarrels, where both parties, fully understanding each other, are careful not to overpass the bounds of etiquette.

On the whole, the Chinese present a singular mixture; if there is something to commend, there is more to blame; if they have some glaring vices, they have more virtues than most pagan nations. Ostentatious kindness and inbred suspicion, ceremonious civility and real rudeness, partial invention and servile imitation, industry and waste, sycophancy and self-dependence, are with other dark and bright qualities, strangely blended. In trying to remedy the faults of their character by the restraints of law and the diffusion of education, they have no doubt hit upon the right mode; and their shortcomings show how ineffectual both must be until the Gospel comes to the aid of ruler and subject, in elevating the moral sense of the whole nation. This has now commenced, and every day adds fresh proof of the necessity of missionary labors among this remarkable people. Facts of daily occurrence brought to the knowledge of the missionaries reveal the prevalence of the most fearful immoralities, and furnish a melancholy insight into the desolating horrors of paganism. Female infanticide in some parts openly confessed, and divested of all disgrace and penalties everywhere; the dreadful prevalence of all the vices charged by the apostle Paul upon the ancient heathen world; the alarming extent of the use of opium (furnished too by British and American merchants), destroying the productions and natural resources of the people; the univer-

sal practice of lying and dishonest dealings; the unblushing lewdness of old and young; harsh cruelty towards prisoners by officers, and tyranny over slaves by masters;—all forming a full unchecked torrent of human depravity, and proving the existence of a kind and degree of moral degradation, of which an excessive statement can scarcely be made, or an adequate conception hardly be formed.

We do not wish to depict the Chinese worse than they are, nor to dwell so much on their good qualities as to lead one to suppose they stand in no need of the Gospel. Barrow says missionaries "might have had their motives for setting the Chinese in the fairest point of view;" and he goes on to criticise them for their too favorable coloring. On the other side, McCulloch remarks, speaking of China, "that it is so obviously the interest of the missionaries, by depreciating the moral and religious character of those they are laboring amongst, to exalt their own utility and importance, and to justify their claims to the patronage and support of the Christian public, that their statements can hardly be supposed to be free from bias."* Who shall decide? It is abundantly easy for persons in their closets, as these gentlemen were, to criticise; but until they have themselves engaged in such labors, and speak from personal knowledge, let not their opinion be taken for more than it is worth.

* Barrow's Travels in China, page 30. McCulloch's Geographical Dictionary, Vol. I., page 605. Smith's China, page 489

CHAPTER XV.

Industrial Arts of the Chinese.

THE superiority of the Chinese over their neighbors in the enjoyments of life, and the degree of security individuals can look for under the protection of law, are owing chiefly to their industry. Agriculture holds the first place in their estimation, among the branches of labor, and the honors paid to it by the annual ploughing ceremony are given from a deep sense of its importance to the public welfare; not alone to provide a regular supply of food and labor for so ignorant a population, but also to meet the wants of government by moderate taxes, and long experience of the greater ease of governing an agricultural than a mercantile or warlike community. Notwithstanding the encouragement given to tillage, vast tracts of land still lie waste, some of it the most fertile in the country; partly because the people have not the skill and capital to drain and render it productive, and partly because they have not sufficient security or prospect of remuneration to encourage them to make the necessary outlay.

Landed property is held in clans or families as much as possible, but it is not entailed, nor are overgrown estates frequent. The land is held as a freehold so long as the sovereign receives his rent, which is estimated at about one tenth of the produce, and the proprietors record their names in the district magistrate's office as responsible for the tax, feeling themselves secure in the possession while that is paid. The paternal estate and the houses upon it descend to the eldest son, but his brothers can remain upon it with their families, and devise their portion in perpetuo to their children, or an amicable composition can be made; daughters never inherit, nor can an adopted son of another clan succeed. A mortgagee must actually enter into possession of the property, and make himself personally responsible for the payment of the taxes, before his mortgage is valid; unless explicitly stated, the land can be redeemed any time

within thirty years on payment of the original sum. Secs. xc. to c. of the Code contain the laws relating to this subject, some of which bear a resemblance to those established among the Hebrews, and intended to secure a similar object of retaining the land in the same clan or tribe.

The Chinese are rather gardeners than farmers, not only in the small size of their grounds, but in their ignorance of those operations whereby soils naturally unfruitful are made fertile, those which produce few kinds of plants made to bring forth a greater variety, and their natural fertility sustained at the cheapest rate by a proper manuring and rotation of crops. They make up for the disadvantages of poor implements by hard work, repeatedly turning over the soil, and sustaining its productiveness by constant manuring. Their agricultural utensils are few and simple, and are probably now made similar to those used centuries ago. The broad hoe, a less efficient tool than our spade, is used more than any other; the edge of the large wooden blade is guarded with iron, and the weight adds impetus to the blow. Spades, shovels, and mattocks are employed in kitchen gardening, and the plough and harrow in rice cultivation. The plough is made of wood, except the iron edged share, which lies so flat that it cannot penetrate the soil more than five inches. The whole implement is so simple and rude that one would think the inventor of it was a laborer, who, tired of the toil of spading, called the ox to his aid, and tied his shovel to a rail;—fastening the animal at one end and guiding the other, he was so pleased with the relief, that he never thought of improving it much further than to sharpen the spade to a coulter, and bend the rail to a beam and handle. The harrow is a heavy stick armed with a single row of stout wooden teeth, and furnished with a framework to guide it; or a triangular machine, with rows of teeth, on which the driver rides.

The buffalo is most used in rice cultivation, and the ox and ass in dry ploughing; horses, mules, cows, and goats likewise render service to the farmer in various ways, and are often yoked in most ludicrous combinations. But the team which Nieuhoff describes of a man driving his wife and his ass yoked to the same plough is too bad for China often to present, though it has been so frequently quoted that one almost expects on landing to see half the women in the harness.

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The early rain is so necessary to the preparation of rice fields that the work is delayed in case of drought, except where water-courses can be turned upon them. The grain is first soaked in water, and when it begins to swell, is sown very thickly in a small plat, in which liquid manure has been previously mixed. When about six inches high, the shoots are taken up and transplanted into the adjacent grounds, which, from being an unsightly marsh, are in a few days transformed to fields clothed with living green. Holding the seedlings in one hand, the laborer wades through the mud, sticking five or six of them into it at every step, which take root without further care; six men can transplant two acres a day, one or two of whom are engaged in supplying the others with shoots. The amount of grain required to sow a Chinese *mau* in this way is 37½ catties, or 330 *lbs.*—about 2½ bushels to an English acre. The produce is on an average tenfold. Land is usually rented at half the crop, the landlord paying the taxes, and the tenant stocking the farm; leases are for three, four, or seven years, but the terms vary according to the crop and goodness of the soil.

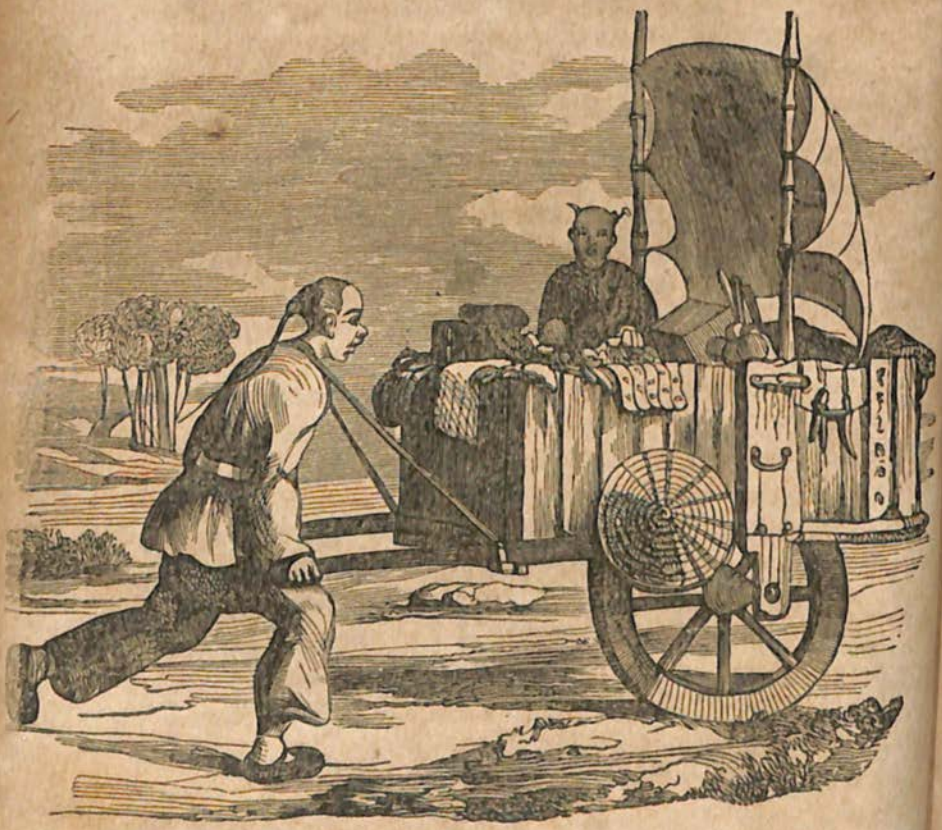
Wheat, barley, and millet are planted in holes or rows, not so much because the farmer thinks they produce a better crop than when sown broadcast, though that is often done, as to allow of interspacing them with other plants, which will ripen at a different season. Barrow describes a sort of drill-plough for sowing he saw in Kiangsu designed to economize time and seed. "It consisted of two parallel poles of wood shod at the lower extremity with iron to open the furrows; these poles were placed upon wheels; a small hopper was attached to each pole to drop the seeds into the furrow, which were covered with earth by a transverse piece of wood fixed behind, that just swept the face of the ground."

The extent to which terrace cultivation has been supposed to be carried in China is a good instance of the way in which erroneous impressions concerning that country obtain currency from accounts not exactly incorrect, perhaps, but made to convey wrong notions by the mode of their description. The hills are seldom terraced except for rice cultivation or to retain the soil which would otherwise be washed away; and this restricts their graduation generally speaking to the southern and eastern provinces. Most of the hills in Kwangtung and Fuhkien are unfit

for the plough except near their bases, while, in the north, it is unnecessary to go to the expense of terracing for cultivating cotton, wheat or millet. Great labor has been expended in terracing, and many hill-sides otherwise useless are thus rendered productive; but this does not mean that every hill is cut into plats, nor that the entire face of the country is one vast garden. Terracing was probably carried much further in Palestine than it is in China.

Rice requires abundance of water, and the ingenuity of the farmer is well exhibited in the various modes he employs to insure a supply. In some places, pools are made in level fields to receive the rain from which the water is lifted by well-sweeps. It is also expeditiously raised by men each side of the pond holding a pail between them by ropes, and with a swinging motion rapidly dipping the water out of the tank and pouring it into little furrows. A more favorite plan, however, is to avail of a natural brooklet flowing down a hill-side, and conduct it from one plat to another till it has irrigated the whole. It is where such water privileges offer that the terrace cultivation is oftenest seen, especially in the neighborhood of large cities, where the demand for provisions promises the cultivator a sure reward for his labor. The appearance of a hill-side thus graduated into small ledges is beautiful; each plat is divided by a bank serving the triple purpose of fence, path, and dyke, and near which the rills glide with refreshing lapse, turning whithersoever the master willeth. Wheels of various sorts are also contrived to assist in this labor, some worked by cattle, some by human toil, and others carried round by the stream whose waters they elevate. The last are very common on the banks of the Kan kiang, where high wheels of bamboo, firmly fixed on an axle in the bank, or on pillars driven into the bed, and furnished with buckets, pursue their stately round, and pour their earnings of 250 or 300 tons a day into troughs fixed at an elevation of 20 or 30 feet above the stream. The box-trough represented in Staunton with two men turning the axle with their feet as if in a treading-mill, and since copied so often, is a more clumsy contrivance, but is much used for slight elevations; the chain of paddles runs around two axles and in the trough as closely as possible, and raises the water ten or twelve feet in an equable current. Comparatively few carts or wagons are used with animals, human strength supplying the

means of transportation; the implements of husbandry and the grain taken from the fields both being carried home on the back of the laborer. It is not an uncommon sight to see a ploughman, when he has done his work, turn his buffalo loose, and shoulder his plough, harrow, and hoe, with the harness, and carry them all home. Barrows are contrived with sails upon them in which peddlers arrange their wares, or farmers and cartmen transport their burdens.



Peddler's Barrow.

The Chinese manure the plant rather than the ground, both in the seed and growing grain. The preparation of manure from night soil, by mixing it with earth and drying it into cakes, furnishes employment to thousands, and the transportation of their noisome loads through the narrow streets is an insufferable nuisance. Tanks are dug by the wayside, pails are placed in the

streets, and retiring stalls opened among the dwellings, whose contents are carried away in boats and buckets; but it is a small compensation for this constant pollution of the sweet breath of heaven, to know that the avails are to be by and by brought to market. Besides this principal ingredient of manure vats, other substances are diligently collected, as hair from the barber's shop, exploded fire-crackers and sweepings from the streets, lime and plaster from kitchens and old buildings, soot, bones, fish and animal remains, the mud from the bottom of canals and tanks, and dung of every kind. In Chusan and the main opposite, two species of clover are grown through the winter upon ridges raised in the rice fields, and the plants pulled up in the spring and scattered over the fields, to be ploughed and harrowed into the wet soil with the stubble, their decomposition forming large quantities of ammonia to the seedlings. Vegetable rubbish is also collected and covered with turf, and then slowly burned; the residue is a rich black earth which is laid upon the seeds themselves when planted. The refuse left after expressing the oil from ground-nuts, beans, tallow, tea, and cabbage-seeds, &c., is mixed with earth and made into cakes, to be sold to the farmers.

The ripe grain is cut with bill-hooks and sickles, or pulled up by the roots; scythes and cradles are unknown. Rice straw is made into brooms and brushes, and in order to preserve it, the rice is thrashed out against the side of a tub having a curtain on one side, or bound into sheaves and carried away to be stacked. The thrashing-floors about Canton are made of a mixture of sand and lime, well pounded upon an inclined surface inclosed by a curb; a little cement added in the last coat makes it impervious to the rain; with proper care it lasts many years, and is used by all the villagers for thrashing rice, peas, mustard, turnips, and other seeds, either with unshod oxen or flails.

The cultivation of plants and grain for food forms so large a proportion of those demanding the attention of the Chinese, that except hemp, indigo, cotton, silk, and tea, those raised for manufacture are quite unimportant. The great cotton district is the basin of the Yangtsz' kiang, and the two varieties, white and yellow, grow side by side. The manure used is the mud taken from the canals, and spread dry over the ploughed fields, in which the seeds are sown broadcast about the beginning of May, and trodden into the ground by the feet. These same fields

frequently produce a crop of wheat during the winter, and the cotton is often sown before the wheat is harvested. While growing, cotton is carefully tended, thinned, hoed, and weeded, until the flowers begin to appear about August. As soon as the pods begin to ripen and burst, the cultivator collects them before they fall, and carries them to his house to clean the cotton of seeds and husks. The weather is carefully watched, for a dry summer or a wet autumn are alike unpropitious, and as the pods are ripening from August to October, it is not uncommon for the crop to be partially lost. The seeds are separated by a wheel turning two rollers, and the cotton sold by each farmer to merchants in the towns. Some he keeps for weaving at home, and spinning-wheels and looms are common articles of furniture in the houses of the peasantry around Shanghai.*

Hemp is cultivated in the provinces north of the Mei ling, but the plant also grows in Fuhkien; the grasscloth made from it is not so much used for common dresses as cotton and silk. There are three plants which produce a fibre made into cloth known under this name, viz. the *Cannabis sativa* or hemp at Canton, the *Urtica nivea*, a species of nettle grown about Suchau, and the *Sida tiliæfolia* near Tientsinfu. The coloring matter used for dyeing blue is derived from two species of plants, the *Polygonum tinctorium* at the south, and the *tien tsing* or *Isatis indigotica*, cultivated at Shanghai and Chusan. The mulberry is sometimes raised merely as a shade and fruit tree, but the great consumption of the leaves renders its culture an important branch of labor in Chehkiang and all the eastern provinces. The tree is, by some growers, allowed to attain its natural height, by others it is cut down to increase the branches and the produce of leaves. In Chehkiang, it is cut in January, and deprived of its useless branches, leaving only the outer ones, which are trimmed into two or three points, in order to force the plant to extend itself. The trees are set out in rows twelve feet or more apart, each tree being half that distance from its neighbor, and opposite the intervals in the parallel rows; the interspaces are occupied with legumes or greens. The trees are propagated by seed and by suckers, but soon lose their vigor from being constantly stripped of leaves, and are then rooted up and replaced by new nurslings.

* Fortune's Wanderings, Chap. xiv

Sugar is grown to a great extent in the south and south-eastern provinces; the name *ché*, by which it is known, is an original character, which favors the opinion that the plant is indigenous in China, and the same argument is applicable to wheat, hemp, mulberry, tea, and some of the common fruits, as the plum, pear, and orange. The stalks are pressed in machines, and the juice boiled to sugar; or the cane is hawked about the streets for consumption by the people. The sugar mill consists merely of two upright cylinders, between which the cane is introduced as they turn, and the juice received into reservoirs; it is then boiled down, and sent to the refiners to undergo the necessary processes to fit it for market.

Many plants are cultivated for their oil, to be used in the arts as well as cooking; a strong oil is derived from the seeds of two or three plants belonging to the Euphorbiaceous family, for mixing with paint, smearing boats, &c. It is deleterious when taken into the system, but does not appear to injure those who use or express it. The tallow tree (*Stillingia sebifera*) occurs over all the eastern part of China, and when fully grown is a beautiful tree, resembling the aspen in its shape and foliage; it would form a valuable addition to the list of shade trees in this country. The seeds grow in clusters like ivy berries, and are collected in November; when ripe, the capsule divides, and falling off discovers two or three kernels covered with the pure white tallow. When the tallow is to be prepared, these are picked from the stalks and put into an open wooden cylinder with a perforated bottom, in which they are well steamed over boiling water. In ten or fifteen minutes, the tallow covering the seeds becomes soft, and they are then thrown into a stone mortar and gently beaten with mallets to detach it. The whole is then sifted on a hot sieve, by which the tallow is separated from the kernels, though containing the brown skin which envelops the latter, and presenting a dirty appearance. The tallow in this state is inclosed in a straw cylinder, or laid upon layers of straw held together by iron hoops, and subjected to pressure in a rude press from which it runs clear in a semifluid state, and soon hardens into cakes. The candles made from it become soft in hot weather, and are sometimes coated by dipping them in colored wax.*

* Fortune's Wanderings, p. 78

The departments of floriculture and arboriculture have received great attention from the Chinese gardeners, but their efforts are directed to producing something curious or grotesque, rather than improving the quality of their fruits, or enlarging the number of their flowers. A common mode of multiplying specimens is to slit up the stem, and insert half of it in a piece of damp earth tied around the stalk until it has rooted, and then cutting off the whole. Dwarfing trees or forcing them to grow in grotesque shapes, employs much of their time and patience. The juniper, cypress, pine, elm, bamboo, peach, plum, and flowering-almond, are selected for this purpose, the former being trained into the shape of deer and other animals, pagodas, &c., with extraordinary fidelity, the eyes, tongue, or other parts being added to complete the resemblance. The principle of the operation depends upon retarding the circulation of the sap by stinting the supply of water, confining the roots, and bending the branches into the desired form when young and pliable, afterwards retaining them in their forced position in pots, and clipping off all the vigorous shoots, until, as in the case of the cramped feet of women, nature gives up the contest, and yields to art. These, like the similar exhibitions in sculpture and painting, indicate the uncultivated taste of people, who admire the fantastic and monstrous more than the natural. Some of the clumps placed in large earthen vases, consisting of bamboos, flowers, and dwarf trees growing closely together upon a piece of rockwork, and overshadowing the water in the vase, in which gold fish swim through the crevices of the stone, are beautiful specimens of Chinese art.

The annual ceremony of ploughing is of very ancient origin. At Peking, it consists in ploughing a sacred field with a highly ornamented plough kept for the purpose, the emperor holding it while turning over three furrows, the princes five, and the high ministers nine. These furrows were, however, so short that the monarchs of the present dynasty altered the ancient rule, ploughing four furrows and returning again over the ground. The ceremony finished, the emperor and his ministers repair to the terrace, and remain till the whole field has been ploughed. The ground belongs to the temples of Heaven and Earth on the south of the city, and the crop of wheat is used in idolatrous services. The rank of the actors renders the ceremony more imposing at Peking, and the people of the capital make more of

it than they do in the provinces. A monstrous clay image of a cow is carried to the spot, containing or accompanied by hundreds of little similar images; after the field is ploughed it is broken up, and the pieces and small images are carried off by the crowd to scatter the powder on their own fields, in the hope of thereby insuring a good crop.

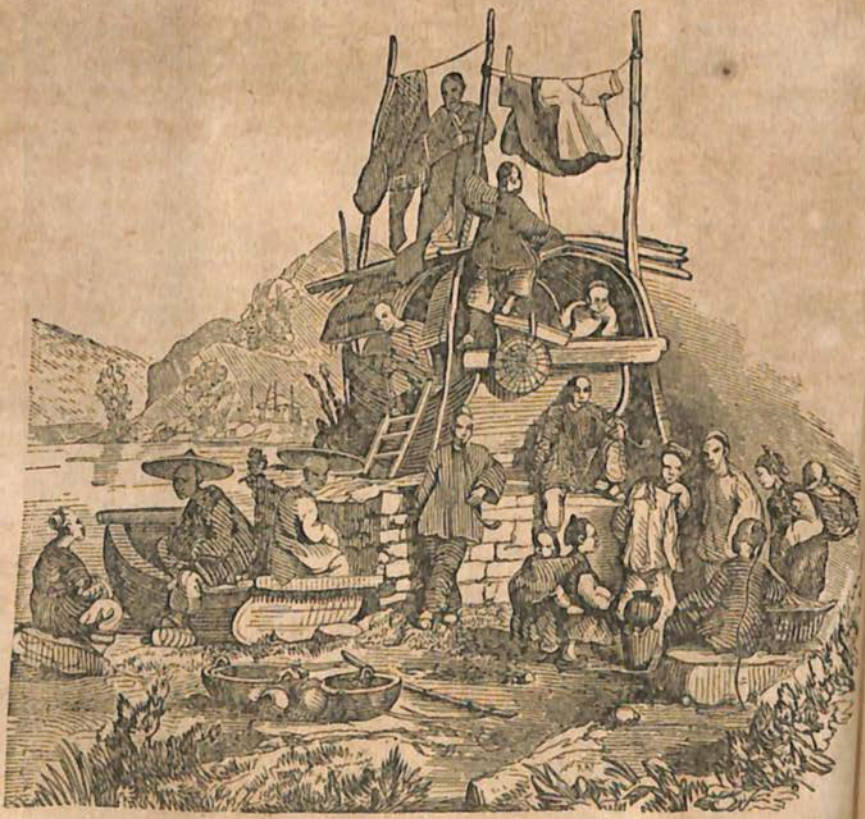
The heads of the provincial governments, the prefects and district magistrates, go through a similar ceremony on the same day. In Ningpo, an eye-witness describes the principal features of the ceremony as consisting in a solemn worship by all the local officers of a clay image of a buffalo and an idol of a cow-herd. The prefect then ploughed a small piece of ground, and he and his associates dispersed till the morrow, when they came together in another temple at dawn. Here a series of prostrations and recitals of prayers were performed by the "fathers of the people" in their presence, some of whom seemed to have no respect for the worship they were engaged in, while others evinced deep reverence. As soon as this was over, the clay ox was brought out, and a procession consisting of all the officers passed around it repeatedly, striking the body at a given signal, and concluding the ceremony by a heavy blow on the head. The crowd then rushed in and tore the effigy to pieces, each one carrying off a portion to strew on his fields.*

The various modes of catching and rearing fish exhibit the contrivance and skill of the Chinese quite as much as their agricultural operations. According to the Repository, at least one tenth of the population derive their food from the water, and necessity leads them to invent and try many ingenious ways of securing the finny tribes. Nets are woven of hempen thread, and boiled in a solution of gambier to preserve them from rotting. The smacks which swarm along the coast go out in pairs, partly that the crews may afford mutual relief and protection, but chiefly to join in dragging the net fastened to their boats. In the shallows of rivers, rows of heavy posts are driven down, and nets secured to them, which are examined and changed at every tide. Those who attend these nets, moreover, attach scoops or drag-nets to their boats, so loaded that they will sink and gather

* Penal Code, pp. 94–106, 526. Chinese Repository, Vol. II., p. 350; Vol. III., pp. 121, 231; Vol. V., p. 485. La Chine Ouverte, p. 346. Foreign Missionary Chronicle, Vol. XIII., p. 296.

the sole, ray, and other fish feeding near the bottom. Lifting-nets, 20 feet square, are suspended from poles elevated and depressed by a hawser worked by a windlass on shore; the nets are baited with the whites of eggs spread on the meshes.

The fishermen along the coast form an industrious, though rather turbulent community, by no means confining their enterprises to their professed business when piracy, dacoity, or marauding on shore hold out greater prospects of gain. When their boats become unseaworthy, they are still considered landworthy, and are occasionally transformed into houses by setting them bodily upon a stone foundation above the reach of the tide, or breaking them up to use the boards and spars in constructing rude huts.



Group and Residence of Fishermen.

Cormorants are trained in great numbers in the eastern provinces to capture fish, and are sometimes under such good order that they will disperse at a given signal, and return with their

prey without the precaution of a neck-ring. A single boatman can easily oversee twelve or fifteen of these birds, and although hundreds may be out upon the water, each one knows its own master. If one seize a fish too heavy for him alone, another comes to his assistance, and the two carry it aboard. The birds themselves are fed on bean-curd, and eels or fish. They lay eggs when three years old, which are often hatched under barn-

The Fishing Cormorant.

yard hens, and the chickens fed with eel's blood and hash. They do not fish during the summer months. The price of a pair varies from $5 to $8. Mussels are caught in small cylindrical basket-traps, attached to a single rope, and floated with the tide near the bottom. Similar traps for catching land-crabs are laid along the edges of fields, sometimes baited with a little dried fish. When the receding tide leaves the river banks dry, the boat people get overboard and wade in the mud, or push themselves along on a board with one foot, in search of such things as harbor in the slime.

In moonlight nights, low, narrow shallops, provided with a wide white board fastened to the wale and floating upon the water, are anchored in still water; the moon shining on the board, the deceived fish leap out upon it or into the boat; twenty or thirty of these decoys can be seen near Macao on moonlight evenings engaged in this fishery. Sometimes a boat, furnished with a treddle, goes up and down near the shores striking boards against its bottom and sides; the startled fish are caught in the net dragging astern. The crews of many small boats combine to drive

the fish into their nets by splashing and striking the water, or into a pool on the margin of the river at high tide, in which they are easily retained by wattles, and scooped out when the water has fallen. Divers clap sticks together under water to drive their prey into the nets set for them, or catch them with their toes, when, terrified at the noise, they hide in the mud. Neither fly-fishing nor angling with hook and line is much practised; its tedium and small returns would be poor amends to a Chinese for the elegance of the tackle, or the science displayed in adapting the fly to the fish's taste.

By these and other contrivances, the Chinese capture the finny tribes, and it is no surprise to hear that China contains as many millions of people as there are days in the year, when one sees upon what a large proportion of them feed, and how they live. Christian education, it is to be hoped, will not make them dislike or despise labor; it will teach them to make a better use of their strength by the gradual introduction and application of machinery, while a corresponding increase of comforts and privileges will attend their progress in a knowledge of the arts of agriculture and mechanics. Their expenditure of human labor appears enormous to those who are accustomed to the manufactories and engines of western lands, but perhaps nothing would cause so much distress in China as the premature and inconsiderate introduction of labor-saving machines. Population is so close upon the means of production, sometimes even overpassing them, that those who would be thrown out of employment, would, owing chiefly to their ignorance, suffer and cause incalculable distress before relief and labor could be furnished them. There are, for instance, six or seven yards near Canton where logs are sawed by hand, but all of them together hardly turn out as many feet of boards as one mill of three or four saws would do. Yet the two hundred men employed in these yards would perhaps be half-starved if turned off in their present condition; though there is every reason for believing that improvements will be introduced as soon as those who see their superiority are assured they can be made profitable.

The mechanical arts and implements of the Chinese partake of the same simplicity which has been remarked in their agricultural,—as if the faculty of invention or the notion of altering a thing, had died with the discoverer, and he had had the best

guarantee for the freehold of his contrivance in the deprivation of all desire in his successors to alter it. This servility of imitation greatly retards their advancement, and marks their rank of mind beneath the more inventive European; in the absence of superior models, it produces a degree of apathy to all improvement, which strangely contrasts with their general industry and literary tastes. Simplicity of design pervades all operations, and when a machine directs in the best known manner the power of the hand which wields it, or aids in executing tiresome operations, its purpose is considered to be fully answered, for it was intended to assist and not to supplant human labor. Yet with all their simplicity, some of them are both effectual and ingenious, and not a few are made to answer two or three ends. For instance, the bellows, an oblong box divided into two compartments, and worked by a piston and two valves in the upper, which forces the wind into the lower part, and out of the nozzle, is used by the travelling tinker as a seat when at work, and a chest for his tools when his work is done; though it does not, indeed, serve all these purposes with any remarkable efficiency.

In the arts of metallurgy, the Chinese have attained only to mediocrity, and to this deficiency may perhaps be partly ascribed their little progress in some other branches, which could not be executed without tools of peculiar size or nicety. Mines of iron, lead, copper, and zinc are worked, though the modes employed in digging the ore, preparing and smelting it, or purifying the metals from alloy, have not been fully examined; nor is it known how gold, silver, or quicksilver are separated from their ores; all of them are brought to market in a pure state. Gold is used sparingly for ornaments, but is beaten into leaves about two inches square for gilding; the thread is more commonly imported, and the ingots serve as bullion in payments to a limited degree. Mr. Gordon, in his trip to Fuhkien in 1834, found the people ignorant of its value, for he could only pass doubloons for a dollar apiece, the natives having never seen them before, nor so well acquainted with the metal as to recognise it. Their exquisite workmanship in chased and carved work in both gold and silver, such as baskets, card-cases, tea-pots, combs, &c., is almost unequalled, and admirably exhibits the nice filigree work which agrees so well with Chinese genius. The flower-baskets of fine wire, with chased flowers and figures of various sorts enamelled

on the outside, in which precious stones are set, may perhaps be regarded as the master-piece of native art in the working of metals.

Steel is formed upon the blade or tool, by heating and cooling the iron edge, though the prepared metal is also imported and worked up to some extent, and sometimes made in small pieces by the Chinese themselves. Iron is cast into thin plates and various utensils of considerable size, but even the largest of their pieces, viz. bells and cannon, the easiest of all castings, are small compared with the shafts and wheels made in Europe. Wrought iron is not used to any considerable extent, except for making nails, screws, hinges, and other small articles, though its quality is remarkably good. The *peh tung*, or white copper of the Chinese, is an alloy of copper 40.4, zinc 25.4, nickel 31.6, and iron 2.6, and occasionally a little silver; these proportions are nearly the same as German silver. "When in a state of ore, it is said to be powdered, mixed with charcoal dust, and placed in jars over a slow fire, the metal rising in the form of vapor in a distilling apparatus, and afterwards condensed in water."* When new, this alloy appears almost as lustrous as silver, and is manufactured into incense-jars and stands for temple service, boxes, and a vast variety of fancy articles, besides a few household utensils, not intended to be used near the fire. Puzzling specimens of work are made of it, as small tea-pots, lined on the outside with earthen, and ornamented with a handle and a spout of stone, and having characters on the sides. The white copper varies a good deal in its appearance and malleability, owing probably to mixtures added after distillation.

Copper is seldom used for culinary utensils, and comparatively little in the arts, though latterly the consumption has increased at Canton, for the manufacture of bronze lamps. The manufactures of gongs, cymbals, and trumpets, brass-leaf for constructing the *kin hwa* used in worship, and the copper coin of the country, consume probably four fifths of all the copper used. The gong is employed on all occasions, and its piercing clamor can be heard at all times of day and night, especially if one lives near the water; it is an alloy of tin and copper, but the proportions or the mode of making them are not accurately known.

* The Chinese, Vol. II., page 229 Penny Cyclopædia, Art. COPPER.

Bells and tripods are sometimes cast of a large size, as for instance that at Peking (mentioned in Chap. II., p. 64); but those usually seen in temples are under four feet in height, and are generally covered with prayers and inscriptions of a religious character; they have no tongue, and are struck with a mallet. The tripods for receiving the ashes of papers consumed in worship, also bear legends, and the priests of different temples take the same pride in showing their ancient bells, tripods, and other like rarities, which Romish priests do in exhibiting their relics and paintings. The Chinese say that the art of casting the largest specimens of these two articles in as fine a style of workmanship as formerly is not now possessed. The metallic mirrors, once the only reflectors the Chinese manufactured, are still used to a considerable extent; the alloy is like that of gongs with a little silver added. These mirrors have long been remarkable for a singular property which some of them possess of reflecting the raised figures on the back when held in the sun; this is caused by their outline being traced upon the polished surface in very shallow lines, and the whole plate afterwards rubbed until the lines are equally bright with the other parts, and only to be rendered visible in the strongest sunlight. Besides the metallic articles already mentioned, the ornamental and antique bronze and copper figures, noticeable for their curious forms and fine polishing and tracery, afford the best specimens of Chinese art in imitating the human figure. They are mostly statuettes, representing men, gods, birds, monsters, &c., in the most grotesque shapes and attitudes; some of them are beautifully ornamented with delicate scrolls and flowers of fine silver wire inserted into grooves cut in the metal.

The manufacture of glass is carried on chiefly at Canton, and the gradual increase in its use, for windows, tumblers, lamps, and other articles of household furniture, shows that the Chinese are quite ready to adopt such things from foreign countries as they see the advantages of. The importation of broken glass for remelting has entirely ceased, and flints are carried from England for the use of glass-blowers. The furnaces are small, and the window-glass is often veined, though clear; colored glass ornaments and chandeliers are also made. The most finished articles in the glass manufacture which the Chinese have yet produced are ground shades for Argand lamps. Looking-glasses

are gradually taking the place of metallic mirrors, but as the art of casting plate-glass is still unknown, they are poor reflectors and give a distorted image. The *liau-li* is a vitreous composition between glass and porcelain, of a clouded green color in imitation of jade or serpentine, made into anklets, armlets, &c.

The cutting and setting of hard and precious stones is carried on to some extent. Spectacles are cut and ground in lathes from crystal, smoky quartz, and a variety of rose quartz resembling the cairngorm stone, which the Chinese call *cha-tsing*, or tea-stone, from its color. Their spectacles are not always true, and the wearer is obliged to have them ground away until his eyes are suited. The pebble is cut in a lathe by a wire-saw working in its own dust, into a round shape with plane edges. When worn, the rim rests upon the cheek bones; the frame has a hinge between the glasses, and the machine is kept on the ears by loops or weights. At Canton, foreign shaped spectacles are supplanting these primitive optics, but the prejudice is still in favor of crystal over glass. The cutting of diamonds is sometimes attempted, but most artists content themselves with polishing and clumsily setting them. The corundum is employed to bore holes for mending broken glass and porcelain, into which copper clamps are pounded; tumblers, jars, &c., are joined so securely in this way without cement as to hold fluids. Both these gems are used to cut glass, but the common way is to grease the place to be fractured, and slowly follow the line along by a lighted joss-stick until it breaks.

Sir John Davis has condensed all the important information concerning the materials and manufacture of porcelain,—a name given by the Portuguese to the semi-transparent cups they saw on their arrival, from their resemblance to the lustrous nacre of sea-shells, or *porcellana*, for they supposed it to be a composition of egg-shells, fish-glue, and scales—a good instance of the off-hand descriptions travellers formerly indulged in, just as Chinese writers now describe things new to them; as, for instance, when they call caoutchouc elephant's skin. The kaolin, or *kau-ling*, i. e. High ridge, the name of a hill near Jauchau fu, is obtained from the disintegrated granite in that region, and is nearly pure felspar, or such as contains no metallic substance; by slow decomposition the alkali and part of the silex is removed, and water imbibed. An analysis of the clay used in Europe, which pro-

bably does not differ materially from that employed in China, shows the constituents to be silica 43, alumine 36, water 19, and a trace of magnesia and carbonate of lime. The petuntse, or *peh-tun-tsz'*, is nearly pure quartz, and the best is brought from Hwuichau in Nganhwui, but is procurable elsewhere; it is reduced to an impalpable powder by toilsome processes, and formed into cakes to sell to the manufacturers. Steatite or soapstone, called *hwah shih*, is also employed, and some forms of carbonate and sulphate of lime, which are mixed in to produce an inferior article, though still among the best now manufactured; the soapstone ware is more brittle than the other, but fine, white, and very light. The proportions of the ingredients vary according to the desired fineness of the ware. After the paste or biscuit is thoroughly mixed and formed into the required shape, the dishes are painted by workmen, each of whom takes a single color and a single part of the picture. The whole surface of the dish is sometimes covered with gay figures, but the most common decorations consist of heroes, statesmen, &c., in different attitudes and costumes, and sentences beautifully written referring to them and their times. Most of the inscriptions and figures seen upon mantel-piece ornaments, tea-cups, and jars, are of this nature, explaining some event in the life, or a panegyric upon the personages there represented; this affords an opportunity for persons to show their scholarship in explaining the quotation.

The colors used on the fine porcelain have long been admired, and De Guignes, who made many endeavors to procure samples of them and ascertain the mode of mixing them, has given the composition of some of the principal colors, but at present there is probably little to learn from them in this branch. After the workmen have finished the painting, the pieces are covered with a liquid mixture of alkali obtained from burning ferns with the quartzose petuntse, after which they are baked. The best articles are surrounded with a case lined with sand in order to protect them from the flame, and as the furnaces are only about six or eight feet square, the closest attention can be paid to the condition of the ware, and the exact time ascertained for reducing the heat and opening the kiln. Some of the pieces brought from the interior are perfectly white, and the patterns are afterwards painted and fixed on them according to the fancy of the customer. The finest specimens from the kilns of Kingtch chin in

Kiangsí, where the best ware has always been produced, are seldom brought to Canton, most of the ware exported being made in Fuhkien or Kwangtung.

Besides table furniture, the Chinese manufacture jars of various sizes, of beautiful colors and proportions, some of them four feet high, entirely covered with figures. Porcelain statuettes and idols are common, and some of the pieces bear extravagant prices from their fineness, coloring, antiquity, shape, or some other quality, which connoisseurs can only appreciate. The god of porcelain himself is usually made of this material. D'Entrecolles, in his account of the manufacture of the ware, says he owes his divinity to his self-immolation in one of the furnaces in utter despair at being able to accomplish the emperor's orders for the production of some vases of peculiar fineness; the pieces which came out of the furnace after the wretch was burned, pleased his majesty so much that he deified him. Cheap stoneware is made at Shauking fu, and many other places. It usually presents but one pattern and one color, and both pattern and color have been imitated in the west so extensively and closely, that blue is now almost regarded as the only legitimate color for dishes, and the picture of an arbor, bridge, two boats and two swallows, with three people, the most appropriate design for that color.

The exportation of porcelain is a very ancient branch of commerce, and, as the material is imperishable, it is not strange that specimens should occasionally be met with, even at a great distance from China. The discovery of Chinese snuff bottles in Egyptian tombs, containing quotations from a Chinese poet of the 12th century, shows that intercourse existed between the extremes of Asia in the tenth or eleventh centuries, before China was made known to Europeans. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt of the existence of a constant interchange of commodities long prior to this period, though all explicit record of the course and objects of the traffic has been lost. Davis notices two bottles which had been purchased in Egypt by travellers, and in his Sketches of China, refers to the subject again,* adding an extract from a letter written by Rosellini, in which that Egyptologist states that he found one of these little bottles in a "petit panier

* The Chinese, Vol. II., p. 242; Sketches of China, Vol. II., page 72; Medhurst's China, its State and Prospects, page 135.

tissu de feuilles de palmier," with other objects of Egyptian manufacture, in a tomb, whose date he places between B. C. 1800 and 1100. His words are, "Ayant penétré dans un de ces trois tombeaux j'y ai trouvé," &c., which is as explicit as possible. He also adds, that many fragments of similar bottles had been offered to him by the peasants, which he had looked upon as quite modern till this discovery showed that they were real antiques.

When the writer was in Cairo in 1845, he saw six or eight of these bottles in Dr. Abbott's collection, bearing different drawings and inscriptions, but none of them had been taken from tombs by persons capable of examining their position, nor had the Doctor ever heard of an instance of one being found *in situ* besides this of Rosellini's, though there is no reason for doubting that they came from the tombs. The descriptions on the bottles given by Davis are all lines of poetry, and one of them, *Hăng hwa hung shih lĭ*, "The almond blushes for ten miles round,"—he traces to a Chinese song prior to the Christian era. Another line, *Ming yueh sung chung chau*, "The bright moon shines amidst the firs," is part of a well-known couplet of Su Tungpo, which he altered from a distich already fifty years old. The authors of two other lines, "The flower opens, and lo! another year;" and "Only in the midst of this mountain;" are not known, so that no certain deductions can be drawn from them, in illustration of this interesting discovery. Another argument against their high antiquity, is, that the running-hand in which the characters are written was not invented much before A. D. 1000; and, according to the Chinese themselves, fine porcelain was not made before the 7th century, but the coarse quality of those found in Egypt favors the idea of their early date.

These facts lead to the inference that the tomb entered by Rosellini had been opened before his discovery, and the palm-leaf basket deposited there, perhaps during the Roman emperors, or in the times of the caliphs. The perfect similarity between the bottles found in Egypt and those now made by the Chinese, shows how unchangeable is their taste, though there is no prospect of solving the question of their date or introduction into Egypt until some hierologist himself finds one or two in a tomb whose date and other particulars can be settled. The more antiquarian researches extend in Asia, however, the more shall

we find that the books and inscriptions now extant do not contain the earliest dates of inventions and travels.

The cheap pottery of the Chinese resembles the common Egyptian ware in color and brittleness, but it is less porous when unglazed. Tea-kettles, pans, cups, tea-pots, and the usual articles of household need; immense jars, comparable to hogsheads, for holding water; fancy images, flower-pots, and a thousand other articles, are everywhere burned from clay, and sold at a very cheap rate. The use of the jars is universal in shops for containing liquids, powders, &c.; in gardens for keeping fish, collecting rain, and receiving manure and offal; and in boats and houses for the same uses barrels, pails, and pans, are put to elsewhere. Water will boil sooner, and a dish of vegetables be cooked more expeditiously, in one of these earthen pots than in metal; the caloric seems to permeate the clay almost as soon as it is over the fire. Fine tiles, glazed blue and green for roofs of temples, and yellow for palaces, are made of stoneware, but the common roofing and flooring tiles are burned from brick clay. Drum-shaped stools and garden seats, vitruvian ornaments for balustrades, fanciful flower-pots in the shape of buffaloes, representing the animal feeding under the shade of a tree growing out of its body, fishes, dragons, phœnixes, and other objects for decorating the ridges and eaves of roofs, are manufactured of this ware. Flat figures of the human form are set into frames to represent groups of persons, and elegantly shaped characters are arranged into sentences, to be suspended from the walls of apartments, making altogether a great variety of purposes to which this material is applied.

The beautiful lacquered-ware owes its lustrous coloring to a composition of lampblack and the clarified juice obtained from a species of sumach, called *Rhus vernix* or *Vernicia*. Wood oils are obtained from other plants of the same family, and the different qualities of lacquered-ware are owing to the use of these inferior ingredients. The real varnish tree is described by De Guignes as resembling the ash in its foliage and bark; it is about fifteen feet in height, and furnishes the sap when seven years old, which is carefully collected from incisions in the trunk opened in the summer nights. The body of the ware is wood partially smoothed, or pasteboard, upon which two or three coats of a composition of lime, paper, and gum are first laid and thoroughly

dried and rubbed. The surface of the wood is also hardened by rubbing coarse clay upon it, and afterwards scraping it off when dry. Two coatings of lampblack and wood oil, or in the finer articles, of lampblack and varnish, are laid upon the prepared wood, and after drying, the clear varnish is brushed on, one coating after another, with the utmost care, in close and darkened rooms, allowing it to dry well between the several coats. The articles are then laid by to be painted and gilded according to the fancy of customers, after which a last coating is given them. The varnish is brought to market in brownish cakes, and reduced to its proper fluidity by boiling; it is applied to many purposes of both a varnish and paint, when it is commonly mixed with a red or brown color. A beautiful fabric of lacquered-ware is made by inlaying the nacre of fresh and saltwater shells in a rough mosaic of flowers, animals, &c., into the composition, and then varnishing it. Another kind, highly prized by the Chinese, is made by covering the wood with a coating of red varnish three or four lines in thickness, and then carving figures upon it in relief. The great labor necessary to produce this ware renders it expensive.

A common substitute for the true varnish is the oil of the Dryandra, Jatropha, Croton, and other members of the Euphorbiaceous family, expressed from their seeds by a variety of simple machines, consisting for the most part of different applications of power to cylinders and pestles by which the seeds are pressed or pounded. The oil, after pressing, according to De Guignes, is boiled with Spanish white in the proportion of one ounce to half a pound of oil; as it begins to thicken, it is taken off and poured into close vessels. It dissolves in turpentine, and is used as a varnish, either clear or mixed with different colors; it defends woodwork from injury for a long time, and forms a good painter's oil. Boiled with iron rust, it forms a reddish brown varnish. In order to prevent its penetrating into the wood when used clear, and to increase the lustre, a priming of lime and hog's blood simmered together into a paste is previously laid on.

The manufacture of silk is original among the Chinese as well as those of porcelain and lacquered-ware, and in neither of them have foreigners yet succeeded in fully equalling the native products. The notices of the cultivation of the mulberry and the rearing of silkworms found in Chinese works have been industri-

ously collected and published by M. Julien by order of the French government. From his work it appears that credible notices of the culture of the tree and manufacture of silk are found as far back as B. C. 780; and in referring its invention to the empress Síling, or Yuenfí, wife of the emperor Hwangtí, B. C. 2602, the Chinese have shown their belief of its still higher antiquity. The Shí King contains this distich:

The legitimate wife of Hwangtí, named Síling shí, began to rear silkworms:
At this period Hwangtí invented the art of making clothing.

The Book of Rites contains a notice of the festival held in honor of this art, which corresponds to that of ploughing by the emperor. "In the last month of spring, the young empress purified herself and offered a sacrifice to the goddess of silkworms. She went into the eastern fields and collected mulberry leaves. She forbade noble dames and the ladies of statesmen adorning themselves, and excused her attendants from their sewing and embroidery, in order that they might give all their care to the rearing of silkworms." The Chinese, as De Guignes observes, agree with other ancient nations in attributing the invention of spinning to females, and worshipping them as goddesses; thus the Egyptian Isis, Lydian Arachne, and Grecian Minerva, like the Chinese Yuenfí, handled the distaff. The attention of the government to this important branch of industry has been unremitted, and at this day it supplies perhaps half of all the garments worn by the people. In the paraphrase to the fourth maxim of the Shing Yu, it is remarked, "In ancient times emperors ploughed the lands, and empresses cultivated the mulberry. Though the most honorable, they did not disdain to toil and labor, as examples to the whole empire, in order to induce all the people to seek these essential supports." One half of the Illustrations of Agriculture and Weaving is devoted to delineating the various processes attending the manufacture of silk; and Julien quotes more than twenty works and authors on this subject. The best silk is found in the provinces of Sz'chuen, Hupeh, Chehkiang, and Kiangnan, but every province south of 35° N. produces it of different degrees of fineness. Probably the kind called *tsatle*, brought from Hupeh, is the finest silk found in the world.

While the worms are growing, care is taken to keep them undisturbed, and they are often changed from one hurdle to another that they may have roomy and cleanly places; the utmost attention is paid to the condition and feeding of the worms and noting the right time for preparing them for spinning cocoons. Three days are required for them to spin, and in six it is time to stifle the larvæ and reel the silk from the cocoons; but this being usually done by other workmen, those who rear the worms inclose the cocoons in a jar buried in the ground and lined with mats and leaves, interlaying them with salt, which kills the pupæ and keeps the silk supple, strong, and lustrous; preserved in this manner, they can be transported to any distance, or the reeling of the silk can be delayed till convenient. Another mode of destroying the cocoons, is to spread them on trays, and expose them by twos to the steam of boiling water, putting the upper in the place of the lower one according to the degree of heat they are in, taking care that the chrysalides are killed, and the silk not injured. After exposure to steam, the silk can be reeled off immediately, but if placed in the jars, they must be put into warm water to dissolve the glue, before it can be unwound.

The raw silk is an article of sale; the sorts usually known in the Canton market are tsatlo, taysaam, and Canton raw silk. The loom is worked by two hands, one of whom sits on the top of the frame, where he pulls the treddles, and assists in changing the various parts of the machine. The workmen imitate almost any pattern, excelling particularly in crapes, and flowered satins and damasks, for official dresses. The common people wear pongee and senshaw, which they frequently dye in gambier to a dust or black color; these fabrics constitute most durable summer garments, and the pongee becomes softer by repeated washing. Many of the delicate silk tissues known in Europe are not manufactured by the Chinese, most of their fabrics being heavy. The *lo* or law is a beautiful article, used for summer robes, musqueto curtains, festoons, and other purposes, but is seldom sent abroad. The English words *satin*, *senshaw*, and *silk*, are probably derived from the Chinese terms *sz'tún*, *sínsha*, and *sz'*, intermediately through other languages.

The skill of the Chinese in embroidery is well known, and the demand for such work to adorn the dresses of officers and ladies of every rank, for embellishing purses, shoes, caps, fans, and other

appendages of the dress of both sexes, and in working shawls, table covers, &c., for exportation, furnishes employment to myriads of men and women. The frame is placed on pivots, and the pattern is marked out upon the plain surface. All the work is done by the needle without any aid from machinery; there are many styles of work, with thread, braid, or floss, and in one of the most elegant, the design appears the same on both sides, the ends of the threads being neatly concealed. This mode of embroidery seems also to have been known among the Hebrews, from the expression in Deborah's song (Judges v. 30), "Of divers colors of needlework on both sides," which Sisera's mother vainly looked for him to bring home as spoil. Books are prepared for the use of embroiderers, containing patterns for them to imitate. The silk used in this art is of the finest kind and colors; gold and silver thread is occasionally added to impart a lustre to the figures on caps, purses, and ladies' shoes. A branch of the embroiderer's art consists in the formation of tassels and twisted cords for sedans, lanterns, &c.; and in the knobs or corded buttons worn on the winter caps, made of cord intertwisted into the shape of a ball. Spangles are made from brass leaves by cutting out a small ring, by means of a double edged stamp, which at one drive detaches from the sheet a wheel-shaped circle; these are flattened by a single stroke of the hammer upon an anvil, leaving a minute hole in the centre. Another way of making them is to bend a copper wire into a circle and flatten it. The needles are very slender, but of good metal; in sewing, the tailor holds it between the forefinger and thumb, pressing against the thimble on the thumb, to push it into the cloth.

The durable cotton cloth made in the central provinces, called Nankeen by foreigners, is the chief produce of Chinese looms in this material, the aerial muslins so highly admired by the Hindus not being woven. The nankeen is generally exported without dyeing, but the people usually color it blue before making it into garments. The import of raw and manufactured cotton constitutes a large item in the foreign trade, but forms a small part of the native consumption. In preparing the cotton for spinning, it is cleaned and freed from knots by placing the string of a bow under the heap, and striking it with a beater; the recoil separates it into flocks without injuring the staple. The looms used in weaving cotton vary from twelve to sixteen inches in width; they

are much simpler in their construction than the silk looms, as no figures are woven in cotton fabrics, nor have the Chinese learned to print them as chintz or calico. Foreign linen is sparingly used, for the Chinese have a good substitute in their beautiful grasscloth. It is made from the fibres of two or three plants, by a comparatively toilsome process, the thread being made ready for the loom by hand on a board.

Leather is sparingly used for protecting the felt soles of shoes and making saddles, bridles, quivers, harness, &c., but the entire consumption is small, and the leather porous and tender. Furs and skins of every kind are dressed very soft for garments. Buffalo and horse-hides are tanned for sole leather, and calf-skin for upper leather. Foreigners at Canton consume and export a large amount of cheap shoes. Alum, saltpetre, gambier, and urine, are the tanning materials employed, and the rapid manner in which the process is completed renders the leather too porous to protect the feet in wet weather. Morocco, buckskin, and chamois leather, are unknown, and the thousand applications of leather among ourselves, have yet to be introduced among the Chinese.

The Cobbler and his Movable Workshop.

Cobblers go about the streets plying their trade, provided with a few bits of nankeen, silk, and yellowish sole leather, with which they patch their customers' shoes. It is no small convenience to a man, as he passes along the street, to give his old shoe to a

cobbler, and his ragged jacket to a sempstress, while he calls the barber to shave him as he waits for them; and such a trio at work for a man is not an uncommon sight.

The only woollen fabrics produced by the Chinese are felt for the soles of shoes and winter hats, and a sort of rug or carpet. It is not woven in looms from the yarn, but is made in small pieces by a fulling process which mats the fibres together. The consumption of it by shoemakers is very great, and nearly as large for winter hats among the common people. The rugs are woven with colored threads in rude imitation of figures, and are extensively used in the northern provinces; the pieces are a few feet square, and sown together for carpets or bedding. Hair and wool are both employed in their construction. The art of knitting is unknown, and of course all the fancy designs and worsted work which are made by ladies at the west.

Among the branches of Chinese industry, the growth and preparation of tea has been most celebrated abroad, and the gradual introduction and use of this beverage among the nations of the west, and the important consequences of bringing the two into more intimate intercourse, and opening to the Chinese the blessings of Christian civilization, resulting from the trade, is one of the most interesting results that have ever flowed from commerce. The demand for it gradually encouraged the Chinese to a greater production, and then succeeded the consumption of one and another foreign article taken in exchange for it, while the governments of the west derive too much advantage from the duties on it lightly to permit the Chinese to interfere with or hamper the trade, much less stop it. Thus one influence and another, some beneficial and others adverse, have been brought into action, until the encouraging prospect is now held out that this hitherto secluded portion of mankind is to be introduced into the family of nations, and partake of their privileges; and these consequences have gradually come about from the predilection for a pleasant beverage. Tea, gunpowder, printing, and the compass, are four things which have worked marvellous changes in the social condition, intercourse, disputes, and mental improvement of mankind; and probably all of them are traceable to China and Chinese ingenuity: if Christianity, and its outflow of good government, intelligence, and improvement in the arts of life, can now be exchanged for them, both parties will be great gainers. No

commerce is so profitable as that in mental and moral acquisitions, and upon none has there been so prohibitive a tariff.

The notices of the growth, production, and kinds of tea, here given, are principally taken from an article in the eighth volume of the Repository, the writer of which obtained them chiefly from a manuscript account written by one of the teamen, who bring it to Canton. The English word *tea* is derived from the sound given to it by the Fuhkien people, from whom at Amoy or Java the first cargoes were obtained. When first written *tea*, it no doubt was intended to be pronounced *tay*, as the French *thé* is, and therefore, whether intentionally or not, the common Irish pronunciation is in this case the right one. All other nations call it *cha*, or that word slightly modified, from the name usually given it by the Chinese. The plant grows in almost every part of the provinces, in Corea, Japan, Annam, and the adjacent regions, and its infusion forms a common beverage for nearly two thirds of the human race. Its progress has been gradual in all those countries, and in Europe it has been well compared to that of truth: "suspected at first, though very palatable to those who had the courage to taste it; resisted as it encroached; abused as its popularity seemed to spread; and establishing its triumph at last, in cheering the whole land from the palace to the cottage, only by the slow and resistless effects of time and its own virtues." Wherever, indeed, it has been denounced, the opposition may usually be traced to the use of a simulated preparation.

The knowledge of the tea plant among the Chinese cannot be traced back further than A. D. 350, but its general introduction does not date prior to about A. D. 800, at which time it was called *tu*; the character soon after underwent a slight change, and received its present name of *cha*. Its botanical affinities ally it to the Camellia, and both have the same name among the Chinese; botanists call it Thea, and it is still a matter of dispute whether the different sorts are distinct species or mere varieties. They were perhaps originally the same, and long cultivation in different soils, temperature, and situations, has wrought changes similar to those seen in the apple or cherry; Mr. Fortune found them growing together, and Loureiro, a medical missionary in China, regards all the varieties as ascribable to these causes; though De Candolle divides them into three species, *bohea*, *viridis*, and *cochinsinensis*. The plant is from three to six feet high, and

usually presents a dense mass of foliage on an infinite number of small twigs, a result of the practice of cutting it down. In Assam, where it has been found wild, it reaches the height of thirty feet. The leaf is a dark green color, of an oblong oval shape, and the flowers are white, inodorous, and single; the seeds are like hazel-nuts in size and color, three of them being inclosed in a hard husk, and so oily as to corrupt soon after ripening; this oil is rather acrid and bitter, but is useful for various purposes. The soil most favorable for the growth of tea is a rich sandy earth, with a large proportion of vegetable mould in it, and situations on the sides of hills, where there is a good exposure and supply of water, produce the best flavored leaves. The patches above the rice grounds are favorite situations, but the plant is seldom cultivated on the plains or lowlands. A loamy subsoil, with a sandy loose covering, produces a good crop of leaves, and in the plantations visited in the Ankoi hills in Fuhkien, much of it is colored with iron. The greater part of the tea exported is grown in the provinces of Fuhkien, Chehkiang, and Kiangsu, but all the eighteen produce it, except in the northern regions lying along the base of the table-land in Chihlí and Shansí, though the eastern parts, between the parallels of 25° and 35° north, afford it in the greatest perfection and abundance. With the increased demand its cultivation has extended, and perhaps that of cotton has diminished in a corresponding degree; the southern hills of Fuhkien, the western parts of Kwangtung, and districts in Kwangsí, also afford it for foreign markets. Russia is supplied from Sz'chuen and the adjoining region, while Birmah gets a part from Yunnan.

Tea is usually raised by individuals, who cultivate a few dozen or scores of shrubs upon their own lands, and either cure the leaves themselves, or sell them to their neighbors after assorting them according to their quality. There are very few large plantations under the care of rich landlords, but each little farmer raises tea as he does cotton, silk, or rice upon his own premises. The seeds are thickly planted in nursery beds, because many of them fail from their oily nature, and when the nurslings are a foot or more high they are transplanted into rows about four feet apart; sometimes they are put in the spot designed for them, and if more than one seed in a hole succeeds, it is removed. No preparation of the ground is necessary, nor is much care taken to keep the shrubs in a healthy state; those near Canton are

usually covered with lichens, and when thus neglected worms attack the wood. The leaves are picked from the plant when three years old, but it does not attain full size before six or seven, and thrives according to circumstances and care from fifteen to twenty years, being in fact gradually killed by constantly depriving it of its foliage. Pruning the twigs to increase the quantity of leaves develops the branches laterally, so that large, healthy shrubs resemble a collection of plants rather than a single bush. The interspaces are frequently sown with vegetables, and the practice is to spread them as much as possible in order to prevent their being shaded. In the Bohea hills, where the best tea is produced, there is, according to the Chinese, considerable difference in the quality of the leaves from gardens not very far apart, and connoisseurs are as particular to inquire the name of the place whence their tea comes as western wine drinkers are to learn the names of the vineyards producing the best brands. The produce of old and celebrated nurseries is carefully collected and cured by itself, and one native authority states that the prices of these particular lots vary from $15 to $100 per pound.

The annual produce of a single plant of large size is said to be from 16 or 18 to 24 ounces; but an English visitor to the Ankoi hills ascertained that the common average yield was not far from six ounces, and that a thousand square yards contained between 300 and 400 plants. Three crops of leaves are gathered during the season. The first picking is about the middle of April, or whenever the tender leaf buds begin to open, and while the leaves are still covered with a whitish down; these, though not very numerous, produce the finest tea, and the notion that some of the delicate sorts of tea are made from the flowers has originated from the whitish appearance this down imparts to them; for no tea can be made from the thin, scentless petals of the tea blossom. The second gathering is about the first of May, when the shrubs are covered with full-sized leaves. Chinese writers say that the weather has great influence upon the condition of the leaves, and that an excess or want of rain mildews or withers them, so as materially to affect the quality and quantity of the crop. When the proper time has arrived, a large number of hands should be employed to gather the leaves rapidly, and at this period the whole population, men, women, and children, find employment.

The leaves are collected by handfuls, stripping them off the branches as rapidly as possible, and throwing them into open baskets slung around the neck, in which they are taken to the curing houses. Each person can on an average pick 13 *lbs.* of leaves in a day, for which the wages are about six cents. The third crop is collected about the middle of July, and there is also a fourth gleaning in August, called *tsiu lu*, i. e. autumn dew, from the name of the season in which it takes place; the three previous ones are called first, second, and third springs. The two last crops afford only inferior kinds, seldom exported.

The quality of the different kinds of tea depends almost as much upon the mode of curing as upon the nature of the soil or the age of the leaf; some sorts are quite changed in their particular flavor by the curing and mixing processes they undergo. The operations of rolling are very simple. After the leaves are gathered and housed, they are carefully assorted, and the yellow and old ones picked out. The remainder are thinly spread upon bamboo trays and placed in the wind upon frames, where they remain until the leaves begin to soften; then, while lying upon the tray, they are gently rolled and rubbed until red spots begin to appear, when they are tested by pouring hot water upon them to see if the edge of the leaf turns yellowish. They must be rolled many times, and from the labor attending this process the tea is called *kungfu cha* or worked tea, whence the name *congo*. When the leaves have been rolled, they are ready for firing. The iron pan having been previously heated, the workman takes a handful of leaves and sprinkles them upon it, and waits until each leaf pops, when he brushes them off before they are charred. Such is the Chinese account of the mode practised in the Bohea hills. The pans are the iron boilers used in cooking, set in mason-work in an inclined position and at a convenient height; three or four are put into the same form, and heated by means of a flue passing lengthwise under the whole. The testing and rolling prior to firing is omitted in the common sorts, and the fresh leaves are thrown upon the hot pans, and there turned over and kept in motion by a workman before each pan, while another carefully attends to the fire. The heat soon forces the oil out of the leaves, and they crack and soften, and after four or five minutes are taken out into trays for rolling. This operation is performed upon tables made of split bamboos laid alongside each

other with their round sides up. The workmen take a handful of the hot leaves in their hands, and roll and knead them upon the table, in order to drive out the oily green juice, which runs through upon the floor.

After the leaves are thus rolled, they are shaken out loosely upon basket trays, and exposed to the air to complete the drying, the object being to dry them in the gentlest manner that they may not lose their brittleness, nor become crisp in the sun. When dried, the leaves are again thrown in larger quantities into the pans, now heated to a less degree than before, and there stirred and thrown about and upon the masonry behind, in order that all may be equably dried and none be scorched. If they were previously well rolled, this operation causes them to shrivel and twist more closely, and as they grow hotter they are stirred by a brush, and thrown up until they are completely dried, which usually requires an hour. Sometimes the leaves are placed in trays over a charcoal fire covered with ashes, after exposure to the air, and there dried for two or three hours, which renders them of a darker color than when rapidly fired in the pans.

The process here described is occasionally varied. After the leaves have been put into the firing pan to be subjected to the heat, rolled upon the table or tray, and exposed to the sun, instead of being returned to the pans, they are scattered upon a fine sieve placed over the same fire, the iron pan having been taken out. This fire is of charcoal and covered with ashes to prevent smoking the leaves, and while over it they are slowly turned over until thoroughly dried. They are then removed to a coarser sieve, and the fine and coarse leaves in this way partially separated before packing. This mode of drying gives the leaves a greenish hue, varying in degree according to the length of time they are exposed to the sun and fire. The common sorts of black tea are left in the sun and air after the first process of firing and rolling a much longer time, even for two days, until a partial decomposition of the leaves has begun from the effects of the heating and squeezing they have undergone; they are, moreover, again thrown into the pans, and rolled and stirred about for a longer time when intended for exportation than when put up for domestic use, almost a partial charring being requisite in the former case to prevent them turning mouldy during their long voyage.

In curing the finest kinds, not more than a handful of leaves is sprinkled on the pans, and only a pound or so dried in the baskets at once. The firing of the common sorts is done in a more expeditious way, and the leaves much more broken by the operation. During the first firing, an acrid, greenish juice exudes, and is partially evaporated, but as it is pressed out upon the table affects and irritates the hands of the workmen; and when they are again put over the fire, the hot dust rising in a cloud from the boilers or baskets fills the air; to avoid this the workmen sometimes cover their mouths.

Mode of firing tea.

As soon as the curing is finished, the finer sorts are inclosed in canisters or small paper packages, and packed in boxes lined

with lead, but the common kinds are merely packed in tubs and boxes and marked for shipment. There are, however, particular operations performed on different sorts of tea, though these are the usual modes of curing black tea; the leaves of Hungmuey are placed under cover till they almost begin to ferment, and then are exposed to the sun before the first roasting. The delicate flavor of Pecco and other fine kinds made from the unexpanded leaves, would be spoiled on the hot pans where Souchong and Congo are cured; they are dried in baskets after a careful rolling. The round pellets of gunpowder tea are rolled singly, when damp, into a compact ball. When over the fire for the ultimate drying, fresh flowers of the Chloranthus, Olea, Aglaia, and other plants, are placed between the heated tea leaves, by putting one basket of tea over the flowers as they lie on the top of an under basket, and then stirring them a little, without mixing the two. It is not unlikely, however, that the flowers are occasionally mixed with the tea to increase its weight, but such is not the intention in scenting it; the scented tea must be immediately packed to preserve the flavor thus given it. Only the finer kinds of green and black tea are thus treated, but Chinese amateurs are somewhat fastidious as to the kind of flowers used, and the degree of scent imparted to their favorite beverage.

The questions have been often discussed whether black or green teas are made from the same plant, and whether they can be made from each other. Mr. Fortune found that the *Thea viridis* or green tea was cultivated in Fuhkien and Kiangsu, and *Thea bohea* at Canton, and that green and black teas were made indiscriminately from either. The Chinese account referred to on a previous page, ascribes the difference in the color of black and green tea wholly to the mode of preparation; green tea is cured more rapidly over the fire than the black, and not dried in baskets afterwards; but throwing the leaf into red hot pans, and subsequently exposing it to the sun and drying it over a covered fire makes it black. Green tea can therefore be changed into black, but the contrary cannot be done, because the leaf is already black. Green tea is made by simply drying the leaves, "young ones over a gentle heat and old ones over a hot fire, for about half an hour, or while two incense-sticks can burn out." By this mode more of the essential oil remains in the leaf, and is one reason, perhaps, why a greater proportion of green tea spoils or

becomes musty during the long land journey to Canton. It is not surprising, indeed, that the manipulations in curing a leaf raised over so large an extent of country, and to such an enormous amount, should slightly differ, but there is no mystery about the processes. The tea cured for home consumption is not as carefully or thoroughly fired as that intended for exportation, and consequently probably retains more of its peculiar properties.

Both kinds are repeatedly tested during the various stages of manufacture by pouring boiling water on a few leaves, to observe the color, aroma, taste, strength, and other properties of the infusion. As many as fifteen drawings can be made from the best leaves before the infusion runs off limpid. In the usual manner of Chinese writings, ten things are specifically mentioned by the native author to be observed in selecting green tea; such as, that the leaf must be green, firmly rolled, and fleshy; there must be no petioles adhering, no dirty or broken leaves or twigs; and the infusion should be greenish, aromatous, and oily. In selecting all kinds of tea, the color, clearness, taste, and strength of the infusion are the principal criteria; the weight of the parcels, taste and color of the dry leaf, and its smell when strongly breathed upon, are also noticed. Some Ankoi teas are tried by a lodestone to detect the presence of minute particles of iron. It has been the prevailing opinion that the effects usually experienced upon the nerves after drinking green tea, and its peculiar taste, are owing to its being cured upon copper. A moment's thought would show the impossibility of copper contracting any verdigris when constantly heated over the fire, even if it were employed, which is never done. The difference in taste is perhaps partly owing to the greater proportion of oil remaining in the green tea, but far more to an artificial coloring given to it in order to make the lots present a uniform and merchantable color; for the operations of firing and rolling just described give a different shade to the leaves as they come more or less in contact with the iron, or are exposed to the sun, and the manufacturer wishes to render these tints uniform before selling his goods. The finest kinds of green tea do not probably undergo this operation, nor that used by the people themselves in those districts, but the color of the cheaper sorts is artificial. The leaves when in the pans the second time, are sprinkled with turmeric powder to give them a yellow tint, and then with a mix-

ture of gypsum and prussian blue, or gypsum and indigo finely combined, which imparts the desired bloom to the yellowish leaves as they are rolled over in the heated pans. If our taste inclined us to prefer a yellow or blue tea instead of a light green, it could therefore be easily gratified. It is likely that most of the green tea exported undergoes some process of this sort to color it uniformly, but the principal safeguard, as Davis remarks, against injury from the coloring matter, is in the minute proportion in which the deleterious substances are combined. At Canton, on occasion of an unexpected demand some years since for some particular descriptions of green tea, it was ascertained that even black tea was thus colored to simulate the required article, but such stuff forms a very small part of the exportation.

During the transportation to Canton, the tea sometimes gathers dampness, or meets with accidents which require it to be refired before shipping; in such cases it is unpacked, and subjected to a second drying in the pans. It is also repacked into chests of such sizes and descriptions as the foreign customer wishes; but much of the tea is sent abroad in the original cases, and its quality examined for the first time since it left the interior of China perhaps in Ohio or New South Wales. The manufacture of the chests, lining them with lead, and transporting them to the ship, gives occupation at Canton alone to many thousands of carpenters, painters, plumbers, printers, boatmen, and porters, besides the countless numbers of men, women, and children, who elsewhere find employment in picking, rolling, sorting, and curing the leaves.

The native names given to the various sorts of tea are derived for the most part from their appearance or place of growth; the names of many of the best kinds are not commonly known abroad. *Bohea* is the name of the Wu-i hills (or Bu-i as the people on the spot call them), where the tea is grown, and not a term for a particular sort among the Chinese, though it is applied to a very poor kind of black tea at Canton; *Sunglo* is likewise a general term for the green teas produced on the hills in Kiangsu. The names of the principal varieties of black tea are as follows: *Pecco*, "white hairs," so called from the whitish down on the young leaves, is one of the choicest kinds and has a peculiar taste; *Orange Pecco*, called *shang hiang* or "most fragrant," differs from it slightly; *Hungmuey*, "red plum blossoms," has a

slightly reddish tinge; the terms *prince's eyebrows, carnation hair, lotus kernel, sparrow's tongue, fir-leaf pattern, dragon's pellet,* and *dragon's whiskers,* are all translations of the native names of different kinds of Souchong or Pecco. *Souchong,* or *siau chung,* means *little plant* or sort, as *Pouchong,* or *folded sort,* refers to the mode of packing it; *Campoi* is corrupted from *kan pei,* i. e. carefully fired; *Chulan* is the tea scented with the chulan flower, and applied to some kinds of scented green tea. The names of green teas are less numerous: *Gunpowder,* or *ma chu,* i. e. hemp pearl, derives its name from the form into which the leaves are rolled; *ta chu,* or "great pearl," and *chu lan,* or "pearl flower," denote two kinds of *Imperial; Hyson,* or *yu tsien,* i. e. before the rains, originally denoted the tenderest leaves of the plant, and is now applied to *Young Hyson;* as is also another name, *mei pien,* or "plum petals;" while *hi chun,* "flourishing spring," describes *Hyson; Twankay* is the name of a stream in Chehkiang, where this sort is produced; and *Hyson skin,* or *pi cha,* i. e. skin tea, is the poorest kind, the siftings of the other varieties; *Oolung,* "black dragon," is a kind of black tea with green flavor. Ankoi teas are produced in the district of Ngankí, not far from Tsiuen-chau fu, possessing a peculiar taste, supposed to be owing to the ferruginous nature of the soil. De Guignes speaks of the Pu-'rh tea, from the place in Kiangsu where it grows, and says it is cured from wild plants found there; the infusion is unpleasant, and used for medical purposes. The Mongols and others in the west of China prepare tea by pressing it when fresh into cakes like bricks, and thoroughly drying it in that shape to carry in their wanderings.

Considering the enormous labor of preparing tea, it is surprising that even the poorest kind can be afforded to the foreign purchaser at Canton, more than a thousand miles from the place of its growth, for eighteen cents and less a pound; and in their ability to furnish it at this rate, the Chinese have a security of retaining the trade in their hands, notwithstanding the efforts to grow the plant elsewhere. Comparatively little adulteration is practised, if the amount used at home and abroad be considered, though the temptation is great, as the infusion of other plants is drunk instead of the true tea. The poorer natives substitute the leaves of a species of Rhamnus or Fallopia, which they dry; Camellia leaves are perhaps mixed with it, but probably to no

great extent. The refuse of packing-houses is sold to the poor at a low rate, under the names of tea endings and tea bones; and if a few of the rarest sorts do not go abroad, neither do the poorest. It is a necessary of life to all classes of Chinese, and that its use is not injurious is abundantly evident from its general acceptance and extending adoption; and the prejudice against it among some out of China may be attributed chiefly to the use of strong green tea, which is no doubt prejudicial. If those who have given it up on this account will adopt a weaker infusion of black tea, general experience is proof that it will do them no great harm, and they may be sure that they will not be so likely to be deceived by a colored article. Neither the Chinese nor Japanese use milk or sugar in their tea, and the peculiar taste and aroma of the infusion is much better perceived without those additions, nor can it be drunk so strong without tasting an unpleasant bitterness, which the milk partly hides. The Japanese sometimes reduce the leaves to a powder, and pour boiling water through them in a cullender, in the same way that coffee is often made.

Among other vegetable productions of the country, whose preparation for the arts affords employment, are cassia and camphor. The cassia tree (*Laurus cassia*) grows chiefly in Kwangsi and Kweichau, and its dried bark affords the principal part of that spice used at the west. The bark is stripped from the twigs by running a knife along the branch and gradually loosening it; after it is taken off, it lies awhile until decay commences, when the epidermis is easily scraped off, and it is dried into the quilled shape in which it comes to market. The fleshy receptacles of the seeds of this tree, or the pulpy substance which is found in the pods, are also collected, and brought to market under the name of *cassia buds*, being applied to the same purposes as the bark; they require little or no other preparation than simple drying. The leaves and bark of the tree are also distilled, and furnish cassia oil, a powerful and pleasant oil employed by perfumers and cooks. The manufacture of it has of late years been interfered with by the officers from an apprehension, as has been alleged, that a want of fuel would ensue if the distillation was not restricted.

The camphor tree is another species of Laurus, found in Kwangsi, Fuhkien, and Formosa, and affords both timber and gum

for exportation and domestic use. The tree itself is large, and furnishes excellent planks, beams, and boards, for building vessels and making trunks and other articles. The gum is procured from the branches, leaves, and chips, by first soaking them in water until the liquid becomes saturated with it; when it is turned out into an earthen basin to coagulate. It is then placed in an iron vessel in alternate layers with fine earth, and over which, when filled, another basin is luted, after placing some mint upon the top to hinder the clayey particles from ascending; on applying a slow heat, the camphor sublimes into the upper vessel. It comes to market in a crude state, and is usually refined again after reaching Europe. The preparation of the gum and sawing of the timber, and the construction of trunks, articles of furniture, and vessels in whole or in part, occupies great numbers of carpenters, shipwrights, and boat-builders.

Many of the common manipulations of Chinese workmen afford good examples of their ingenious modes of attaining the same end which is elsewhere reached by other machinery. For instance, the baker places his fire on a large iron plate worked by a crane, and swings it over a shallow pan embedded in masonry, in which the cakes and pastry are laid, and soon baked. The price of fuel compels its economical use wherever it is employed, of which the mode of burning shells to lime affords a good example. A low wall is built around a space ten or twelve feet across, in the middle of which is a hole communicating underneath the wall by a passage with an opening, where the fire is urged by means of a fan turned by the feet. The wood is loosely laid over the bottom of the area, and the fire kindled at the orifice in the centre, and fanned into a blaze as the shells are rapidly thrown in until the wall is filled up; in twelve hours the shells are calcined. Towards evening, the villagers collect around the burning pile, bringing their kettles of rice or vegetables to cook in the burning pile, thereby saving themselves the expense of fuel. The good humor manifested by these groups of old and young is a pleasing instance of the sociability and equality witnessed among the lower classes of Chinese. The lime is taken out next morning, and after sifting is ready for the mason.

Handicraftsmen of every name are content with coarse-looking tools, compared with those turned out at Sheffield, but the

work some of them produce is far from contemptible. The bench of a carpenter is a low, narrow, inclined form, like a drawing-knife frame, upon which he sits to plane, groove, and work his boards, using his feet and toes to steady them. His augurs, bits, and gimlets, are worked with a bow, but most of the edge-tools employed by him and the blacksmith, though similar in shape, are less convenient than our own. They are sharpened with hones or grindstones, and also with a cold steel tool resembling a spoke-shave, with which the edge is scraped thin. The economy of Chinese workmen has often been noticed by voyagers, and among them all the travelling blacksmith takes the palm for his

Travelling Blacksmith and his Shop.

compendious establishment. "I saw a blacksmith," writes one observer, "a few days since mending a pan, the arrangement of whose tools was singularly compact. His fire was held in an iron basin, not unlike a coal-scuttle in shape, in the back corner of which the mouthpiece of the bellows entered. The anvil was a small square mass of iron not very unlike our own, placed on a block, and a partition basket close by held the charcoal and tools, with the old iron and other rubbish he carried. The water to temper his iron was in an earthen pot, which just at this time was most usefully employed in boiling his dinner over the forge fire. After he had done the job, he took off his dinner, threw the water on the fire, picked out the coals and put them

back into the basket, threw away the ashes, set the anvil astride of the bellows, and laying the fire-pan on the basket, slung the bellows on one end of his pole, and the basket on the other, and walked off."* The mode of mending holes in cast-iron pans here noticed is a peculiar operation. The smith first files the lips of the hole clean, and after heating the dish firmly places it on a tile covered with wet felt. He then pours the liquid iron, fused in a crucible by the assistance of a flux, upon the hole, and immediately patters it down with a dossil of felt, until it covers the edges of the pan above and below, and is then, while cooling, hammered until firmly fixed in its place. The great number of craftsmen who ply their vocation in the streets has already been mentioned, each of whom has a peculiar call. The barber twangs a sort of long tuning-fork, the peddler twirls a hand-drum with clappers strung on each side, the refuse-buyer strikes a little gong, the fruiterer claps two bamboo sticks, and the fortune-teller tinkles a gong-bell; these, with the vociferous cries of beggars, hucksters, &c., fill the streets with a concert of strange and discordant sounds.

The delicate carving of Chinese workmen is well known, and has often been described; many specimens of it are annually sent abroad. Few products of their skill are more remarkable than the balls, containing ten or twelve spheres cut out one within another. The manner of cutting them is simple. A piece of ivory or wood is first made perfectly globular, and then several conical holes are bored into it in such a manner that their apices all meet at the centre, which is usually hollowed out an inch or less after the holes are bored. A long crooked tool is then inserted in one of the conical holes, so bent at the end and stoppered on the shaft that it cuts into the ivory at the same distance from the surface when its edge is applied to the insides of the cone. By successively cutting a little on the insides of each conical hole, their incisures meet, and a sphericle is at last detached, which is now turned over and its faces one after another brought opposite the largest hole, and firmly secured by wedges in the other holes, while its surfaces are smoothed and carved. When the central sphere is done, a similar knife somewhat larger is again introduced into the holes, and another sphere detached

* Chinese Repository, Vol. X., page 473.

and smoothed in the same way, and then another, until the whole are completed, each being polished and carved before the next outer one is commenced. It has been supposed by some that these curious toys were made of semispheres nicely luted together, and they have been boiled in oil for hours in order to separate them and solve the mystery of their construction.

Fans and card-cases are carved of wood, ivory, and mother-of-pearl in alto-relievo, with an elaborateness which shows the great skill and patience of the workman, and at the same time his bad taste in drawing, the figures, houses, trees, and other objects being grouped in violation of all propriety and perspective.

Fancy carved work.

Beautiful ornaments are made by carving roots of plants, branches, gnarled knots, &c., into fantastic groups of birds or animals, the artist taking advantage of the natural form of his material in the arrangement of his figures. Models of pagodas, boats, and houses are also entirely constructed of ivory, even to representing the ornamental roofs, the men working at the oar, and women looking from the balconies. Baskets of elegant shape are woven from ivory splinths; and the shopmen at Canton exhibit a variety of seals, paper-knives, chessmen, counters, combs, &c., exceeding in finish and delicacy the same kind of work found anywhere else in the world. The most elaborate coat of arms, or complicated cypher, will also be imitated by these skilful carvers. The national taste prefers this style of carving on plane surfaces; it is seen on the walls of houses and granite slabs of fences, the woodwork of boats and shops, and on articles of furniture. Some of it is pretty, but the disproportion and cramped position of the figures detracts from its beauty.

The manufacture of mats for sails of junks and boats, floors, bedding, &c., employs thousands. A sail containing nearly 400 square feet can be obtained for ten dollars. The rolls are largely exported, and still more extensively used in the country for covering packages for shipment. A stouter kind made of bamboo splinths serves as a material for huts, and many other purposes that are elsewhere attained by boards or canvas. Rattans are also worked into mats, chairs, baskets, and other articles of domestic service. Several branches of manufacture have entirely grown up, or been much encouraged by the trade at Canton, among which the preparation of vermilion, beating gold leaf, cutting pearl buttons, weaving and painting fancy window blinds, and the preparation of sweetmeats, are the principal.

It has often been said that the Chinese are so averse to change and improvement, that they obstinately adhere to their own modes at all events, but such is not the case, though they are slow to change. Three new manufactures have been introduced during the present century, viz. that of glass, bronze-work, and Prussian blue. A Chinese sailor introduced the manufacture of the latter, which he had learned thoroughly in London, from which the people now supply themselves. Bronze-work has lately been introduced, and watches and clocks are both extensively manufactured, with the exception of the springs. Fire-engines are made at Canton, and sent into the interior. Ships have been built on the European model in a few instances, but there is little encouragement for naval architecture, since native merchants can buy or freight foreign ships at a much cheaper rate than they can build them. Brass cannon were made during the war with England in imitation of pieces taken from a wreck, and the frames of one or two vessels to be worked with wheels by men at a crank, in imitation of steamers, were found on the stocks at Ningpo when the English took the place. The Chinese are not unwilling to adopt foreign improvements when they can see their way clear for a remuneration, but they have not the means, the science, or the inclination to risk many doubtful speculations or experiments. Moreover, it should be observed, that few have taken the trouble to explain or show them the improvements they are supposed to be so disinclined to adopt. Ploughs have been given the farmers near Shanghai, but they would not use them, which, however, may have been as much

owing to the want of a proper harness, or a little instruction regarding its use, as to a dislike to take a new article.

The general look of Chinese society, in an industrial point of view, is one of its most pleasing aspects. The great body of the people are obliged to engage in manual labor in order to subsist, yet only a trifling proportion of them can be called beggars, while still fewer possess such a degree of wealth that they can live on its income. Property is safe enough to afford assurance to honest toil that it shall generally reap the reward of its labors, but if that toil prosper beyond the usual limits, the avarice of officials and the envy of neighbors easily find a multitude of contrivances to harass and impoverish the fortunate man, and the laws are not executed with such strictness as to deter them. Most of the people derive their subsistence directly from the soil, and such a community is less likely to present strong contrasts in a few very rich, and the mass abjectly poor, than an aristocratic or feudal state. The mechanical arts supply their wants, but having no better models before them, nor any scientific acquaintance with elementary principles and powers applicable to a great number of purposes, these arts have remained stationary. The abundance of labor must be employed, and its cheapness obviates the necessity of finding substitutes in machinery. Under the fostering care of a wise government, many contrivances for abbreviating it might be profitably introduced, such as sawmills, flouring-mills, steamers, &c., but a wise government needs an intelligent people to work upon and with, in order to a harmonious onward progress; and the adoption of even a few things from us might involve so many changes, that even those intelligent natives who saw their advantages, would hesitate in view of the momentous contingencies of a failure.

Imitation is a remarkable and well-known trait in Chinese mind, though invention is not altogether wanting; and the former leads them to rest content with what they can get along with, even at some expense of time and waste of labor, where, too, an exhibition of ingenuity and science would perhaps be accompanied with suspicion, expense, or hindrances from both neighbors and rulers. The existence of the germ of so many arts and discoveries, whose development would have brought with them so many advantages, and led to still further discoveries, leads one to inquire the reason why they were not carried out. Setting

aside the view, which may properly be taken, that the wonderful discoveries now made in the arts by Europeans form part of God's great plan for the redemption of the race, the want of mutual confidence, insecurity of property, and debasing effects of heathenism upon the intellect, will explain much of the apathy shown towards improvement. Invention among them has rather lacked encouragement than ceased to exist:—more than that, it has been checked by a suspicious, despotic sway, while no stimulus of necessity has existed to counterbalance and urge it forward, and has been stunted by the mode and materials of education. It was not till religious liberty and discussion arose in Europe, that the inhabitants began to improve in science and arts as well as morals and good government; and when the ennobling and expanding principles of the Bible find their way into Chinese society and mind, it may reasonably be expected they will purify and enlarge it, and rapid advances be made in the comforts of this life, as well as in adopting the principles and exhibiting the conduct which prove a fitness for the enjoyments of the next.

CHAPTER XVI.

Science of the Chinese

THAT enlargement of the mind which results from the collection and investigation of facts, or from extensive reading of books on whose statements reliance can be placed, and which leads to the cultivation of knowledge for its own sake, has no existence in China. Sir John Davis justly observes, the Chinese "set no value on abstract science, apart from some obvious and immediate end of utility;" and he properly compares the actual state of the sciences among them with their condition in Europe previous to the adoption of the inductive mode of investigation. Even their few theories in explanation of the mysteries of nature are devoid of all fancy to make amends for the want of facts and experiments, so that in reading them we are neither amused by their imagination nor instructed by their research. Perhaps the rapid advances made by Europeans, during the last two centuries, in the investigation of nature in all her departments and powers, has made us somewhat impatient of such a parade of nonsense as Chinese books exhibit; while, too, it should not be forgotten that this progress is doubtless owing, in no little degree, to the discipline and strength of mind which the reception and application of the truths of the Bible impart, and which admirably fit it for rigid analysis. The Psalmist says, "The entrance of thy word giveth light, it giveth understanding unto the simple;" and when the mind feels that it has an indisputable basis of truth as a point d'appui, its energies must be more satisfactorily directed than where everything can be called in question. In addition to the general inferiority of Chinese mind to European in genius and imagination, it has moreover been hampered by a language the most tedious and meagre of all tongues, and wearied with a literature abounding in tiresome repetitions and unsatisfactory theories. Under these conditions, science, either mathematical, physical, or natural, has made few advances, and is now making none.

Murray's China (Vol. III., Chap. IV.) contains a fair account of the attainments of the Chinese in mathematics and astronomy. The notation of the Chinese is based on the decimal principle, but their figures are not changed in value by position, and it is difficult therefore to write out clearly the solution of a question. Arithmetical calculations are performed with the assistance of an abacus, *swanpan* or counting-board, which is simply a shallow case divided longitudinally by a bar, and crossed by several wires; on one side of this bar the wires bear five balls and two on the other side. The five balls on any wire stand for units, and the two balls are each worth five units. When the balls on any wire are taken for units, those next to the right stand for tens, the third for hundreds, and so on; while the balls on the left denote tenths, hundredths, &c. Simple calculations are done on this board with great accuracy and rapidity, but the machine is more a convenient index for the progress and result of a calculation performed in the head, than a regular notation of it in detail; consequently, if an error be made, the whole must be performed again, since the result only appears when the sum is finished. There are three sorts of figures, partly answering to the English, Roman, and Arabic forms, as *Seven*, VII, and 7, the most common of which are given on page 495 of vol. I.; the complicated form is used in drafts and bills to prevent their alteration, and the abbreviated in common operations, accounts, &c., and in setting down large amounts in a more compact form than can be done by the other characters. This mode of notation is employed by the Japanese and Cochin-chinese, and possesses some advantages over the method of using letters practised by the Greeks and Romans, and over the counters once employed in England, but falls far behind the Arabic system now in general use in the west.

There are several treatises on arithmetic, in which the simple rules are clearly explained and illustrated by examples and questions. One of the best is the *Swan-fah Tung Tsung*, or General Comprehensive Arithmetic, in 5 vols. 8vo.; the author, Ching Yu-sz', lived in the Ming dynasty. The *Tsuimí-shan Fang Sho Hioh*, or Mathematics of the Lagerstræmia Hill Institution, in 35 vols. 8vo., contains a complete course of mathematical instruction in geometry, trigonometry, mensuration, &c., together with a table of natural sines and tangents, and one of

logarithmic sines, tangents, secants, &c., for every degree and minute. Both these compilations derive most of their value from the mathematical writings of the Romish missionaries; it is stated in the latter work that "the western scholar, John Napier, made logarithms." The knowledge of mathematics even among learned men is very small, and the common people study it only as far as their business requires; the cumbersome notation, and the little aid such studies give in the examinations, doubtless discourage men from pursuing what they seem to have no taste for as a people. A curious fact regarding the existence of six errors in these tables discovered by Babbage to have been perpetuated in most of the European logarithmic tables since the publication of the Trigonometria Artificialis of Vlacq in 1633, proves the source whence the Chinese derived them, and their imitative fidelity in copying them. Mathematical treatises on plane and spherical trigonometry and geometry exist in the language, based upon the works of foreigners, but mixed up with some crude notions of the compilers. Chinese authors readily acknowledge the superiority of western mathematicians, and generally ascribe their advances in the exact sciences to them.

The attainments made by the ancient Chinese in astronomy are not easily understood from their records, for the mere notice of an eclipse is a very different thing from its calculation or description. The Book of Records contains some remarkable notices of the orders given by Yau to his astronomers Hí and Ho to ascertain the solstices and equinoxes and employ intercalary months, and fix the four seasons, in order that the husbandman might know when to commit his seed to the ground. If the time of the deluge be reckoned according to Hales at B.C. 3155, there will be an interval of about eight centuries to the days of Yau, B.C. 2357, which would be ample time for the observation that the primitive sacred year of 360 days in Noah's time was wrong, and that the lunar year of about 354 days was also wrong, and required additional correction, which this ancient monarch is said to have rectified by an intercalation of seven lunar months in nineteen years, like the metonic cycle of the Greeks. It is also remarkable that the time given as the date of the commencement of the astronomical observations sent to Aristotle from Babylon by command of Alexander should be

B. C. 2233, or only a few years after the death of Yau; at that time, the five additional days to complete the solar year were intercalated by the Chaldeans, and celebrated with great mirth as days of festivity. Dr. Hales, who mentions this, says that many ancient nations had the same custom, among whom he enumerates the Mexicans, but there are no traces of any particular observance of them by the Chinese, who, indeed, would hardly notice them in a lunar year.

The intercalation made by Yau has continued with little variation to this day, the Romish missionaries having rectified the calendar as much as it needed on their arrival in the country, and continued its preparation since that time. The adoption of the Julian solar year of 365¼ days at this remote period is not certain, though it is mentioned by the commentator upon the Book of Records, who flourished A.D. 1200. The attention the Chinese paid to the lunar year, and the very small difference their seven intercalations left between the true harmonizing of the lunar and solar years (only 1*h*. 27*m*. 32*s*.), would not derange the calculations to a degree to attract their notice. The chronological cycle of sixty years, called *luh-shih hwa kiah-tsz'*, contrived nearly three centuries before the time of Yau, B.C. 2637, seems to have been perfectly arbitrary, or at least no authentic account exists of the reasons which induced its inventor, Hwangtí, or his minister Nau the Great, to select this number. The years of the cycle have each of them a separate name, formed by taking ten characters called *shih kan* or ten stems, and joining to them twelve other characters, called the *shih-'rh chí* or twelve branches, five times repeated. These horary characters are also applied to minutes and seconds, hours, days and months, signs of the zodiac, points of the compass, &c. By giving the twelve branches the names of as many animals, and apportioning the ten stems in couplets among the five elements, they are also made to play an important part in divination and astrology. The present year (1847) is the 44th year of the 75th cycle, or the 4484th since its institution, being the longest chronological era known. The year is lunar, but its commencement is regulated by the sun, and newyear falls on the first new moon after the sun enters Aquarius; which makes it come not before the 21st of January nor after the 19th of February. Besides the division into lunar months, the year is apportioned into twenty-four *tsieh*,

periods or terms, of about fifteen days each, depending upon the position of the sun; these are continued on from year to year, irrespective of the intercalations, the first one commencing about the 6th of February, when the sun is 15° in Aquarius. Their names have reference to the season of the year and obvious changes in nature at the time they come round, as *rain-water*, *vernal-equinox*, *spiked-grain*, *little-heat*, &c.

The Chinese divide the zodiac, *hwang tau* or yellow road, into twenty-eight *kung*, constellations or lunar mansions, but instead of an equable allotment, the signs occupy from 1° up to 31°; quite unlike the Hindus, who have the same number, but arrange them nearly in spaces of 13° each. The first two mansions correspond to Virgo, and the succeeding ones follow in a very irregular manner through the signs and constellations, entirely omitting Leo, and ending with the Raven. The zodiac is further divided into twelve signs or palaces, varying from 25° to 38° in length, named after the twelve branches or the animals representing them, commencing with Aquarius or the rat, followed by the cow, tiger, rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog, and bear. The name of one of the twenty-eight mansions is given to every day in the year in perpetual rotation, and of course the same day of our week in every fourth week has the same character applied to it. The days are numbered numerically from the first to the last day of the month, and the months from one to twelve through the year, except the intercalary month called *jun yueh;* and there is also a trine division of the month into decades.*

Astronomy has been studied by the Chinese chiefly for astrological purposes, and their recorded observations of eclipses, comets, &c., are of small value to European astronomers. Maila has collected the notices of 460 solar eclipses (no lunar ones are recorded), extending from B. C. 2159 to A. D. 1699, but this proves nothing of the science of the observers; his summary of their observations and calculations shows, that although they came very near the truth in their calculations respecting the length of the lunar and solar year, the obliquity of the ecliptic, and the general motions of the plants, yet "on the whole, their astronomy contains only the most vague notions, and has no pre-

* Chinese Repository, Vol. IX., pp. 573-584. De Guignes' Voyages, Vol II., p. 414. Chinese Chrestomathy.

cepts which could be of any use, or throw the least light on the science. Indeed, it may be confidently said, that its true principles were never established in China, notwithstanding the very long period during which it was cultivated by a succession of learned men, supported by the state. The Chinese appear never to have had any fixed rules for determining eclipses, and all their tables are entirely empirical. The precession of the equinoxes was estimated very differently at different times, varying between from fifty to one hundred and eighty years to a degree."* Even with all the aid they have derived from Europeans, the Chinese seem to be unable to advance in this science when left to themselves, and to cling to their superstitions against every evidence. Some clouds having on one occasion covered the sky, so that an eclipse could not be seen, the courtiers joyfully repaired to the emperor to felicitate him, that heaven, touched by his virtues, had spared him the pain of witnessing the "eating of the sun." A native writer on astronomy, called Tsinglai, who published several works under the patronage of Yuen Yuen, the liberal minded governor of Kwangtung in 1820, even at that late day, "makes the heavens to consist of ten concentric hollow spheres or envelops: the first contains the moon's orbit; the second that of Mercury; those of Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the twenty-eight constellations, follow; the ninth envelops and binds together the eight interior ones, and revolves daily; while the tenth is the abode of the celestial Sovereign, the great Ruler, with all the gods and sages, where they enjoy eternal tranquillity." He further says, "there are two north and two south poles, those of the equator and those of the ecliptic. The poles of the ecliptic regulate the varied machinery of the heavenly revolutions, and turn round unceasingly. The poles of the equator are the pivots of the primitive celestial body, and remain permanently unmoved. What are called the two poles, therefore, are really not stars, but two immovable points in the north and in the south."† The author of this astute cosmogony studied under Europeans, and published these remarks as the fruit of his researches.

The names given to the five principal planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, are water, metal, fire, wood,

* Murray's China, Vol. III., pages 225—265.

† Chinese Chrestomathy, page 397.

and earth, which rule over the year and its four seasons, and correspond with the kidneys, lungs, heart, liver, and stomach; they are denoted by black, white, red, green, and yellow, and influenced by salt, pungent, bitter, sour, or sweet tastes; the whole forming a chain of causes, acting and reacting through and with each other, whose explanation is peculiarly well fitted in the hands of conjurors for imposing on the people by a show of learning, and hindering their progress in real knowledge. The sun, moon, and planets influence all sublunary events, and especially the life and death of human beings, and changes in their color menace approaching calamities. Alterations in the appearance of the sun announce misfortunes to the state or its head, as revolts, famines, or the death of the emperor; when the moon waxes red, or turns pale, men should be in awe at the unlucky times thus foreomened. The Chinese represent the sun by the figure of a raven in a circle, and the moon by a rabbit on his hind legs pounding rice in a mortar, or by a toad. The last refers to the legend of an ancient beauty, Chang-ngo, who drank the liquor of immortality and straightway ascended to the moon, where she was transformed into a toad, still to be traced in its face. All the stars are ranged into constellations, and an emperor is installed over them, who resides at the north pole; five monarchs, also, live in the five stars in Leo, where is a palace, called *Wu Ti tso*, or throne of the Five Emperors. In this celestial government, there is also an heir apparent, empresses, sons and daughters, tribunals, and the constellations receive the names of men, animals, and other terrestrial objects. The Dipper, called *Peh Tau* or Northern Peck, is worshipped as the residence of the fates, where the duration of life, and other events relating to mankind, are measured and meted out. There are many other popular notions on these matters showing the profound ignorance of the people, and how much they need a Novum Organon to set them on the right track. The sun and moon are regarded as the foci of the dual powers, the male and female principles, and the former, as the lord of life, like a great prince, nourishes and bestows his favors, while the moon, his queen, is matched to him. The rainbow is the product of the impure vapors ascending from the earth meeting those descending from the sun.

The entire day among the Chinese is divided into twelve

hours called *shin*, commencing at 11 o'clock, P. M.; each hour is named after one of the horary characters, and further subdivided into ninety-six *kih*, or eighths, each of which is fifteen of our minutes, and receives the same characters. There are various means employed to measure time, but at Canton most of the people reckon its progress by watches and clocks, and follow our divisions in preference to their own. A common substitute for watches are *time-sticks*, long round pieces of a composition of clay and sawdust, well mixed and wound in a spiral manner; the lapse of time is indicated by its equable slow combustion from one hour mark to another until the whole is consumed, which in the longest is not less than a week. Dials are in common use, and frequently attached to the mariner's compass, by making the string which retains the cover in its place cast a shadow on the face of it; this lesson in dialing, Davis supposes they learned from the Jesuits. Clepsydras of various forms were anciently employed, some of which, from their description, were so disproportionately elegant and costly for such a clumsy mode of noting time, that their beauty more than their use was perhaps the principal object in preparing them.

The almanac holds a very important place in China, its preparation having been taken under the special care of the government, which looks upon a present of this important publication as one of the highest favors which it can confer on tributary vassals or friendly nations. It is annually published and distributed at Peking, under the direction of a special bureau attached to the Board of Rites, and, by making it a penal offence to issue a counterfeit or pirated edition, the governmental astrologers have monopolized the management of the superstitions of the people in regard to the fortunate or unlucky conjunctions of each day and hour. Besides the cabalistic part of it, the ephemeris also contains tables of the rising of the sun according to the latitudes of the principal places, times of the new and full moon, the beginning and length of the twenty-four terms, eclipses, application of the horary characters, conjunction of the planets, &c. Two or three editions are published for the convenience of the people, the prices of which vary from three to ten cents a copy. No one ventures to be without an almanac, lest he be liable to the greatest misfortunes, and run the imminent hazard of undertaking important events on black-balled days. The Europeans,

who were employed for many years in compiling the calendar, were not allowed to interfere in the astrological part, and it is to the discredit of the Chinese, to aid thus in perpetuating folly and ignorance among the people, when they know that the whole system is false and absurd. Such governments as that of China, however, deem it necessary to uphold ancient superstitions, if they can thereby influence their security, or strengthen the reverence due them.

If their astronomical notions are vague, their geographical knowledge is ridiculous. The maps of their own territories are tolerably good, being originally drawn from actual surveys by nine of the Jesuits, between the years 1708—1718, and since that time have been filled up and changed to conform to the alterations and divisions. Their full surveys were engraved on copper at Paris, by order of Louis XIV., on sheets, measuring in all over a hundred square feet, and have formed the basis of all subsequent maps. The Chinese are in almost complete ignorance of the form and divisions of the globe, and the size and position of the kingdoms of the earth. Their common maps delineate them very erroneously, not even excepting their own possessions in Mongolia and Ílí,—scattering islands, kingdoms, and continents, as they have heard of their existence, at haphazard in various corners beyond the frontiers. The two Americas and Africa are entirely omitted on most of them, and England, Holland, Portugal, Goa, Luçonia, Bokhara, Germany, France, and India, are arranged along the western side, from north to south, in a series of islands and headlands. The southern and eastern sides are similarly garnished by islands, as Japan, Lewchew, Formosa, Siam, Birmah, Java, the Sulu Islands, and others, while Russia occupies the whole of the northern frontier of their Middle Kingdom. The writings of two or three authors on geography are noticed in Chap. II., the best of which is Lin's translation of Murray, and if this becomes a text-book it will correct some errors. An English gentleman at Shanghai gave a thousand dollars for the purpose of publishing a revised edition of this performance, under the impression that it was entirely a native production.

The geographical works of Tsinglai are not quite so erroneous as his astronomical, but the uneducated people, notwithstanding his efforts to teach them better, still generally suppose

the earth to be an immense extended stationary plain, or a square solid, around which the heavenly bodies daily revolve. Their notions of its inhabitants are equally whimsical, and would grace the pages of Sir John Mandeville. In some parts of its surface they imagine the inhabitants to be all dwarfs, who tie themselves together in bunches for fear of being carried away by the eagles; in others they are all women, who conceive by looking at their shadows; and in a third kingdom, all the people have holes in their breasts, through which they thrust a pole, when carrying one another from place to place. Charts for the guidance of the navigator, or instruments to aid him in determining his position at sea, the Chinese are nearly or quite destitute of; they have retrograded rather than advanced in navigation, judging from the accounts of Fa-hian, Ibn Batuta, and other travellers, when their vessels frequented the ports in the Persian Gulf and on the Malabar coast, and carried on a large trade with the Archipelago. Itineraries are published, containing the distances between places on the principal thoroughfares throughout the provinces, and also lists of the ports, harbors, and islands on the coast, but nothing like sailing directions accompany the latter, nor maps of the routes illustrate the former.

In the various branches of mensuration and formulæ used to describe the dimensions and weight of bodies, they have reached only a practical mediocrity. With a partial knowledge of trigonometry, and no instruments for ascertaining the heights of objects or their distances from the observer, still their lands are well measured, and the area of lots in towns and cities accurately ascertained. The *chih* or foot is the integer of length, but its standard value cannot be easily ascertained. It is fixed by the Board of Works at $13\frac{1}{8}$ *in.* English, but tradesmen at Canton employ foot measures varying from 14.625 to 14.81 *in.*; according to the tariff, it is reckoned at 14.1 *in.* English, and the *chang* of ten *chih* at $3\frac{11}{12}$ *yds.* The *chih* is subdivided into ten *tsun* or p'intos, and each *tsun* into ten *fān*. The decimal division runs through nearly all Chinese weights and measures, and greatly simplifies calculations in them. The *li* is used for distances, but the same discrepancy exists regarding its precise length, owing to the various measures of the *chih*. It is usually reckoned at 1825.5 *ft.* English, which gives 2.89 *li* to an English mile; this is based on the estimate of 200 *li* to a degree, but there were only 180 *li*

to a degree before Europeans came, which increases its length to 2028.39 *ft.* or 2.6 *li* to a mile, which is nearer the common estimate. The French missionaries divided the degree into 250 *li*, each being then exactly 1460.44 *ft.* English, or one tenth of a French astronomical league, and also into 60 minutes and 60 seconds, to make it correspond to western notation; but this measure has not been adopted in common use. The present rulers have established post-houses over the provinces at intervals of ten *li*, or about a league. The land measures are the *mau* and *king*, the former containing 733.32 *sq. yards*, or 6.61 of them making an English acre, and a hundred of them a *king*, which contains 15.13 square acres. Taxes are collected, land is leased, and crops are estimated by the *mau* and its decimal parts. The linear measures of the Chinese are peculiar, and from the numerous variations found among them at present, it may be inferred that there has never been much uniformity in the standard, or that no legal measures are taken to oblige people to adhere to it.

The weights and measures of the Chinese are 24 in all, but only six are in common use, the rest being either nominal or ancient. The *liang*, *kin*, and *tan*, called *tael*, *catty*, and *pecul* (*pron. tale*, *catti*, and *pikkl*) by foreigners, are the only weights commonly employed in bulky articles, and decimals of the tael in precious substances. The catty is just $1\frac{1}{3}$ *lbs. av.*, and the tael is $\frac{1}{16}$ of it, or $1\frac{1}{3}$ *oz. av.*, and the pecul $133\frac{1}{3}$ *lbs.* The Chinese reckon many articles by weight which among western nations are sold according to their quality, such as wood, silk, oil, whiskey, cloth, grain, poultry, &c., so that it has been humorously observed, that the Chinese sell everything by weight, except eggs and children. Their common measures correspond nearly to our gill, half-pint, pint, and peck, and are used to retail rice, beans, &c. The smaller ones are not very accurately constructed from bamboo joints, but the peck measure or *tau*, shaped like the frustum of a pyramid, must be officially examined and sealed before it can be used; at Canton it contains $6\frac{1}{2}$ catties weight, or 10 *shing* or pints, and measures 309.57 cubic inches, or about 1.13 gallon. The decimals of a tael called *tsien*, *făn*, and *li*, or *mace*, *candareen*, and *cash*, are employed in reckoning bullion, pearls, gems, drugs, &c.; ten cash making one candareen, ten candareens one mace, &c. The proportions between the Chinese and American moneys and weights is such that so many taels per

pecul, or candareens per catty, is the same as so many dollars per cwt., or cents per pound.*

The monetary system is arranged on the principle of weight, and the names *tael, mace, candareen,* and *cash*, are applied to the divisions, though the only native coin now current is a small copper piece called *tsien,* or cash by foreigners, the other three being nominal. The piece is thin and circular, about three-quarters of an inch in diameter, with a square hole in the middle for the convenience of stringing them. The obverse bears the names of the dynasty and of the reigning monarch in Manchu, on each side of the square hole; the reverse has the four words *Taukwang tung pau,* i. e. Taukwang's current money, arranged on the sides of the hole. Mints for casting cash are established in each provincial capital under the direction of the Board of Revenue, which sends the moulds. The coin should consist of pure copper, but it is so mixed with sand, iron filings, and tutenague, that it is one of the basest coins to be found in any country. Each piece should weigh one mace, or 58 *grs.* troy, but the value has depreciated from 1000 to about 1680 or 1700 cash to a tael, or from 720 to 1050 or 1200 to a dollar. The workmen in the mint are required to remain within the building except when leave of absence is obtained, but in spite of all the efforts of government, private coinage is issued to a great amount, and sometimes with the connivance of the mint-master. At present the cash is so debased as not to repay counterfeiters for the risk of imitating it, which is perhaps the best security the government can have of keeping it in their own hands; and this trifling with the purity of the metal is the reason why the Chinese are unable to maintain a silver currency, though silver coins have been in use at several periods, and unsuccessfully attempted, even lately, in Fuhkien. In that province, a coin was issued by the provincial treasurer, weighing 517 *grs. tr.,* bearing a figure of the god of Longevity on the obverse, and a legend stating it to have been cast in the reign of Taukwang, a "cake of pure silver weighing 7 mace 2 candareens." The reverse presented a tripod to denote that it was a government coin, and the word Formosa in Manchu.

Spanish and South American dollars are employed as a commercial medium along the coast, and their value is understood

* Chinese Repository, Vol. X., p. 650; Chinese Chrestomathy, Chinese Commercial Guide.

in most parts of the empire. The common practice of stamping them with the owner's mark as a pledge of their purity soon takes away their chief advantage of coined money, that of having a fixed and uniform weight. The stamps are driven into the coin, and soon flatten it and obliterate the impression, and further blows break it into fragments as it passes from hand to hand, after which it is taken by weight and melted into bullion. The native bullion is called *sycee*, from the words *sí-sz'* or fine floss, sometimes given to denote its purity; the common name is *wăn yin* or veined silver, and the ingots, called *shoes* from their shape, weigh from five to fifty taels. Gold bullion is cast into similar lumps. The ingot is stamped with the names of the banker and workmen, the year and district in which it is cast, and sometimes the kind of tax to be paid with it.

Taxes of all kinds are paid in sycee of 98 per cent. fineness, and licensed bankers are connected with the revenue department to whom the proceeds are paid, and who are allowed a small percentage for refining and becoming responsible for its purity, and paying them over to government on demand. The inconveniences of this mode of operation are apparent to themselves, yet cannot be avoided as long as the rulers have not the honesty to maintain the currency. Dollars and ingots are counterfeited so much, that all classes have them inspected before taking them by *shroffs*, who by practice are able to decide upon the degree of alloy in a piece of silver with great accuracy, by the sight merely, though usually they employ touchstone needles to assist them, different degrees of fineness imparting a different color to the needle. The practice of counterfeiting dollars is so extensive that there is a book in print, like Sylvester's Bank-note Table, giving an account of the process of manufacturing each variety of false money, describing its appearance, and rules for detecting the forgery.

Chartered banking companies are unknown, but private bankers are found in all large towns, some of whom pay interest on money deposited on security. Paper money was formerly issued in immense quantities under the Mongol dynasty, and its convenience is highly praised by Marco Polo; but it is now unknown as a general circulating medium, though still used in particular cities. It is highly probable that the repudiation of the notes by the Mongol emperors who succeeded Kublai, and their utter loss

when his dynasty was expelled, effectually destroyed all the credit of Chinese imperial honesty with the people.

Promissory notes and pawnbrokers' tickets circulate a little; bills of exchange are common, drawn by one banker upon another in favor of the bearer or depositor in any part of the empire, affording a convenient remittance to merchants, and accommodation to travellers. The little trust reposed in a bare word or signature leads to the practice of depositing pledges when large sums are borrowed, and a resort to pawnbrokers' shops to raise small amounts. There are three classes of licensed pawnbrokers, the first and largest of whom are usually connected with banking establishments, and placed under numerous restrictions; they are allowed three years to redeem, and must give three years' notice of retiring. Inferior establishments are licensed to allow only two years to redeem, and a third class can dispose of the pledges in a twelvemonth. The length of time which must elapse before the broker can dispose of his articles is injurious to him, and unnecessarily so, for not one pledge in ten is ever redeemed. Officers of government frequently raise money at these shops by sending some cast-off garments, for which they receive two or three times their value, the excess being a well understood sop to wink at irregularities. In case of fire on the premises, the pawnee claims the full amount; but if it communicate from a neighbor's only one half is paid. These establishments are generally very extensive, and the vast amount of goods stored in them, especially garments and jewelry, shows their universal patronage. One pawnbroker's warehouse at Tinghai was used by the English forces as a hospital, and accommodated between two and three hundred patients. The legal interest allowed on small loans is three per cent. per month, but this rate is seldom paid, and in transactions among business men in large amounts it is 12 or 15 per cent. per annum; special agreements are made between these two rates.

The theory of war has received more attention among the Chinese than its practice, and their reputation as an unwarlike people is as ancient and general among their neighbors as that of their seclusion and ingenuity. The Mongols and Manchus, Huns and Tartars, all despised the effeminate braggadocio of the Chinese troops, and easily overcame them in war, but were themselves conquered in their turn in peace. Minute directions are

given in books with regard to the drilling of troops, which are seldom reduced to practice, either in the garrison or the camp. The puerile nature of the examinations which candidates for promotion in the army pass through, proves the remains of the ancient hand to hand encounter, and evinces the low standard still entertained of what an officer should be. Personal courage is highly esteemed, and the prowess of ancient heroes in the battle field is lauded in songs, and embellished in novels.

The total force of the Chinese army can hardly be ascertained, and the various estimates given by authors indicate that it is not the same at different periods. It may perhaps amount to a million of men; but probably not half that number could be mustered. De Guignes concludes that there are not more than a hundred thousand Manchu troops, and about half a million Chinese, of whom only fifteen thousand are on the northern frontier; in his estimate of the expenditure of government, quoted in Chap. V., he places the infantry at 600,000 men, and the cavalry at 262,000. There is no body of engineers, artillerymen are taken from the garrisons, mariners are drawn from the line, and admirals and captains from the infantry, sappers and miners are unknown, and the most efficient branch of the cavalry is probably the couriers and postmen. The pay of a foot-soldier is about $1 per month, and a horseman about $5.25, but even this is not regularly given them. When called away from their farms and shops into service, the soldiers soon become troublesome for their pay, and clamor to be allowed to return to their homesteads. No daily drill or duties, no guards patrolling the limits, or inspection and exercise of arms, are seen in Chinese encampments; but after the tents are pitched or the huts built, the men drone away the time in idleness, gambling, smoking, and sleeping, or harass the villagers with their lawless demands and insults. Once a month there is a sort of drill on the parade-grounds near cities, consisting of a sham review, which imparts no efficiency to the force.

The arms of the Chinese principally consist of bows and arrows, spears, matchlocks, swords, and cannon of various sizes and lengths. The bow is still a favorite weapon, used more for show in the military examinations, than for real service in battle, at which time the matchlock and ginjal are the main dependence. Rattan shields, painted with tigers' heads, are used on board the revenue cutters to turn the thrust of spears, and on ceremonial

occasions, many of the companies are paraded in their uniforms with swords and shields. The uniform of the different regiments consists of a jacket of brown, yellow, or blue, bordered with a wide edging of another color; the trowsers are usually blue. The cuirass is made of quilted and doubled cotton cloth, and covered with iron plates or brass knobs connected by copper bands; the helmet is iron or polished steel, sometimes inlaid, weighing 2¼ *lbs.*, and has neck and ear lappets to protect those parts. The back of the jacket sometimes bears the word *yung*, "courage," and on the breast is painted the service the corps is attached to, whether to the governor, commandant, or emperor's. The exhibition of courage among Chinese troops is not, however, always deferred to the time when they run away, though it is doubtless much easier to wear their bravery on their backs, as some in other countries do the cross about the neck as a symbol of their religion, than in either case to infuse it into the heart.

The matchlock is of wrought iron worked like a fowling-piece; it has a longer barrel than a musket, so long that a rest is sometimes attached for greater ease in firing; the match is a cord of hemp or coir, and the pan must be uncovered with the hand before it can be fired, which necessarily interferes with, and almost prevents its use in wet or windy weather. The cannon are cast, and although not of very uniform calibre from the mode of manufacture, are still sufficiently serviceable for salutes, at which time only three guns are required.

The invention of gunpowder is probably due the Chinese, but fire-arms of effective make were not known until the time of the Mongols or shortly before; and notwithstanding the efforts made to improve their manufacture by officers instructed by the Jesuits, at the command of Kanghí, their quality is still poor, and the gunpowder coarse and badly triturated, though the ingredients are mixed in the same proportion as our own. The ginjal is a kind of swivel from six to fourteen feet long, resting on a tripod, less liable to burst than their cannon, and the most effective gun the Chinese possess; brass cannon have been recently cast in imitation of English. Few of the large pieces rest on carriages, or have any contrivance for changing their direction, so that even if the enemy is so accommodating as to remain in range, the artillerymen are, in forts, greatly exposed when reloading.

The uniform and regimentals of the Chinese troops are not calculated to give them even a fine appearance when drawn up for parade, and no one, looking at them, can believe that men dressed in loose jackets and trousers, with heavy shoes and bamboo caps, could be trained to cope with western soldiers. Fans or umbrellas are often held in the hand on parade to assuage the heat or protect from the rain, while the chief object of these parades is to salute and knock head before some high officer. In attempting to repress insurrection, the government has been frequently compelled to buy off the turbulent leaders with office and rewards, and thus disorganize and scatter the enemy it could not vanquish. But however ridiculous the army and navy of the Chinese now are in our view, the people would soon become good soldiers under proper officers and instruction, attended with a little actual fighting to practise their drilling.

The progress of the Chinese is not to be fairly measured by their attainments in war, although it has been said that the two best general criteria of civilization among any people are superior skill in destroying our fellow-men, and the degree of respect paid to women. China falls far behind her place among the nations if judged by these tests alone, and in reality owes her present advance in numbers, industry, and wealth, mainly to her peaceful character and policy. She would have probably presented a spectacle similar to the hordes of Central Asia, had her people been actuated by a warlike spirit, for when divided into fifty or more feudal states, as was the case in the days of Confucius, she made slow progress in the arts of life. The Manchu emperors have often endeavored to conquer their neighbors, the Birmans and Coreans, but were satisfied with the outward homage of a *kotau*, and a few articles of tribute, when they met with resistance to oppressive interference from their lieges. The Siamese, Cochinchinese, Coreans, Tibetans, Lewchewans, and some of the tribes of Turkestan, are nominally vassals of the son of heaven, but they find his an easy sovereignty, and their paltry tribute returned them many fold. The precepts of Confucius taught the rulers of China to conquer their neighbors by showing the excellence of a good government, when their enemies would come and voluntarily range themselves under their sway; and although the kindness of the rulers of China to those fully in

their power, is as hypocritical as their rule is unjust, those nations who pay them homage do it voluntarily, and still manage their own internal affairs. The maxims of Confucian politics, aided by the temper of the people, have had some effect, in the lapse of years, it cannot be doubted; and to the literature and language of which his writings form the main feature, much of the advances made by these tributaries in good government, industry, and arts, is to be ascribed. The Chinese empire is a stupendous example of the good results of a peaceful policy; and the sincere desire of every wellwisher of his race doubtless is, that this mighty mass of human beings may be Christianized and elevated from their present ignorance and vice, by a like peaceful infusion of the true principles of good order and liberty.

The Chinese are no better skilled in building proper fortifications than they are in bravely defending them. The forts in the neighborhood of Canton are probably among the best in the empire, and they are all constructed without fosses, bastions, glacis, or counter-defences of any kind; some are square, and approachable without danger; others are circular on the outer face, and built on a hill-side like a pound, so that the garrison, if dislodged from the battlements, are forced to fly up the hill in full range of their enemy's fire. The gate is placed in the side, unprotected by ditch, drawbridge, or portcullis, and poorly defended by guns upon the walls or in the area behind it. The points generally chosen for the forts display little knowledge of the true principles of defence, though some of them are located in commanding positions. The soldiers in the forts are for the most part among the laziest, dirtiest, most cowardly, and dissolute specimens of humanity to be found in the country, quite on a par with the artillery they use, and the dirty places they occupy. On extraordinary occasions of parade, a little bustle and cleaning up is made; and when, as was the case a few years ago, the brunt of war really came, new troops and armaments were put in them, and the best defence possible made.

The Chinese have many treatises upon the art and practice of war, one of which, called the Soldier's Manual,* in eighteen chapters, contains some good directions. The first chapter treats of the mode of marching, necessity of having plans of the country through which the army is to pass, and cautions the troops against

* Chinese Repository, Vol. XI., p. 487.

harassing the people unnecessarily—not a useless admonition, for a body of Chinese soldiers is like a swarm of locusts, when they encamp near a town or village. The second chapter teaches the mode of building bridges, the need there is of cautious explorations in marching, and of sending out scouts; this subject is also continued in the next section, and directions given about castrametation, defending and locating the camp, placing sentries, and keeping the troops on the alert, as well as under strict discipline in camp. The rest of the book is chiefly devoted to directions for the management of an actual battle, sending out spies beforehand, choosing good positions, and bringing the various parts of the army into action at the best time. The hope of reward is held out to induce the soldier to be brave, and the threats of punishment and death if he desert or turn his back in time of battle.

The Manchu troops, stationed in large cities, are quartered in an inclosed encampment, occasionally placed, as at Fuhchau, where it will overlook or command the city, and spacious enough for the comfortable residence of the troops and their families. That at Chapu is separated from the rest of the city by a thin wall, and the buildings are located in a small inclosure, of sufficient size to allow a courtyard in front of each. In the internal arrangement of the houses, or their furniture and ornaments, there is nothing different from ordinary Chinese residences, and in these respects the Manchus had everything to learn from the Chinese. Their stipend is so small that they resort to some occupation to maintain themselves, and although intermarriages with the natives are prohibited, the two races in numerous cases live and work together. Both officers and men are subject to corporeal punishment in case of misdemeanor, the bamboo on the back of a Chinese being exchanged for a whip upon the Manchu, and the cangue put upon both. Soldiers of honor and bravery cannot well be made out of men subjected to such humiliations, whose skill in knocking their heads on the ground is oftener called into practice than that of knocking their enemies on the head; nor can efficiency be given to an army whose rations hardly pay for the men's uniforms.

The utility of music in encouraging troops and exciting them to the charge is fully appreciated, but to our notions of harmony it no more deserves the name of music than the collection of half

drilled louts in petticoats does to that of an army, when compared with a European force. However, its antiquity renders it a subject of some interest to the musical student, while its power of association over the people seems to be none the less because it is unscientific. The musical instruments used in the army are chiefly the gong and trumpet, but the entire list of stringed, wind, and percussion, comprises almost every one we have. However small their attainments in the theory and practice of music, no nation gives it a higher place. It was regarded by Confucius as an essential part in the government of a state, harmonizing and softening the relations between the different ranks of society, and causing them all to move on in consentaneous accord. It is remarked of the sage himself that having heard a tune in one of his ramblings, he did not know the taste of food for three weeks after —but, with all deference to the judgment of so distinguished a man, we cannot help thinking his food would have been more palatable without music, if it was no better then than it is at the present day. The Chinese never had anything like the musical contests among the Greeks, for popular assemblies have never been agreeable to oriental despotism and education.

The names and characters used for notes in vocal music are here given, though their succession is not accurately represented by our staff. The second octave is denoted by affixing the sign *jin*, a man, to the simple notes, or as shown in the second *ché*, by a peculiar hooked bottom.

If the first note in this scale be taken as the tonic, then they form a diatonic octave, with a supernumerary note, which is an octave above the second one *sz'*, the first one *ho* being an octave below *liu*, the eighth. But the semitones *i* and *fan* are very little used, and it loses in some degree its diatonic character. No chromatic scale exists among them, at least none of their instruments can enounce flat and sharped notes. In writing instrumental music, marks, meaning to *push*, *fillip*, *hook*, &c., are added to denote the mode of playing the string; the two are

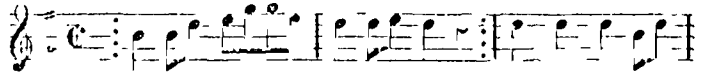
united into very complicated combinations. For instance, in writing a tune for the lute or *pîpa*, "each note is a cluster of characters; one denotes the string, another the stud, a third informs you in what manner the fingers of the right hand are to be used, a fourth does the same in reference to the left, a fifth tells the performer in what way he must slide the hand before or after the appropriate sound has been given, and a sixth says, perhaps, that two notes are to be struck at the same time." These complex notes are difficult to learn and remember, and therefore the Chinese usually play by the ear. This mode of notation, in addition to its complexity, must be varied for nearly every kind of instrument, inasmuch as the combinations fitted for one instrument are inapplicable to another; but music is written for only a few instruments, such as the lute and the guitar.

These notes, when simply written without directions combined with them as described above, indicate only their pitch in a certain scale, and do not denote either the length or the absolute pitch; they are written perpendicularly, and various marks of direction are given on the side of the column regarding the proportionate length of time in which certain notes are to be played, others to be trilled or repeated once, twice, or more times, and when the performer is to pause. No beats occur at regular intervals, nor is any time marked, much less are the different parts of counterpoint exhibited on parallel staves, of which the Chinese know nothing; the swell, diminish, flat, sharp, appoggiatura, tie, and other marks in European notation, which assist in giving expression to the piece, are for the most part unknown among the Chinese, nor are any of their tunes set to any key. The neatness and adaptation of the European notation is better appreciated after studying the clumsy, imperfect mode which is here briefly described.

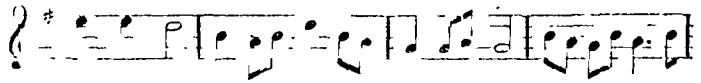
No description can convey a true idea of Chinese vocal music, and few persons are able to imitate it when they have heard it. De Guignes says, "It is possible to sing a Chinese song, but I think it would be very difficult to give it the proper tone without having heard it by a native, and I rather believe that no one can perfectly imitate their notes." They seem, in some cases, to issue from the larynx and nose, the tongue, teeth, and lips having little to do with them, the modulation being made mostly with the muscles of the bronchia; at other times, the enunciation of the

words requires a little more use of the lips and teeth. Chinese vocal music is generally on a high falsetto key. This feature prevails throughout; whether in the theatre or in the street, about the house or at the guitar or lute, both men and women sing in this artificial tone of voice, somewhere between a squeal and a scream, and which no western musical instrument is able to imitate. Its character is plaintive and soft, not full or exhibiting much compass, though when two or three females sing together in recitative, not destitute of sweetness. Bass and tenor are not sung by men, nor a second treble by females, and of course none of the instruments are fitted for those parts. Vocal music is heard chiefly as an accompaniment to the lute or guitar, nor is it often employed in religious worship or in temples. Three of the tunes inserted in Barrow's Travels are here quoted as specimens of Chinese airs, of which the first is the most popular, though the words and notes, as written there, do not correspond with the music or with each other.

MOH-LÍ HWA; OR, THE JASMINE FLOWER.



Han yé to sien hwa, Yu chan yu jih
How sweet this branch of fresh flowers, On the morn of the day

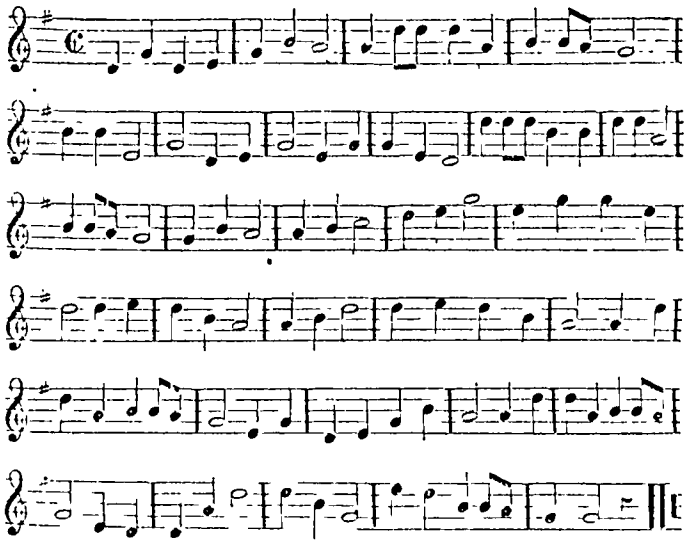


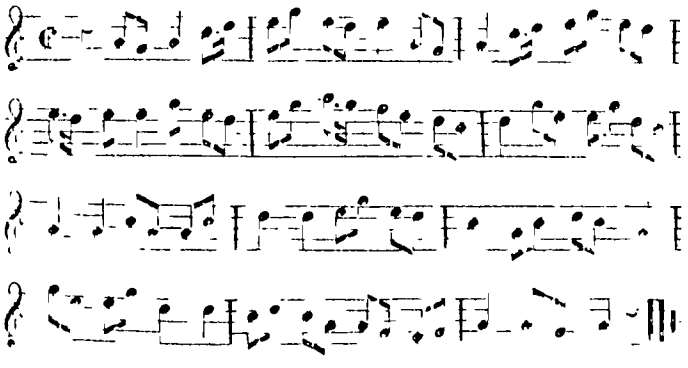
Ioh tsai wo kia, Wo pun tai puh chu mun,
'twas dropped in my house: I'll wear it myself, yet not out of doors,

Tui choh sien hwa, 'rh loh.
But will match it with others, and make myself glad.

Han yé to Moh-li hwa,
Mian yuen hwa kai sho puh kwei ta,
Wo pun t'ai ts' yé t'i,
Tai yu kwan k'an hwa jin ma.

How sweet this sprig of the jasmine flower!
Through the whole plat there's none to equal it;
I myself will wear this new plucked sprig,
Though I from all who see it will envy me.





Among a large number of instruments briefly described in the Chinese Chrestomathy, there are seventeen kinds of drums, from the large ones suspended in temples to assist in worship, to others of lesser size and diverse shape used in war, in theatres, and in bands. Gongs, cymbals, tambourines, and musical vases, are also described in considerable variety; the last consisting of a

curious arrangement of twelve cups, more or less filled with water, and struck with rods. The Chinese are fond of the tinkling of small pieces of sonorous glass, caused by the wind striking them against each other as they are suspended from a frame or lamp. The simple succession of sounds, arising from striking upon a harmonicon, tinkling these glasses together, or touching different sized cymbals suspended in a frame, is a favorite species of music.

The stringed instruments to be played by thrumming are not as numerous as those of percussion, but they display more science. The *kin*, or scholar's lute, is considered as the most finished; it is very ancient, and derives its name from the word *kin*, to prohibit, "because it restrains and checks evil passions, and corrects the human heart." It is a board about four feet in length and eighteen inches wide, convex above and flat beneath, where are two holes opening into hollows. There are seven strings of silk, which pass over a bridge near the wide end through the board, and are tightened by nuts beneath; they are secured on two pegs at the smaller end. The sounding board is divided by thirteen studs, "so placed that the length of the strings is divided first into two equal parts, then into three, &c., up to eight, with the omission of the seventh. The seven strings inclose the compass of a ninth or two-fifths, the middle one being treated like A upon the violin, viz. as a middle string, and each of the outer ones is tuned a fifth from it. This interval is treated like our octave in the violin, for the compass of the *kin* is made up of fifths. Each of the outer strings is tuned a fourth from the alternate string within the system, so that there is a major tone, an interval tone less than a minor third, and a major tone in the fifth. The Chinese leave the interval entire, and skip the half-tone, while we divide it into two unequal parts. It will therefore readily appear that the mood or character of the music of the *kin* must be very different from that of western instruments, so that none of them can exactly do justice to the Chinese airs. One of the peculiarities in performing on the lute is sliding the left hand fingers along the string, and the trilling and other evolutions they are made to execute."

There are other instruments similar to the *kin*, one with thirty, and another with thirteen strings, played with plectrums. The number of instruments resembling the guitar, lute, spinet, &c., is considerable, some with silken and others wire strings, but

none of catgut. The balloon-shaped guitar, or *pípa* has four strings arranged and secured like those of a violin ; it is about three feet long, and the unvarnished upper table has twelve frets to guide the performer. The strings are tuned at the intervals of a fourth, a major tone, and a fourth, so that the outer strings are octaves to each other ; but the player generally avoids the semitones. The *pípa* frequently accompanies the songs of strolling musicians and ballad singers. The *san hien*, or three stringed guitar, resembles a rebeck in its contour, but the neck and head is three feet long, and the body is cylindrical and hollow, usually covered with a snake's skin, upon which the bridge is set. The strings are tuned as fourths to each other, and in this respect it seems to be the counterpart of the Grecian mercurian ; their sound is low and dull, and it is sometimes played in company with the *pípa*. Another kind of guitar, called *yueh kin* or full moon guitar, has a large round belly and short neck, resembling the theorbo or arch lute of Europe, but with only four strings, while that had ten or more. These four strings stand in pairs that are unisons with each other, having an interval of a fifth interposed between the pairs. The sound is smarter than that from the *pípa* or *kin*, and it is used in lively tunes, the strings being struck briskly with the nail or a plectrum. Similar in its contour to the *san hien* is the rebeck or two stringed fiddle, the rude appearance of which corresponds to the scrannel grating sounds which issue from it. This instrument is merely a bamboo stick thrust into a cylinder of the same material, and having two strings fastened at one end of the stick on pegs, and passing over a bridge on the cylinder to the other end ; they are tuned at intervals of a fifth. The bow passes between the two strings, and as they are near each other, much of the skill required to play it is exhibited in wielding the bow so as not to make discord by scraping it against the wrong string, while trying to produce the right sound. Europeans wonder how the Chinese can be delighted with the harsh gratings of this wretched machine, but none of their musical instruments are more popular, and the skill they exhibit in playing it deserves a better reward in the melody of the notes. A modification of it, called *tí kin* or crowing lute, is made by employing a cocoanut for the belly ; its sounds are, if anything, more dissonant.

The *yang kin* is a kind of dulcimer, consisting of a greater or

less number of brass wires of different lengths, tuned at proper intervals, and fastened upon a sounding board; it is played with light hammers, and forms a rudimentary piano-forte, but the sounds are very attenuated. The *sāng* is in like manner the embryo of the organ; it is a hollow conical shaped box, which corresponds to a wind chest, having a mouthpiece on one side, and communicating with thirteen reeds of different lengths inserted in the top; some of the tubes are provided with valves, part of them opening upwards and part downwards, so that some of them sound when the breath fills the wind box, and others are only heard when it is sucked out and the air rushes down the tubes to refill it. The tubes stand in groups of 4, 4, 3, 2, around the top, and those having ventiges are placed so that the performer can open or close them at pleasure as he holds it. By covering the first set of holes and gently breathing in the mouthpiece, a sweet concert of sounds is produced, augmented to the octave and twelfth as the force of the breath is increased. By stopping other groups, other notes, shriller and louder, are emitted; and any single tube can be sounded by inhaling the wind from the wind-box and stopping the other holes. It is a simple thing, and no doubt among the most ancient of musical instruments, but it possesses no scope, nor means of varying the tone of the tubes. Mr. Lay thinks it to be identical in principle and form with the organ invented by Jubal; the Chinese regard it more as a curious instrument than one possessing claims to admiration or attention.

Their wind instruments are numerous, but most of them are remarkable rather for their clamor than sweetness or compass. The *hwang tih*, or flute, is about twice the length of our fife, and made of a bamboo tube neatly prepared, and pierced with ten holes, two of which are placed near the end and unused, and one midway between the embouchure and the six equidistant ones for the fingers. This additional hole is covered with a thin film; the mouth-hole is bored about one third of the way from the top. There are no keys, and the performers generally blow upon the embouchure so violently that the sounds are shrill and harsh, but when several of them play together, the concert is more agreeable. The congener of the flute is the *shu tih*, or clarinet, which takes the lead in all musical performances, as it does in western bands It has seven effective holes, one of which is stopped by the thumb

but no keys; the bell is of copper and sits loose upon the end, and the copper mouthpiece is ornamented with rings, and blown through a reed. The tones produced by it are shrill and deafening, and none of their instruments better characterize Chinese musical taste. A smaller one, of a sweeter tone, like a flageolet, is sometimes fitted with a singular shaped reed, so that it can be played upon by the nose. Street musicians sometimes endeavor to transform themselves into a travelling orchestra. One of these peripatetic Orpheuses will fit a flageolet to his nose, sling a small drum under one shoulder, and suspend a framework of four small cymbals upon the breast; the man, thus accoutred, aided by a couple of monkeys running after him, or sitting on his head and shoulders, goes from street to street singing a plaintive ditty, and accompanying his voice with his instruments, and drawing a crowd with his monkeys.

The horn resembles a trombone in principle, for the shaft is retractible within the cylindrical copper bell, and can be lengthened at pleasure. The sound is very grave, and in processions its hollow booming forms a great contrast to the shrill clarinets and cymbals. Another kind of horn, less grave, is made of a crooked stem expanding into a small bell at the end; the shaft is of two parts, one drawing into the other, so that the depth of tone can be modified. A long straight horn, resembling the funeral pipe of the Jews, is sometimes heard on funeral occasions, but this and the clarion, trumpet, and other kinds of pipes of ancient and modern make, are not common.

The *lo*, or gong, is the type of Chinese music: a crashing harangue of rapid blows upon this sonorous plate, with a rattling accompaniment on small drums, and a crackling symphony of shrill notes from the clarinet and cymbal, constitute the chief features of their musical performances. The emperor Kanghí endeavored to introduce foreign tunes and instruments among his courtiers, and the natives at Macao have heard good music from the Portuguese bands and choirs in that city from childhood, but not an instrument or a tune has been adopted by them. It seems to be a rule in Chinese music that the gong should only vary in rapidity of strokes, while the alternations of time into agreeable intervals are left to the drums. "This want of perception as to what is pleasing in rhythmical succession of sounds," Lay well observes, "is connected with another fact,—the total absence of

metrical effect in national poetry. The verses contain a particular number of words and set pauses in each line, but there is nothing like an interchange of long and short sounds. Among the Greeks, the fall of the smith's hammer, the stroke of the oar, and the tread of the soldier in armor, suggested some poetic measure, and their music exhibits a world of curious metres. But nothing of the sort can be heard in China, amid all the sounds and noises that salute the ear in a noisy country." It is probable that the impracticable, monosyllabic nature of the language has contributed to this result; though the genius and temperament of the people are the chief reasons.

A Chinese orchestra or band, when in full note, strikes upon the ear of a European as a collection of the most discordant sounds, and he immediately thinks of Hogarth's picture of the Enraged Musician, as the best likeness of its dissonance. It seems, when hearing them, as if each performer had his own tune, and was trying to distinguish himself above his competitors by his zeal and force; but, on listening carefully, he will observe, amid the clangor, that they keep good time, one taking the octave, and the different instruments striking in with some regard to parts, only however to confound the confusion still more, because they are not tuned on the same key. Bands and orchestras are employed on occasions of marriages and funerals, theatrical exhibitions, religious or civic processions, and reception of officers, but not to a very great extent in temples or ancestral worship; no nation makes more use of such music as they have than the Chinese. The people have an ear for music, and delight in western tunes, when they early learn them, as has been fully shown in the pupils in the mission schools, who, it is to be hoped, will by and by introduce among their countrymen the study and practice of the art as they have learned it.*

From this account of Chinese music, it may be readily inferred that t s not of such a character as to start the hearers off in a lively dance. A sort of posture-making is practised by persons attached to theatrical companies; and, from some notices, the pantomimic art seems to have b n understood in ancient times, but the exhibitions of it were probably as dull and jejune as the ca-

* Chinese as They Are, Chap. VIII. Chinese Repository, Vol. VIII., pp. 30–54. Chinese Chrestomathy.

perings of puppets. In tumbling and balancing the Chinese are almost unequalled, but one would almost as soon think of associating music and medicine, as that Chinese music should be accompanied by quadrilles and cotillions, or that men with shoes like pattens could lead off women with feet like hoofs through the turns and mazes of a waltz or fandango.

The deficiencies of the Chinese in music will not lead us to expect much from them in painting or sculpture, for all seem to flow so much from the same general perception of the beautiful in sound and form, that where one is deficient, all are likely to be unappreciated. This want in Chinese mind, for we are hardly at liberty to call it a defect, is, to a greater or less degree, observable in all the races of Eastern Asia, none of whom exhibit a high appreciation of the beautiful or sublime in nature or art, or have produced much which proves that their true principles were ever understood. Painting is rather behind sculpture, but neither can be said to have advanced beyond rude imitations of nature.

Even the best painters have no proper idea of perspective, or of blending light and shade, but the objects are exhibited as much as possible on a flat surface, as if the painter drew his picture from a balloon, and looked at the country with a vertical sun shining above him. As might be inferred from their deficiencies in linear drawing and landscapes, they eminently fail in delineating the human figure in its right proportions, position, and expressions, and of grouping the persons introduced into a piece in natural attitudes. The study of the human figure in all its proportions has not been attended to by painters, much more than its anatomy has by surgeons. Shadows upon portraits are considered a great defect, and in order to avoid them a front view is usually taken. Landscapes are also painted without shading, the remote objects being as minutely depicted as those in the foreground, and the point of view in pieces of any size is changed for the nearer and remote parts. The vanishing point of a picture is not a single one, which would of course be inferred from their ignorance of perspective and the first elements of drawing.

Designing in outline is a favorite style of the art, and the wealthy are fond of adorning their houses with rough sketches in ink of figures and landscapes; but the humblest of such com

positions as are common in the galleries and studios of western countries have never been produced by Chinese artists. Some of their representations of abstract ideas are at least singular to us, and like many other things brought from their country, attract our notice from their oddity ; one is here inserted.

Representation of a Man Dreaming.

The coloring of the Chinese is executed with great skill and accuracy—too much, indeed, in many cases, so that the painting loses something of the effect it would otherwise have from the scrupulous minuteness of the detail, though it looks well in paintings of flowers, animals, costumes, ornaments, and other single objects, where this filling up is necessary to a true idea of the original. The tints of the human countenance are no better done, however, than its lineaments, and the lifeless opacity suggests the idea that the artist was not called in until his patron was about to be entombed from the sight of his sorrowing family. The paintings obtained at Canton may, some of them, seem to disprove these opinions of the mediocrity attained by the artists in that country, but the productions of the copyists in that city are not the proper criteria of native uneducated art. Some of

them have had so much practice in copying foreign productions, that it has begun to correct their own notions of designing. These constitute, however, a very small proportion of the whole, and have had no effect on national taste. The designs to be seen on plates and bowls are, although not the best, fairer specimens of art than the pieces sometimes procured at Canton. The beautiful fidelity with which engravings are copied at Canton is best seen in the paintings on ivory, especially miniatures and figures, some of which fully equal similar productions made elsewhere.

The paintings on pith paper, or *rice paper*, as it is commonly but incorrectly called, are also much sought after for their splendid colorings. This substance, whose velvety surface contrasts so admirably with brilliant colors, is a delicate vegetable film, consisting of long hexagonal cells, whose length is parallel to the surface of the film, and which are filled with air when the film is in its usual state; the peculiar softness which so well adapts it for receiving colors is owing to this structure. It is obtained from a plant allied to the Artocarpus or bread-fruit, growing in the western provinces, but no very accurate information is possessed of its habits or appearance; some say it is a water plant. The pith is carefully taken out and cut in sheets by running a knife around it, and smoothing them with an iron. When the tissue breaks, the fracture is connected by a lamina of mica. An india-ink outline is first transferred by dampening and pressing it upon the paper, when the ink strikes off sufficiently to enable the workman to fill up the sketch; one outline will serve for limning several copies, and in large establishments the separate colors are laid on by different workmen. The manufacture of these paintings at Canton employs between two and three thousand hands.

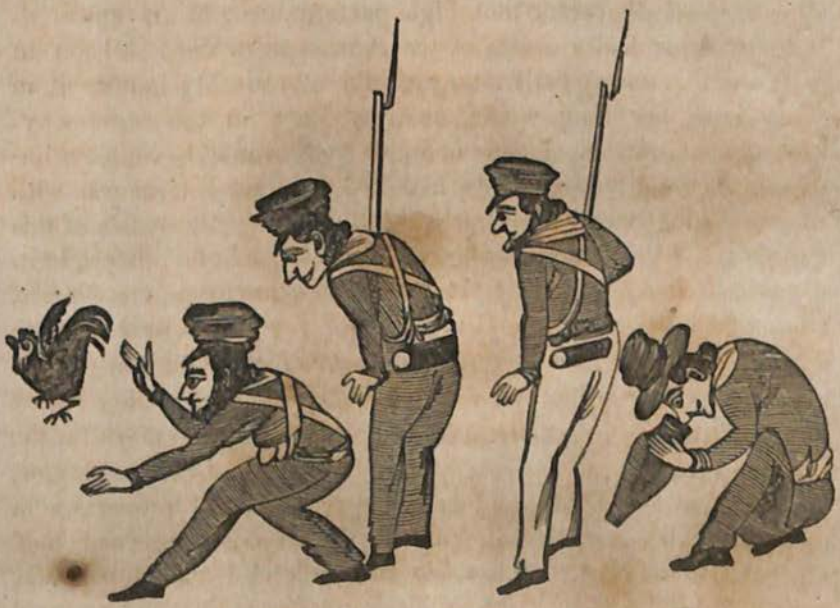
Another tissue sometimes used by the Chinese for painting, more remarkable for its singularity than elegance, is the reticulated nerve-work of grape leaves, the fleshy green part of the leaf having been removed by maceration, and the membrane filled with isinglass. The appearance of a painting on this transparent substance is pretty, but the colors do not retain their brilliancy. The Chinese admire paintings on glass, and some of the moonlight scenes or thunder-storms are good specimens of their art. The clouds and dark parts are done with india-ink, and a dark shade well befitting the subject is imparted to the whole scene by underlaying it with a piece of blackish paper.

Portraits and other subjects are also done on glass, but the indifferent execution is rendered still more conspicuous by the transparency of the ground; the Hindus purchase large quantities of glass pictures of their common gods and goddesses. Looking-glasses are also painted on the back with singular effect by removing the quicksilver with a steel point according to a design previously sketched, and then painting the denuded portion.

Sculpture is confined chiefly to making idols, or carving animals to adorn balustrades and temples. Idols are usually made of wood or clay, and sometimes of stone; they are generally fully dressed and seated, the face and hands being the only parts of the body seen, so that little or no opportunity is afforded for imitating the muscles and contour of the figure. The hideous monsters which guard the threshold of temples often exhibit more artistic conception than the unmeaning images enshrined within, and some of them even display considerable character and proportion. Among their best performances of this sort are the clay models sold in Canton, representing different costumes and craftsmen; and the Chinese museums brought to the United States contain good specimens of their efforts in this kind of modelling. Animals are sculptured in granite, showing great skill and patience in the detail work, and bungling deformity in the model, resulting in the production of such animals, indeed, as were probably never beheld in any world. Images of lions, tigers, tortoises, elephants, rams, and other animals, ornament bridges, temples, or tombs. Capt. Loch says the elephants were the only tolerable representations in the long avenue of warriors, horses, lions, &c., leading up to the tombs of the emperors at Nanking. The united effect of the elaborate carving and grotesque ornaments seen upon the roofs, woodwork, and pillars of buildings, is not devoid of beauty, though in their details there is a great violation of the true principles of art, just as the expression of a face may please which still has not a handsome feature in it. Short columns of stone or wood, surmounted by a lion, and a lizard or dragon twisting himself about the shaft, the whole cut out of one block; or a lion rampant with half a dozen cubs crawling over *his* body, are among the ornaments of temples and graves, which the taste of the people highly admires.

The Chinese have a sense of the ridiculous, and exhibit it both in their sculpture and drawing in many ways. Lampoons, pas-

quinades, and caricatures are common, nor is any person spared by their pens or pencils, below the dragon's throne, though they prefer subjects not likely to involve the authors, as in the one here selected from the many elicited during the war.



Caricature of an English Foraging Party.

By far the best specimens of sculpture are their imitations of fruits, flowers, animals, &c., cut out of soft stone, gnarled roots of bamboo, wood, and other materials; but in these we admire rather the unwearied patience and cunning of the workmen in making grotesque combinations and figures out of apparently intractable materials, than seek for any indications of a pure taste or embodyment of an exalted conception. Carving inscriptions upon the faces of rocks, as was the case in India and Arabia (Job xxx. 24), is not unknown, and the picturesque characters of the language make a pretty appearance in such situations. These inscriptions are usually of a religious character, more or less connected with *fung-shwui* or geomancy.

The small advances made in architecture may be ascribed to this same feature in Chinese mind, for if they had not enough conception of the beautiful when exhibited in the comparatively cheap form of a pa'nting or a statue, they were not likely to

attempt it in the grander and more expensive form of a palace or a temple. The same trait was exhibited in the Huns and other nations of the Mongolian stock, long after they had settled in Europe and western Asia, and it was not till their amalgamation with the imaginative nations of southern Europe had changed their original character that high performances in art appeared. If the Chinese had a model of the Parthenon or the Pantheon in their own country, belike they would measurably imitate it in every part, but they would erect a dozen in the same way. Perhaps an infusion of elegance and taste would have been imparted to them if the people had had frequent intercourse with more imaginative nations, but when there were no models of this superior kind to follow, there was no likelihood of their originating them. In many of the lighter edifices, as pavilions, rest-houses, summer-houses, and arbors, there is, however, a degree of taste and adaptation that is unusual in most of their buildings, and quite in keeping with their fondness for tinsel and gilding rather than solidity and grandeur. On this point, Lay's remark on the characteristics of the Attic, Egyptian, Gothic, and Chinese styles, is apposite. "If we would see beauty, size, and proportion in all their excellence, we should look for it among the models of Greece; if we desire something that was wild and stupendous, we should find it in Egypt; if grandeur, with a never-sated minuteness of decoration, please us, we need look no further than to a cathedral; and lastly, if the romantic and the old fashioned attract our fancy, the Chinese can point us to an exhaustless store in the recesses of their vast empire. A lack of science and of conception is seen in all their buildings, but fancy seems to have had free license to gambol at pleasure; and what the architect wanted in developing a scheme he made up in a redundancy of imagination."

The Chinese have made but little progress in investigating the principles and forces of mechanics, but have practically understood most of the common powers in the various applications of which they are capable. The lever, wheel and axle, wedge, and pinion, are all known in some form or other, but the modification of the wedge in the screw is not frequent. The sheave-blocks on board their vessels have only one pulley, but they understand the advantages of the windlass, and have adopted the capstan in the working of vessels, driving of piles, raising of timber, &c.

They have long understood the mode of raising weights by a hooked pulley running on a rope, attached at each end to a cylinder of unequal diameters; by this contrivance, as the rope wound around the larger diameter it ran off the smaller one, raising the weight to the amount of the difference between the circumference of the two cylinders, at a very small expense of strength. The graduations of the weighing beam indicate their acquaintance with the relations between the balance and the weight on the long and short arm of the lever, and this mode of weighing is preferred for gold, pearls, and other valuable things. The overshot water-wheel is used to turn stones for grinding wheat, and set in motion pestles to hull rice, and press oil from seeds; and the undershot power for raising water. There is a great expenditure of human strength in most of their contrivances, and in many the object seems to have been rather to give a direction to this strength than to abridge it. For instance, they prefer to put a number of slings upon a heavy stone and carry if off bodily on poles, than to make a low car to roll it on at half the expense of human power.

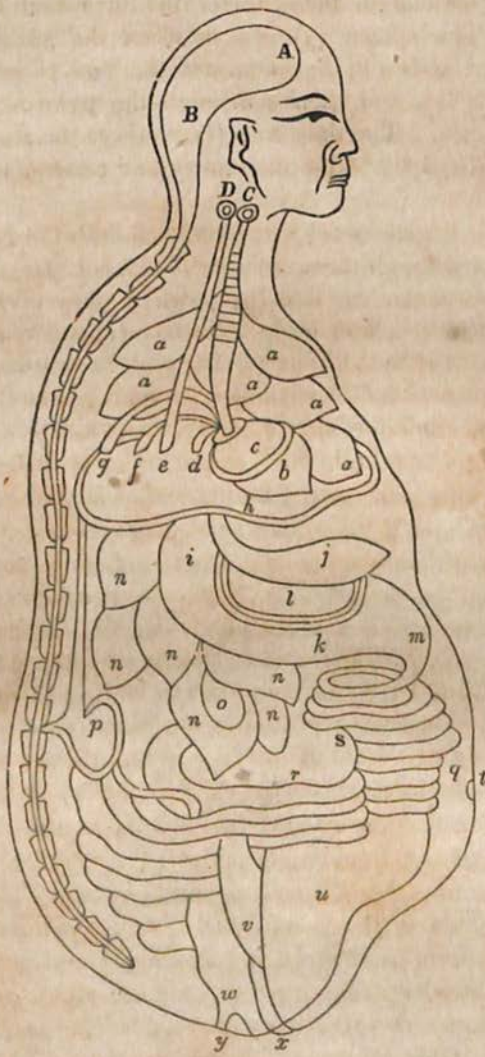
In other departments of science, the attainments of the people are few and imperfect. Chemistry and metallurgy are unknown as sciences, but many operations in them are performed with a considerable degree of success. Sir J. Davis gives the detail of some experiments in the oxydizing of quicksilver, and preparation of mercurial medicines, which were performed by a native in the presence and at the request of Dr. Pearson at Canton, and "afforded a curious proof of similar results obtained by the most different and distant nations, possessing very unequal scientific attainments; and bore no unfavorable testimony to Chinese shrewdness and ingenuity in the existing state of their knowledge."* The same opinion might be safely predicated of their metallurgic manipulations, though the same opportunity has not been afforded for scientific foreigners to examine them; and the character of the work thrown out is the only index of the efficacy of the process.

This compendious review of the science of the Chinese can be brought to a close by a brief account of their theory and practice of medicine and surgery. Although this people are almost as

* The Chinese, Vol. II., pp. 266, 268–70.

superstitious as the Hindus or North American Indians, they do not depend in case of sickness upon incantations and charms for relief, but resort to the prescriptions of the physician as the most reasonable and likely way to recover; mixed up, indeed, with many strange practices to assist the efficacy of the doses, such as pulling the skin of the neck till it is black and blue in order to haul out the evil spirit within. The dissection of the human body is never attempted, though some notions of its internal structure are taught in medical works. The opposite diagram of the internal arrangement of the viscera presents the popular opinions on this subject, for whatever foreigners may have imparted to them has not yet become generally known.

The Chinese seem to have no idea of the distinction between venous and arterial blood, nor between muscles and nerves, applying the word *kin* to both tendons and nerves. According to these physiologists, the brain (A) is the abode of the *yin* principle in its perfection, and at its base (B), where there is a reservoir of the marrow, communicates through the spine with the whole body. The larynx (C) goes through the lungs directly to the heart, expanding a little in its course, while the pharynx (D) passes over them to the stomach. The lungs (*a*, *a*, *a*, *a*, *a*) are white, and placed in the thorax; they consist of six lobes or leaves suspended from the spine; four on one side and two on the other; sound proceeds from holes in them, and they rule the various parts of the body. The centre of the thorax (or pit of the stomach) is the seat of the breath; joy and delight emanate from it, and it cannot be injured without danger. The heart (*b*) lies underneath the lungs, and is the prince of the body; thoughts proceed from it. The pericardium (*c*) comes from and envelops the heart and extends to the kidneys. There are three tubes communicating from the heart to the spleen, liver, and kidneys, but no clear ideas are held as to their office. Like the pharynx, they pass through the diaphragm, which is itself connected with the spine, ribs, and bowels. The liver (*n*, *n*, *n*, *n*, *n*) is on the right side and has seven lobes; the soul resides in it, and schemes emanate from it; the gall-bladder (*o*) is below and projects upwards into it, and when the person is angry it ascends; courage dwells in it; hence the Chinese sometimes procure the gall-bladder of animals, as tigers and bears, and even of men, especially notorious bandits executed for their crimes, and eat



Chinese Notions of the Internal Structure of the Human Body.

A, B—The brain. *C*—Larynx. *D*—Pharynx. *a,a,a,a,a*—Lungs. *b*—Heart. *c*—Peri cardium. *d*—Bond of connexion with the spleen. *e*—The œsophagus. *f*—Bond of connexion with the liver. *g*—Bond of connexion with the kidneys. *h*—The diaphragm. *i*—Cardiac extremity. *j*—The spleen. *k*—The stomach. *l*—Omentum. *m*—The pylorus. *n,n,n,n,n,n*—The liver. *o*—The gall-bladder. *p*—The kidneys. *q*—The small intestines. *r*—The large intestines. *s*—Caput coli. *t*—The navel. *u*—The bladder. *v*—The "gate of life," sometimes placed in the right kidney. *w*—The rectum. *x,y*—The urinal and fœcal passages.

the bile contained in them, under the idea that it will impart courage. The spleen (*j*) lies between the stomach and diaphragm, and assists in digestion, and the food passes from it into the stomach (*k*), and thence through the pylorus (*m*) into the large intestines. The omentum (*l*) overlays the stomach, but its office is unknown, and the mesentery and pancreas are entirely omitted.

The small intestines (*q*) are connected with the heart, and the urine passes through them into the bladder, separating from the food or fœces at the caput coli (*s*), where they divide from the larger intestines. The large intestines (*r*) are connected with the lungs, and lie in the loins, having sixteen convolutions. The kidneys (*p*) are attached to the spinal marrow, and resemble an egg in shape, and the subtle generative fluid is eliminated by them, above to the brain and below to the spermatic cord and sacral extremity; the testes, called *wai shin* or outside kidneys, communicate with them. The right kidney, or the passage from it (*v*), is called the "gate of life," and sends forth the subtle fluid to the spermatic vessels. The bladder (*u*) lies below the kidneys, and receives the urine from the small intestines at the iliac valve.

The osteology of the frame is briefly dispatched; the pelvis, skull, fore-arm, and leg, are considered as single bones, the processes of the joints being quite dispensed with, and the whole considered merely as a kind of internal framework, on and in which the necessary fleshy parts are upheld, but with which they have not much more connexion by muscles and ligaments than the post has with the pile of mud it upholds. The irrigation of the body with blood is rather complicated, and authors vary greatly as to the manner in which it is accomplished. Some pictures represent tubes issuing from the fingers and toes, and running up the limbs into the trunk, where they are lost, or reach the heart, lungs, or some other organ as well as they can, wandering over most parts of the body in their course. Theories are furnished in great variety to account for the nourishment of the body and the unctions of the viscera, and upon their harmonious connexion wit each other, and the five metals, colors, tastes, and planets, is founded the well-being of the system; with all they hold an intimate relation, and their actions are alike built on the all pervading functions of the *yin* and *yang*—those universal solvents in Chinese philosophy. The pulse is very carefully studied, and its condi-

tion regarded as the index of every condition of the body, even to determining the sex of an unborn infant; great parade is usually made by every practitioner in examining this important symptom. A diseased state of an organ is supposed to be owing to a disagreement of the *yin* and *yang*, the presence of bad humors, or the more powerful agency of evil spirits, and until these agencies are corrected, medicines cannot exercise their full efficacy. The surface of the body receives the closest attention, for there is not a square inch without its appropriate name. Plasters and lotions are applied to these places according to the diagnosis of the disease, predicated on the dual theory; and the strolling quacks and regular practitioners both administer the rationale and the dose together,—considering, probably, that the medicine would lose half its efficacy upon the organs it was intended to affect if it was not mixed with faith to operate upon the sentient principle lodged there.

The practice of the Chinese is far in advance of their theory, and some of their treatises on dietetics and medical practice contain good advice, the result of experience. Dr. W. Lockhart, now of Shanghai, has translated a native treatise on midwifery, in which the author, confining himself principally to the best modes of treatment in all the stages of parturition, and dwelling briefly on the reasons of things, has greatly improved upon the physiologists. This branch of the profession is chiefly in the hands of women. Surgical operations are confined, for the most part, to removing a tooth, puncturing sores and tumors with needles, or trying to reduce dislocations and reünite fractures by pressure or bandaging. Sometimes they successfully execute more difficult cases, as the amputation of a finger, operation for a harelip, and insertion of false teeth. In one case of dentistry, four incisor teeth made of ivory were strung upon a piece of catgut and secured in their place by tying the string to the eye-teeth; they were renewed quarterly, and served the purpose tolerably well. The common practice of acupuncture, or thrusting needles of different sizes and lengths into the parts affected, has good results among some bad ones. That of applying cauteries and caustics of various degrees of power is more general, and sometimes entails shocking distress upon the patient. Cases have presented themselves at the hospitals, where small sores, by the application of escharotics, have extended until a large part of

the tissue, and even important organs, have been destroyed, the charlatan amusing his suffering patient by promises of ultimate cure. The moxa, or burning the flowers of the amaranthus upon the skin, is attended with less injury than the use of these acrid irritants.

Turning in of the eyelashes, or entropium, is a common ailment, and native practitioners attempt to cure it by everting the lid and fastening it in its place by two slips of bamboo tightly bound on, or a pair of tweezers, until the loose fold on the edge sloughs off; the eye is, however, more frequently disfigured by this clumsy process than the trouble remedied. Poultices made of many strange or disgusting substances are applied to injured parts. Dr. Parker mentions a man, who, having injured the iris by a fall, his doctor ordered half a chicken to be laid on the eye as a cataplasm, and the other half to be eaten. Venesection is rarely attempted, but leeches and cupping are employed to remove the blood from a particular spot. Blood-letting is disapproved in fevers, "for," says the Chinese reasoner, "a fever is like a pot boiling; it is requisite to reduce the fire and not diminish the liquid in the vessel, if we wish to cure the patient."

Many of the operations in cases of fracture present a strange mixture of folly and sense, proceeding from their ideas of the internal structure of the human body conflicting with those which common sense and experience teach them are necessary. Father Ripa's description of the treatment he underwent to prevent the ill effects of a fall will serve as an illustration. Having been thrown from his horse and left fainting in the street, he was carried into a house, where a surgeon soon visited him. "He made me sit up in bed, placing near me a large basin filled with water, in which he put a thick piece of ice to reduce it to a freezing point. Then stripping me to the waist, he made me stretch my neck over the basin, while he continued for a good while to pour the water on my neck with a cup. The pain caused by this operation upon those nerves which take their rise from the pia mater was so great and insufferable that it seemed to me unequalled, but he said it would stanch the blood and restore me to my senses, which was actually the case, for in a short time my sight became clear and my mind resumed its powers. He next bound my head with a band drawn tight by two men who held the ends, while he struck the intermediate parts vigorously with a

piece of wood, which shook my head violently, and gave me dreadful pain. This he said was to set the brain, which he supposed had been displaced, and it is true that after the second operation my head felt more free. A third operation was now performed, during which he made me, still stripped to the waist, walk in the open air supported by two persons; and while thus walking he unexpectedly threw a basin of freezing cold water over my breast. As this caused me to draw my breath with great vehemence, and as my chest had been injured by the fall, it may easily be imagined what were my sufferings under this infliction; but I was consoled by the information that if any rib had been dislocated, this sudden and hard breathing would restore it to its natural position. The next proceeding was not less painful and extravagant. The operator made me sit on the ground, and assisted by two men, held a cloth upon my mouth and nose till I was almost suffocated. 'This,' said the Chinese Esculapius, 'by causing a violent heaving of the chest, will force back any rib that may have been dislocated.' The wound in my head not being deep, he healed it by stuffing it with burnt cotton. He then ordered that I should continue to walk much, supported by two persons, that I should not sit long, nor be allowed to sleep till ten o'clock at night, at which time I should eat a little thin rice soup. He assured me that these walks in the open air while fasting, would prevent the blood from settling upon the chest, where it might corrupt. These remedies, though barbarous and excruciating, cured me so completely that in seven days I was able to resume my journey."—*Ripa's Residence*, p. 67.

Mercury, in its common preparations of calomel or red precipitate, is exhibited by Chinese physicians, but their list and use of mineral medicines is small. The number of apothecary shops in towns indicates the great consumption of medicine; their arrangement is like the druggist shops in the west, though instead of huge glass jars at the windows filled with bright colored liquids, and long rows of vials and decanters in glass cases, three or four branching deer's horns are suspended from the walls, and lines of white and black gallipots cover the shelves. Hartshorn is reduced to a dust by filing, for exhibition in consumption. Many roots, as rhubarb, gentian, &c., are prepared by paring them into thin laminæ; others are powdered in a mortar with a pestle, or triturated in a narrow iron trough in

which a close fitting wheel is worked by the feet or hands. The use of acids and reägents is unknown, for they imply more knowtege of chemistry than the Chinese possess. Vegetable substances, as camphor, myrrh, ginseng, rhubarb, gentian, and a great variety of roots, leaves, seeds, and barks, are generally taken as pills or decoctions. Ginseng and rhubarb are extensively administered, a dose would hardly be considered complete without them.

The people sometimes cast lots as to which one of a dozen doctors they shall employ, and then scrupulously follow his directions whatever they may be, as a departure therefrom would vitiate the sortilege. Sometimes an invalid among the poor will go to a doctor, and ask for how much he will cure him, and how soon the cure can be performed. He states the diagnosis of his case, the pulse is examined, and every other symptom investigated, when the bargain is struck, and a portion of the price paid. The patient then receives the suitable medicines, in quantity and variety better fitted for a horse than a man, for the doctor reasons that out of a great number it is more likely that some will prove efficacious, and the more he gets paid for, the more he ought to administer. A decoction of a kettle-full of simples is drunk down by the sick man, and he gives up both working and eating; if, however, at the expiration of the time specified he is not cured, he scolds his physician for an ignorant charlatan who cheats him out of his money, and seeks another, with whom he makes a similar bargain, and probably with similar results. Sagacious observance of cause and effect, symptoms and pains, gradually give a shrewd physician great power over his ignorant patients, and some of them become both rich and influential; a skilful physician is honored as the "nation's hand."

There is a regular system of fees among the profession, but the remuneration is often left to the generosity of the patient. New medicines, pills, powders, and salves, are advertised and puffed by flaunting placards on the walls of the streets, but the Chinese have not adopted the system of puffing new nostrums by publishing a long list of recommendations from patients. Some of these handbills are abominably indecent in their details. The various ways devised by persons to dispose of their medicines exhibit the ingenuity of the Chinese. Sometimes a man, having spread a mat at the side of the street, and marshal-

led his gallipots and salves, will commence a harangue upon the goodness and efficacy of his preparations in loud and eloquent tones, until he has collected a crowd of hearers, some of whom he manages to persuade will be the better for taking some of his potions. He will exhibit their efficacy by first pounding his naked breast with a brick till it is livid, and then immediately healing the contusion by a lotion, having previously fortified the inner parts with a remedy; or he will cut open his flesh and heal the wound in a few moments by a wonderful elixir, all of which he alone has to sell. Others, more learned or more professional, erect a pavilion or awning, fluttering with signs and streamers, and quietly seat themselves under it to wait for customers; or content themselves with a flag perched on a pole, setting forth the potency of their pills. Dentists make a rosary or necklace of the rotten teeth they have obtained from the jaws of their customers, and perambulate the streets with these trophies of their skill. In general, however, the Chinese enjoy good health, and when ill from colds or fevers, lie abed and suspend working and eating, which in most cases allows nature to work her own cure, whatever doses they may take. They are perhaps as longlived as most nations, though sanatory statistics are of course wanting to enable us to form any indisputable conclusions on this head.

The classes of diseases which most prevail in China are ophthalmic, cutaneous, and digestive; intermittent fevers are also common. The great proportion of affections of the eye which are met with has often attracted observation. Dr. Lockhart, in his report of the hospital at Chusan, ascribes it partly to the inflammation which often comes on at the commencement of winter, and which is allowed to run its course, leaving the organ in an unhealthy condition, and very obnoxious to other diseases. This inflammation is beyond the skill of the native practitioners, and sometimes destroys the sight in a few days. Another fruitful source of disease is the practice of the barbers of turning the lids over, and clearing their surfaces of the mucus which may be lodged there. He adds, "If the person's eyes be examined after this process, they will be found to be very red and irritated, and in process of time chronic conjunctivitis supervenes, which being considered proof of insufficient cleansing, the practice is persisted in, and the inner surface of the lid becomes covered with granulations. In other cases, it becomes indurated like

thin parchment, and the tarsal cartilages contract and induce entropium." Dense opacity of the cornea itself is frequently caused by this *barberous* practice, or constant pain and weeping ensues, both of which materially injure the sight, if the patient does not lose it. The practice of cleansing the ears in a similar way frequently results in their serious injury, and sometimes destruction. When the ill effects of such treatment of these delicate organs must be plain to every observing person in his own case, it is strange that he should still allow the operation to be repeated.

The physicians in charge of the missionary hospitals so successfully established at Canton, Amoy, Hongkong, and other places in China, have attended more to diseases of the eye than any other class of maladies, and the number of cases brought under their notice consequently bears an undue proportion to the whole catalogue. The forms of these diseases most common are ophthalmia and opaque cornea, of which, out of 2190 cases treated by Dr. Parker at Canton in 1836, there were 375, or nearly one sixth of them of the various species of acute, chronic, purulent, and rheumatic ophthalmia, and ophthalmitis; and the same proportion of opaque and ulcerated corneas. Of the total number of cases, 160 had cataracts, 171 were operated upon for entropium, and 148 had lost both eyes. At Amoy, out of 571 cases of eye diseases, there were 233 or about three sevenths, afflicted with conjunctivitis, much of which may be ascribed, probably, mediately or immediately, to the dealings of the barbers. At Chusan, a still greater proportion of affections of the lids and cornea, referrible to this same practice, was noticed, there being, out of 1554 cases registered in 1840, more than eight hundred of them diseases of these parts. Cataracts are common, especially among aged persons, and their frequency is ascribable, mainly, to the inability of the natives to couch them.

Asthma, even in boys, frequently occurs at Amoy, and consumption at Canton and Chusan. Intermittent fevers are common at the south, and more or less wherever the cultivation of rice is carried on near villages and towns. Elephantiasis is more frequent at Chusan than Canton, where leprosy seems to exist as its equivalent. This loathsome disease is regarded by the Chinese as incurable and contagious. Lazar houses are provided for the residence of the infected, but as the allowance of poor patients is

insufficient for their support, they go from street to stree soliciting alms, to the great annoyance of every one. As soon as it appears in an individual, he is immediately separated from his family and driven forth an outcast, to herd with others similarly affected, and get his living from precarious charity. The institution of lazarettoes is praiseworthy, but they fail of affording relief on account of the mismanagement and peculation of those who have their supervision; and those who cannot get in are obliged to live in a separate part of the city. Lepers can intermarry among themselves, but on account of poverty and other causes, they do not often do so, and the hardships of their lot soon end their days. This disease will probably exist among the Chinese until houses are built more above the ground, better ventilation of cities, and improvement in diet, are adopted, when it will disappear as it has in southern Europe.

Diseases of the viscera of an acute inflammatory nature are not so fatal or rapid among the Chinese as Europeans, nor do consumptions carry off so large a proportion of the inhabitants as in the United States. Dyspepsia has been frequently met at Amoy, and is ascribed by Dr. Hepburn to the abundant use of salt provisions, pickled vegetables, and fish, irregularity in eating, opium smoking, and immoderate use of tea; though it may be questioned whether the two last reasons are more general and powerful at Amoy than Canton, where dyspepsia is comparatively rare. The diseases which result from vicious and licentious habits are not as violent in their effects as in countries where a greater use of animal food and higher living render the system more susceptible to the noxious consequences of the virus.

The existence of tumors and unnatural growths in great abundance and variety, which the establishment of the missionary hospitals has brought to notice, is satisfactorily accounted for by the inability of the native practitioners to remove them. Those which had a healthy growth increased until a morbid action supervened, and consequently sometimes grew to an enormous size. A peasant named Hu Lu went to England in 1831, to have an abdominal tumor extirpated weighing about 70 *lbs.*; he died under the operation. None so large have been removed at the hospitals in China, but great numbers of smaller ones on the neck and trunk have presented, and in most cases been safely removed. No patients bear operations with more fortitude than the Chinese,

and owing to their lymphatic temperament, they are followed with less inflammation than is usual in European practice. Goitre is common in the mountainous regions of the northern provinces, attended with its usual accompaniment of mental weakness or idiocy; Dr. Gillan estimated that nearly one sixth of the inhabitants met in the villages on the high land passed through by the embassy on its way to Jeh ho, were afflicted with this deformity; which, however, is said not to be so considered by the villagers themselves.

The Asiatic cholera has been almost as great a scourge in China as any other country in the world, but no data are available to show its progress. It raged at Ningpo in May, 1820, and an intelligent native doctor informed Mr. Milne (*Repository*, Vol. XII., p. 487), that it was computed that ten thousand persons were carried off by it in the city and department of Ningpo, during the summers of 1820-23. In 1842, it prevailed at Amoy and Changchau fu, and their vicinity, when more than a hundred deaths daily occurred at the former place, for six or seven weeks. It has never taken an epidemic form at Canton, but sporadic cases constantly occur. It raged violently at Hangchau fu, the provincial capital of Chehkiang, in 1821 and 1822, persons often dropping down dead in the streets, or dying in an hour or two after an attack; many myriads were computed to have fallen victims, and the native doctors finding their remedies useless, gave up all treatment. It carried off multitudes in Shantung and Kiangsu during the same years, and was as fitful in its progress in China as in Europe, going from one city to another, passing by towns apparently as obnoxious as those visited. The plague is said to have existed in southern China about the beginning of the sixteenth century, but it has not been heard of lately.

Small-pox is a great scourge, and although the practice and utility of vaccination have been known for twenty-five years past at Canton, its adoption is still limited even in that city. It was first introduced in 1820, by Dr. Pearson, of the East India Company's establishment, and native assistants were fully instructed by him in the practice. Vaccination has now to a greater or less degree extended over all the eastern provinces, and the government has given its sanction and assistance; and it is chiefly owing to the heedlessness of the people in not availing them

selves of it in time, that it has done no more to lessen the ravages of the disease. In the hospitals at Macao, where children were gratuitously vaccinated, it was found almost impossible to induce parents to bring them; and when the children had been vaccinated, it was increasingly difficult to get them to return, to allow the physician to see the result of the operation. A native practitioner at Canton, called Hequa, has conducted a vaccinating establishment for many years for his countrymen, and the results have been observable in the diminution of the disease in that vicinity. Inoculation has long been practised by inserting a pledget in the nostrils, containing the virus: this mode is occasionally adopted in vaccination. The slovenly habits of the Chinese, as well as insufficient protection and unwholesome food, give rise to many diseases of the skin, some of them quite incurable. The common itch is universal, and among the natives, no one seems to notice even its aggravated forms.

The practice of medicine has attracted considerable attention from the Chinese, and there are numerous treatises on its various branches. The common classification of diseases is under nine heads, viz. those which affect the pulse violently or feebly, those arising from cold, female and cutaneous diseases, those needing acupuncture, and diseases of the eyes, the mouth and its parts, and the bones. A professor of each of these classes is attached to the imperial family, who is taken from the Medical College at Peking; but he has no greater advantages there, than he could get in his own reading and practice. No museums of morbid or comparative anatomy exist in the country, nor are there any lectures or dissections; but the routine of practice is required which old custom has sanctioned. Sec. ccxcvii. of the Code orders, that "whenever an unskilful practitioner, in administering medicine, or using the puncturing needle, proceeds contrary to the established forms, and thereby causes the death of a patient, the magistrate shall call in other practitioners to examine the medicine or the wound, and if it appear that the injury done was unintentional, the practitioner shall then be treated according to the statute for accidental homicides, and shall not be any longer allowed to practise medicine. But if designedly he depart from the established forms, and deceives in his attempt to cure the malady in order to obtain property, then, according to its amount, he shall be treated as a thief; and if death ensue from

his mal-practice, then, for having thus used medicine with intent to kill, he shall be beheaded."* This statute is seldom carried into execution, however, and the doctors are allowed to kill and cure, *secundum artem*, as their patients give them the opportunity.

There are many medical works found in the hands of practitioners, and some of them show no little research on the part of the authors in every place except the right one, viz. the body itself. One of the most valuable is the *Pun Tsau*, or Herbal of Lí Shíchin of the Ming dynasty, already noticed in chapter VI. There is a list of two hundred and seventy-six medical works given, which supplied its compiler with the materials of his own performance, and of four hundred and eighty miscellaneous works, which furnished the notices of the habits, localities, &c., of the plants, animals, and other things mentioned.

Natural history, in its various branches of geology, botany, zoölogy, &c., has received some attention, because the objects which come under it could not escape the notice of all the writers in Chinese literature. As sciences, however, none of them have an existence, and they are studied chiefly for their assistance in furnishing articles for the materia medica of the native physician. To these persons nothing comes amiss, and, like the ingredients of the hubbling, bubbling caldron of Macbeth's witches, the stranger it is, the more potent they think a dose will be. Petrifactions of crabs and orthoceras, bezoar of cows, scales of pangolins, horns of rhinoceroses, paws of bears, tigers' bones, and other such like things, are sought after as medicines, and large sums paid for them. It is to be regretted that their investigations should have taken such a direction, but the man of commanding influence has not yet arisen to direct their researches into nature, and divert them from the marvellous and theoretical. On the whole it may be said that, in all departments of learning, the Chinese are unscientific; and, that while they have collected a few facts, invented many arts, and brought a few to a high degree of excellence, they have never pursued a single subject in a way calculated to lead them to a right understanding of it, and proper classification of the information they possessed relating to it.

* Chinese Chrestomathy, Chap. XVI., pp. 497–532.

CHAPTER XVII.

History and Chronology of China.

The history of the Chinese has excited less attention among western scholars than it deserves, though in some respects no nation has more claims to have its chronicles carefully and fairly examined; the best accounts of the succession of dynasties and leading events, are Mailla's translation and Pauthier's Chine in the Univers Pittoresque; and the sketches of Du Halde, Grosier, Gutzlaff, and others, afford a succinct view of its history. The belief is generally entertained that their pretensions to antiquity are ridiculous, and incompatible with the Mosaic chronology, not only making the world to have existed myriads of years, but reckoning the succession of their monarchs far beyond the creation, and ascribing to them a longevity that carries its own confutation on its face. In consequence of this opinion, some have doubted the native historians altogether, and the whole subject of the settlement and early progress of this ancient race has been considered beyond the reach, and almost unworthy the attempt, of sober investigation. But this is an erroneous and hasty conclusion, and the early records of the sons of Han contain much which is worthy of credence, and much more that is highly probable. A wide field is here opened for the researches of a Heeren or a Niebuhr, and as long as we are destitute of a good history of China, and its connexions with other Asiatic nations, we shall not only be unable to form a correct opinion respecting the people, but shall lack many important data for a full illustration of the early history of the human race. It is very easy to laud the early records of the Chinese to the skies, as the French writers have done; nor is it more unjust to cry them down, as is now the fashion. The reputation both the people and their records have received is owing, in some measure, to the undue laudation and depreciation they have received from foreigners, as well as to the intrinsic merits and defects of their histories, and

the want of correspondence they exhibit with the records and monuments of other times and countries.

China has her mythological history like other countries, and it should be separated from the more recent, and received, as her own historians regard it, as the fabrication of subsequent times. She also has her ancient history, whose earliest dates and events blend confusedly with the mythological, but gradually grow more credible and distinct as they come down the stream of time to the beginning of modern history. The early accounts of every nation whose founding was anterior to the invention of printing, or other means of making authentic records, must necessarily be obscure and doubtful. What is applicable to the Chinese has been true of other ancient people, and "national vanity and a love of the marvellous have influenced them all, and furnished materials for many tales, as soon as the spirit of investigation has supplanted that appetite for wonders which marks the infancy of nations as well as of individuals." The ignorance of the "art preservative of all arts" will greatly explain the subsequent record of the wonderful, without supposing that the infancy of nations partook of the same traits of weakness and credulity as that of individuals. In this work, it is unnecessary to repeat or abridge the details contained in authors, concerning the history and succession of dynasties that have swayed the Middle Kingdom, for to one not specially engaged in their examination, their recital is proverbially dry, and the array of uncouth names destitute of lasting interest; mainly because the absence of the charm of association with western nations, renders them uninviting to the general reader. Some account of the leading events and changes is all that is necessary to explain what has been elsewhere incidentally referred to.

Chinese historians have endeavored to explain the creation and origin of the world around them; but, ignorant of the sublime fact that there is one Creator who upholds his works by the word of his power, they have invented various modes to account for it, and wearied themselves in theorizing and disputing with each other. One of them, Yangtsz', remarks, in view of these conflicting suppositions, "Who knows the affairs of remote antiquity, since no authentic records have come down to us? He who examines these stories will find it difficult to believe them, and careful scrutiny will convince him that they are without foundation. In

the primeval ages no historical records were kept. Why then, since the ancient books that described those times were burnt by Tsin, should we misrepresent those remote ages, and satisfy ourselves with vague fables? But as everything except heaven and earth must have a cause, it is clear that they have always existed, and that cause produced all sorts of men and beings, and endowed them with their various qualities. But it must have been man who in the beginning produced all things on earth, and who may therefore be viewed as the lord, and from whom rulers derive their dignities."

This extract is not a bad example of Chinese writers and historians; a mixture of sense and nonsense, partially laying the foundation of a just argument, and ending with a tremendous non-sequitur, which form together an incoherent mélange like the clay and iron in the feet of Nebuchadnezzar's image. Most of the Chinese imagine that the world owes its existence to the retroactive agency of the dual powers *yin* and *yang*, which first formed the outline of the universe, and were themselves influenced by their own creations. One of the most sensible of their authors says:

"Heaven was formless, an utter chaos; and the whole mass was nothing but confusion. Order was first produced in the pure ether, and out of it the universe came forth; the universe produced air, and air the milky-way. When the pure male principle *yang* had been diluted, it formed the heavens; the heavy and thick parts coagulated, and formed the earth. The refined particles united very soon, but the union of the thick and heavy went on slowly; therefore the heavens came into existence first, and the earth afterwards. From the subtle essence of heaven and earth, the dual principles *yin* and *yang* were formed; from their joint operation came the four seasons, and these putting forth their energies gave birth to all the products of the earth. The warm effluence of the *yang* being condensed, produced fire; and the finest parts of fire formed the sun. The cold exhalations of the *yin* being likewise condensed produced water; and the finest parts of the watery substance formed the moon. By the seminal influence of the sun and moon, came the stars. Thus heaven was adorned with the sun, moon, and stars; the earth also received rain, rivers, and dust."*

But this acute explanation, like the notions of Hesiod among the Greeks, was too subtle for the common people; they also wanted

* Chinese Repository, Vol. III., page 55.

to personify and deify these powers and operations, but lacking the imaginative genius and fine taste of the Greeks, their mythological personages are outrageous, and their theories shapeless monsters. No creator of the world is known or imagined, who, like Brahm, lives in space, ineffable, formless; but the first man, Pwanku, had a herculean task given him, no less a work than to mould the chaos which produced him, and chisel out the earth that was to contain him. One legend is, "that the dual powers were fixed when the primeval chaos separated. Chaos is bubbling turbid water, which inclosed and mingled with the dual powers, like a chick *in ovo*, but when their offspring Pwanku appeared, their distinctiveness and operations were apparent. *Pwan* means a basin, referring to the shell of the egg; *ku* means solid, to secure, intending to show how the first man Pwanku was hatched from the chaos by the dual powers, and then settled and exhibited the arrangement of the causes which produced him."

The Rationalists have penetrated furthest into the Daedalian mystery of this cosmogony, and they go on to show what Pwanku did, and how he did it. They picture him holding a chisel and mallet in his hands, splitting and fashioning vast masses of granite floating confusedly in space. Behind the openings his powerful hand has made, are seen the sun, moon, and stars, monuments of his stupendous labors; and at his right hand, inseparable companions of his toils, but whose generation is left in obscurity, stand the dragon, the phœnix, and the tortoise, and sometimes the unicorn, divine types and progenitors with himself of the animal creation. His efforts were continued eighteen thousand years, and by small degrees he and his work increased; the heavens rose, the earth spread out and thickened, and Pwanku grew in stature, each of them six feet every day, till, his labors done, he died for the benefit of his handywork. His head became mountains, his breath wind and clouds, and his voice thunder; his limbs were changed into the four poles, his veins into rivers, his sinews into the undulations of the earth's surface, and his flesh into fields; his beard, like Berenice's hair, was turned into stars, his skin and hair into herbs and trees; and his teeth, bones, and marrow, into metals, rocks, and precious stones; his dropping sweat increased to rain, and lastly (*nascitur ridiculus mus*) the insects which stuck to his body were transformed into people!

Pwanku Chiselling out the Heavens.

Such was Pwanku, and these were his works. But these grotesque myths afford none of the pleasing images and personifications of Greek fable or Egyptian symbols; they fatigue without entertaining, and only illustrate the childish imagination of their authors. Pwanku was succeeded by three rulers of monstrous forms called the Celestial, Terrestrial, and Human sovereigns, impersonations of a trinity of powers, whose traces and influences run through Chinese philosophy, religion, and politics; their

acts and characters are detailed with the utmost gravity, and more than Methusalean longevity allowed them to complete their plans. Their reigns continued eighteen thousand years (more or less according to the author quoted), during which time good government commenced, men learned to eat and drink, the sexes united, sleep was invented, and other improvements adopted. One would think, if the subjects of these wonderful beings were as longlived, great perfection might have been attained in these and other useful arts; but the mysterious tortoise, companion of Pwanku, on whose carapace was written in tadpole-headed characters, the history of the anterior world, did not survive, and their record has not come down. After them flourished two other monarchs, one of them called Yu-chau, which means *having a nest*, and the other Sui-jin, or *match-man;* whether the former invented nests for the abodes of his subjects, such as the Indians on the Oronoco have, is not stated; but the latter brought down fire from heaven for them to cook with, and became a second, or rather the first, Prometheus.

One thing is observable in these fictions, characteristic of the Chinese at the present day: there is no hierarchy of gods brought in to rule and inhabit the world they made, no conclave on Mt. Olympus, nor judgment of the mortal soul by Osiris; no transfer of human love and hate, passions and hopes, to the powers above; but all is ascribed to disembodied agencies, and their works are represented as moving on in quiet order; there were boards, and academies, and observatories to take note of the heavenly bodies; the whole state was perfect in all its parts, it was as easy to rule the nation as it was to "turn the thumb in the palm of the hand." There is no religion in this cosmogony, and there is no imagination; all is impassible, passionless, uninteresting. It may, perhaps, be considered in itself as sensible as the Greek mythology, if any one looks for *sense* in such figments, but it has not, as their's has, been explained in sublime poetry, shadowed forth in gorgeous ritual and magnificent festivals, represented in exquisite sculptures, nor preserved in faultless, imposing fanes and temples, all full of ideal creations; and for this reason, it appears more in its true colors, and when compared with their's, "loses discountenanced and like folly shows,"—at least to us, who can examine both, and compare them with the truth.

Chinese mythological history ends with the appearance of

Fuhhí, and their chronology should not be charged with the long periods antecedent, varying from forty-five to five hundred thousand years, for the people themselves do not believe this duration. These periods are, however, a mere twinkling compared with the kulpas of the Hindus, whose highest era, called the Unspeakably Inexpressible, requires 4,456,448 cyphers following a unit to represent it. If the epoch of the reign of Fuhhí can be settled, or even ascertained with any probability by comparison with the history of other nations, or with existing remains, it would tend not a little to settle some disputed chronological points in other countries; but the isolation of the Chinese throughout their whole existence, makes it nearly impossible to weave in the events of their history with those of other nations, by comparing and verifying them with Biblical, Egyptian, or Persian annals. Perhaps further investigations in the vast regions of eastern and central Asia may bring to light corroborative testimony as striking and unexpected as the explorations in Mosul and Thebes.

The accession of Fuhhí is placed in the Chinese annals, B. C. 2852, or eight years after the death of Enos, 1152 years after the creation, and 508 before the deluge, according to the common received chronology of Usher. The weight of evidence which the later chronological examinations of Hales has brought to bear against the common period of 4004 years prior to the Advent, is such as to cast great doubt over its authenticity, and lead to the adoption of a longer period in order to explain many events, and afford time for many occurrences, which otherwise would be crowded into too narrow a space. Chinese chronology, if it be allowed the least credit, strongly corroborates the results of Dr. Hales' researches, and particularly so in the date of Fuhhí's accession. This is not the place to discuss the respective claims of the two eras, but by reckoning as he does, the creation to be 5411 years, and the deluge 3155 years, before the Advent, we bring the commencement of ancient Chinese history, 303 years subsequent to the deluge, 47 before the death of Noah, and about three centuries before the confusion of tongues. If we suppose that the antediluvians possessed a knowledge of the geography of the world, and that Noah, regarding himself as the monarch of the whole, divided it among his descendants before his death, there is nothing improbable in the further supposition that the progenitors of the black-haired race, and others of the house and lineage

of Shem, found their way from the valley of the Euphrates across the defiles and steppes of central Asia, to the fertile plains of China before the end of the third diluvian century. Whether the surface of the world was the same after the cataclysm as before, matters very little; there was ample time for the multiplication of the species with the blessing promised them by God, sufficient to form colonies, if there was time enough to increase to such a multitude as conspired to build the tower of Babel.

Fuhhí and his seven successors are stated to have reigned 747 years, averaging 93 each. Those who follow Usher consider these monarchs, if they ever had an existence, to be Chinese travesties of the eight antediluvian patriarchs; and Marquis d'Urban has gone so far as to write what he calls the Antediluvian History of China, collecting all the notices history affords of their acts. The common chronology brings the deluge about thirteen years after the accession of Yau, and the death of Shun the last of the eight, B. C. 2205, or 25 years after the confusion of tongues. According to Hales, the last epoch is 112 years before the call of Abraham, and these eight Chinese monarchs are therefore contemporaries of the patriarchs who lived between Shem and Abraham, commencing with Salah, and ending with Nahor. The duration of their reigns, moreover, is such as would bear the same proportion to ages of five hundred years, which their contemporaries lived, as the present average of twenty and twenty-five years does to a life of sixty.

Supposing that the descendants of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, knowing from their fathers and grandfather, that the void world was before them, began to colonize almost as soon as they began to form families, three centuries would not be too long a time for some of them to settle in China, perhaps offsetting from Elam and Asshur, and other descendants of Shem in Persia. The capital of Fuhhí, placed near Kaifung fu in Honan, slightly indicates, it may be thought, their route through central Asia and the pass Kiayü in Kansuh, and then down the Yellow river to the Great Plain. But these observations are only by the way, as is also the suggestion that teaching of fishing and grazing, the regulation of times and seasons, cultivation of music, and establishment of government, &c., compare well enough with the duties that might reasonably be supposed to belong to the founder of a colony, and subsequently ascribed to him as his own inventions

The long period allotted to human life at that date would allow these arts and improvements to take root, and their memory to remain in popular legends until subsequent historians incorporated them into their writings. This view of the credibility of Chinese chronology was strongly impressed upon the old Romish missionaries, and many of them were in favor of the chronology of the Septuagint from the congruity of the two, though every argument led them to adhere scrupulously to the Vulgate.

To Shinnung, i. e. Divine Husbandman, and Hwangtí, i. e. Yellow Emperor, are also ascribed many valuable inventions, but the Chinese themselves do not endeavor to uphold these particulars, referring their adoption to the age rather than to the monarchs. The first was the patron of agriculture, and discoverer of the medicinal properties of herbs; the second invented the cycle now in use; the calendar was formed in his reign, and characters were made for recording events. The Chinese annalists fill up the reigns of these chiefs, and their successors down to the time of Yau, with a series of inventions and improvements in the arts of life and good government, sufficient to bring society to that degree of comfort and order they suppose consonant with the character of the monarchs. The earliest records of the Chinese correspond rather too closely with their present character to receive full belief; but while they may be considered as unworthy of entire confidence, it will be allowed that they present an appearance of probability and naturalness hardly possessed by the early annals of Greece.

The establishment of the sexagenary cycle in the 61st year of Hwangtí's reign or B. C. 2637, 518 years after the deluge, 82 years after the death of Arphaxad, and about that time before the confusion of tongues, is a remarkable record; and although it would have been easy, as many suppose was done, to have antedated it at some subsequent period in order to impose upon themselves with the belief of antiquity, no arguments or facts are adduced to prove that such was the case. The uniform adherence to this peculiar mode of reckoning time certainly since the days of Confucius, and the high probability that it was generally adopted long before his time; the remembrance of the individual, Nau the Great, who invented it, and the odd date of its adoption in the middle of a reign, are all strong testimonies in favor of the date and antiquity ascribed to it.

Three reigns, averaging eighty years' duration, intervened between that of Hwangtí and the celebrated Yau, but no records have come down of the history of the rulers, except that they lived and died. They were all elected by the people, much as were Shamgar, Jephthah, and other judges in Israel, and probably exercised a similar sway. The reigns and characters of Yau and Shun have been immortalized by Confucius, and whatever was their real history, that sage showed his sagacity in going back to their remote times for his models, and fixing upon a period neither fabulous nor certain, one which prevented the cavils of scepticism and the appearance of complete fabrication. Whether they were fictitious personages or not, they are represented as following those principles of government which every man of sound judgment must approve; and their system of religious rites savors strongly of the simplicity of patriarchal times, when even in China the knowledge of the true God was not utterly lost.

A tremendous deluge occurred during the reign of Yau, B. C. 2293, caused, it is said, by the overflowing of the rivers in the north of China. Those who place the Noachic deluge B. C. 2348, regard this as only a different version of that event; the variation of 55 years being unimportant; M. Klaproth, who favors the Septuagint chronology, says it is nearly synchronous with the deluge of Xisuthrus, B. C. 2297. The record of this catastrophe in the Shu King is hardly applicable to an overwhelming flood: "Grandees," said the emperor, "we suffer much from the inundation; the waters cover the hills on every side, they overtop the mountains, and seem to be rising even to the skies. If any one can be found who is able to remedy this evil, I wish he may be employed."* They presented Kwăn as a proper man, but he showed his inefficiency in laboring nine years without success to drain off the waters. Yau was then advised to employ Shun, who called in Yu, a son of Kwăn, to his aid, and the floods were assuaged by deepening the beds of the rivers and opening new channels. These slight notices hardly comport with a flood like the Noachic deluge, and are with much greater probability referred to an overflow of one of the great rivers, or to the change in the bed of the Yellow river from its former course into the Gulf of Pechele through Chihlí north-east, to its present

* Gaubil's Shu King, p. 8.

one along the lowlands of Kiangsu. The weight of topographical evidence, combined with the strong chronological argument, the discussions in council said to have taken place regarding the disaster, and the time which elapsed before the region was drained, all presuppose and indicate a partial inundation, and strengthen the assumption that no traces of the Deluge exist in the histories of the Chinese. In our view of the chronology of the Bible as compared with the Chinese, it requires a far greater constraint upon these records to bring them to refer to that event, than to suppose they allude to a local disaster not beyond the power of remedy. These remarks of Yau may also have been put into their present shape by Confucius nearly seventeen centuries afterwards, and it may be supposed, without militating against their authenticity, that the extent of the flood has been described so as to do some honor to the distinguished men who remedied it.

The series of chieftains down to the accession of Yu may here be recapitulated. The fabulous period ends with Sui-jin, and ancient history commences with Fuhhí, who with four of his successors (Nos. 2, 3, 7, and 8), are commonly known as the Five Sovereigns. Their names and reigns are as follows:

NAMES.	YEARS REIGNED.	BEGAN B. C.	OTHER EVENTS.
1 Fuhhí	115	2852	The Deluge, B. C. 3155.
2 Shinnung	140	2737	Death of Noah, B. C. 2805.
3 Hwangtí	100	2697	
4 Shauhau	84	2597	Death of Arphaxad, 2715.
5 Chiuenhiuh	78	2513	Death of Shem, 2555.
6 Kuh	78	2435	From the year 2715, down to 2082,
7 Yau	102	2357	sixteen dynasties ruled in Egypt.
8 Shun	50	2255	

The records in the Shu King of Yau and Shun, and their successor Yu the Great, who began to reign B. C. 2205, are longer than those of any other persons who lived prior to Abraham. Those who follow Usher, regard Yu as being the leader of the first band of colonists from the west after the deluge, 139 years before,—much too short a time, however, for the collecting of a large colony when the intermediate countries were barely settled, and men were more inclined to join their efforts in building a tower. The chronicle represents the merits of Yu to have been first exhibited in reducing the waters, and dividing the country into nine regions, and as he had assisted Shun in his government

during his lifetime, he was unanimously called to the vacant dignity, and became the founder of the Hia dynasty. Allowing that the records of these times and people are brief and disjointed, and many things in them hard to reconcile, still they are superior to the legendary tales describing the formation of some other ancient states; and should not, in fairness, be ridiculed as trivial or rejected as fabulous. No one regards them as entirely trustworthy, but if Abraham found the Egyptians to be living under a regular government not 150 years after this, and Damascus, Nineveh, and other cities were then old, no one need be unwilling to give the Chinese a line of monarchs, and a population quite sufficient to have deepened the channel of a river, or raised dikes to restrain it. The glorious reigns and spotless characters of these three sovereigns are looked upon by the Chinese with much the same feelings of veneration that the Jews regard their three patriarchs; and to have had, or supposed to have, such progenitors and heroes is, to say the least, as much to their credit as the Achilles, Ulysses, and Romulus of the Greeks and Romans. A curious analogy can also be traced between the scheming Ulysses, warlike Romulus, and methodical Yau, and the subsequent character of the three great nations they represent.

Chinese historians supply many details regarding the conduct of Yu and Kich Kwei, the first and last princes of the house of Hia, all the credible particulars of which are taken from the classics, particularly the Book of Records. One of the most remarkable records of the reign of Yu is an inscription traced on the rocks of Hăng shan, one of the mountains where annual sacrifices were made by the ancient emperors, and preserved in Sí-ngan fu in Shensí. This inscription relates to the inundation, and is thus given by Amyot, who regards it as genuine, although it cannot be allowed to possess the same authenticity in its copied form as the inscriptions at Karnac and Mosul, which are still, so to speak, *in situ*.

"The venerable emperor said, Oh! aid and councillor! Who will help me in administering my affairs? The great and little islets (the inhabited places) even to their summits, the abodes of the beasts and birds, and all beings are widely inundated. Advise, send back the waters, and raise the dikes. For a long time, I have quite forgotten my family; I repose on the top of the mountain Yohlu. By prudence and my labors, I have moved the spirits; I know not the hours, but repose myself only

in my incessant labors. The mountains Hwa, Yoh, Tai, and Hăng, have been the beginning and end of my enterprise; when my labors were completed, I offered a thanksgiving sacrifice at the solstice. My affliction has ceased; the confusion in nature has disappeared; the deep currents coming from the south flow into the sea; clothes can now be made, food can be prepared, all kingdoms will be at peace, and we can give ourselves to continual joy."*

Whatever may be the exact date of this legend, it is confessedly a very ancient one, perhaps the most ancient of any in the world, though the tombs of Beni-Hassan, and the obelisk at Heliopolis erected by Osirtasen, are nearly as old, and much more trustworthy in regard to their antiquity. Chinese historians do not discard it, nor the other facts recorded of the princes of Hia, for those times would then be blank, but they receive them with doubt. Every one has observed how tame and reasonable are the Chinese annals of these remote times compared with the high wrought poetical legends of similar periods in other ancient states; and Klaproth remarks, that "this defect of incident is a proof in favor of their authenticity, for the ancient historians of China had rather own the absence of historical monuments, than to suppose such imaginary annals as the Shah-nameh. It is a new evidence of the exact matter-of-fact spirit which characterizes the Chinese."

Without exaggerating the importance and credibility of the Shu King and other ancient Chinese records, they can be received as the writings of a very remote period; and while their claims to trustworthiness would be fortified if more intimations had been given of the manner in which they were kept during the long period antecedent to the era of Confucius, they still deserve a more respectful consideration than some modern writers are disposed to allow them. For instance, Davis remarks, "Yu is described as nine cubits in height, and it is stated that the skies rained gold in those days, which certainly (as Dr. Morrison observes) lessens the credit of the history of this period." Now, without laying too much stress upon the record, or the objections against it, this height is but little more than that of Og of Bashan; and if *kin*, here called *gold*, be translated *metal* (which it can just as well be), it may be a notice of a meteoric

* Pauthier's Chine, p. 53; J Hager's Inscription of Yu, Paris, 1892

shower of extraordinary duration. Let these venerable writings be investigated in a candid, cautious manner, weighing their internal evidence, and comparing their notices of those remote periods as much as they can be with those of other nations, and they will illustrate ancient history and customs in no slight degree. Mr. Murray has given a synopsis from Mailla of what is recorded of the Hia dynasty, which will exhibit the matter of Chinese history. It is here introduced somewhat altered.

"The accession of Yu forms a remarkable era in Chinese history. The throne, which hitherto had been more or less elective, became from this period hereditary in the eldest son, with only those occasional and violent interruptions to which every despotic government is liable. The national annals, too, assume a more regular and authentic shape, the reigns of the sovereigns being at the same time reduced to a probable duration.

"Yu justly acquired a lasting veneration, but it was chiefly by his labors under his two predecessors. When he himself ascended the throne, age had already overtaken him; still the lustre of his government was supported by able councillors, till it closed with his life at the end of seven years. Many of the grandees wished, according to former practice, to raise to the throne Piyih, his first minister, and a person of distinguished merit; but regard for the father, in this case, was strengthened by the excellent qualities of his son Kí, or Tí Kí (i. e. the emperor Kí), and even Piyih insisted that the prince should be preferred. His reign of nine years was only disturbed by the rebellion of a turbulent subject, and he was succeeded by his son, Tai Kang. But this youth was devoted to pleasure; music, wine, and hunting, entirely engrossed his attention. The Chinese, after enduring him for twenty-nine years, dethroned him, and his brother, Chung Kang, was nominated to succeed, and held the reins of government for thirteen years with a vigorous hand. He was followed by his son, Tí Siang, who, destitute of the energy his situation required, gave himself up to the advice of his minister Yeh, and was by him, in connexion with his accomplice, Hantsu, declared incapable of reigning. The usurper ruled for seven years, when he was killed; and the rightful monarch collected his adherents and gave battle to Hantsu and the son of Yeh, in the endeavor to regain his throne. Tí Siang was completely defeated, and lost both his crown and life; the victors immediately marched to the capital, and made so general a massacre of the family, that they believed the name and race of Yu to be for ever extinguished.

"The empress Min, however, managed to escape, and fled to a remote city, where she brought forth a son, called Shau Kang; and the better to conceal his origin, she employed him as a shepherd boy to tend flocks. Reports of the existence of such a youth, and his occupation, at length

reached the ears of Hantsu, who sent orders to bring him, dead or alive. The royal widow then placed her son as under-cook in the household of a neighboring governor, where the lad soon distinguished himself by a spirit and temper so superior to this humble station, that the master's suspicions were roused, and obliged him to disclose his name and birth. The officer, being devotedly attached to the house of Yu, not only kept the secret, but watched for an opportunity to reinstate him, and meanwhile gave him a small government in a secluded situation, which he prudently administered. Yet he was more than thirty years old before the governor, by engaging other chiefs in his interest, could assemble such a force as might justify the attempt to make head against the usurper. The latter hastily assembled his troops and led them to the attack, but was defeated and taken prisoner, and Shau Kang, with his mother, returned with acclamations to the capital. His reign is reckoned to have been sixty-one years' duration in the chronology of the time, which no doubt includes the usurpation.

"The country was ably governed by Shau Kang, and also by his son, Ti Chu, who ruled for seventeen years; but the succeeding sovereigns, in many instances, abandoned themselves to indolence and pleasure, and brought the kingly name into contempt. From Ti Chu to Kieh Kwei, a space of 222 years, between B. C. 2040 and 1818, few records remain of the nine sovereigns, whose bare names succeed each other in the annals. At length the throne was occupied by Kieh Kwei, a prince, who is represented as having, in connexion with his partner, Mei-hi, practised every kind of violence and extortion, in order to accumulate treasure, which they spent in unbridled voluptuousness. They formed a large pond of wine, deep enough to float a boat, at which three thousand men drank at once. It was surrounded, too, by pyramids of delicate viands, which no one, however, was allowed to taste, till he had first intoxicated himself out of the lake. The drunken quarrels which ensued were their favorite amusement. In the interior of the palace the vilest orgies were celebrated, and the venerable ministers, who attempted to remonstrate against these excesses, were either put to death or exiled. The people were at once indignant and grieved at such crimes, which threatened the downfall of the dynasty; and the discarded statesmen put themselves under the direction of the wise I Yin, and advised Ching-tang, the ablest of their number, and a descendant of Hwangti, to assume the reins of government, assuring him of their support. He with reluctance yielded to their solicitations, and assembling a force marched against Kieh Kwei, who came out to meet him at the head of a numerous army, but fled from the contest on seeing the defection of his troops, and ended his days in despicable obscurity, after occupying the throne fifty-two years."*

* Murray's China, Vol. I., pages 51—55

Chinese annals are generally occupied in this way; the emperor and his ministers fill the whole field of historic vision; little is recorded of the condition, habits, arts, or occupations of the people, who are merely considered as attendants of the monarch, which is, in truth, a feature of the ancient records of nearly all countries and people. Monarchs controlled the chronicles of their reigns, and their vanity led them to represent the people as only made to fill up the background of their own stately dignity and acts.

The Shang dynasty began B. C. 1766, or about 120 years before the Exodus, and maintained an unequal sway over the feudal states composing the empire for a period of 644 years. Its first monarch, Chingtang, is reputed to have paid religious worship to Shangtí, the Supreme Ruler, under which name, perhaps, the true God was intended. On account of a severe drought of seven years' duration, this monarch is reported to have prayed, saying, "Do not, on account of the negligence of Ourself, a single individual, destroy the lives of the people." With regard to his own conduct, he blamed himself in six particulars, and his words were not ended when the rain descended copiously. The chronicles of the Shang dynasty resemble those of the Hia, in being little more than a mere succession of the names of the sovereigns, interspersed here and there with notices of some remarkable events in the natural and political world. Luxurious and despised princes alternate with vigorous and warlike ones who commanded respect, and the condition of the state measurably corresponded with the character of the monarchs, the feudal barons sometimes increasing in power and territory by encroaching on their neighbors, and then suffering a reduction from some new state. The names of twenty-eight princes are given, the accounts of whose reigns are not quite so meagre as those of the dukes of Edom in Genesis, but the slight notices would be more interesting, if the same confidence could be reposed in them.

The bad sovereigns occupy more room in these fasti than the good ones, and the palm of wickedness is given to Chau-sin, and his partner Tan-kí, with whom the dynasty ended. The wars which broke out during this dynasty were numerous; nearly every succession was followed by a state of anarchy. The droughts, famines, and other calamities, which occurred, were likewise frequent, and were attended by dreadful omens and

fearful sights; this fancied correlation between natural casualties and political convulsions, is a feature running through Chinese history, and grows out of the peculiar position of the monarch as the vicegerent of heaven. The people seem to have looked more to their local masters than to their lord paramount, for occupation and protection, ranging themselves under their separate banners, as they were bidden. The History Made Easy speaks of the twenty-fifth monarch, Wu-yih, as the most wicked of them all. "Having made his images of clay in the shape of human beings, dignified them with the name of gods, overcome them at gambling, and set them aside in disgrace, he then, in order to complete his folly, made leathern bags and filled them with blood, and sent them up into the air, exclaiming, when his arrows hit them, and the blood poured down, 'I have shot heaven,' meaning, I have killed the gods." This is the first instance of idolatry recorded, and if trustworthy, the natural inference is, that it was not till fifteen centuries after the settlement of the country that the Chinese first worshipped images, for Wu-yih began to reign B. C. 1198, or four years after Samson's death.

The names of Chausin and Tankí are synonymous in the Chinese annals for everything cruel and licentious, as Nero and Messalina are in Roman history, and the Book of Records dwells largely on their horrible crimes and debauchery, apparently in order to exculpate the conduct of Wu wang, who dethroned them, and founded the Chau dynasty. Chausin is said one winter's morning to have seen a few women walking bare-legged on the banks of a stream collecting shell-fish, and ordered their legs to be cut off, that he might see the marrow of persons who could resist cold so fearlessly. The heart of one of his reprovers was also brought him, in order to see wherein it differed from that of cowardly ministers. Many acts of this nature alienated the hearts of the people, until Wăn wang, the leader of a state in the north-west of China, united the principal men against his misrule; but dying, bequeathed his crown and power to his son, Wu wang, who overcame Chausin in one engagement. He, feeling the hopelessness of his cause, retired to his palace, and burned himself with all his treasures, like another Sardanapalus, though his immolation preceded the Assyrian's by more than three centuries.

Wu wang, the Martial king, the founder of the Chau dynasty,

his father, Wăn wang, and his brother, duke Chau, are among the most distinguished men of antiquity, celebrated by their biographer Confucius for their erudition, integrity, patriotism, and inventions. Wăn wang, the prince of Chau, was prime minister to Taiting, the grandfather of Chausin, but was imprisoned for his fidelity. His son obtained his liberation, and the sayings and acts of both occupy a large space in the Shu King. Duke Chau is reputed to have invented the compass, about B. C. 1112, though others ascribe it to Hwangtí, and survived his brother to become the director of the councils of his nephew. No period of ancient Chinese history is more celebrated among the people than that of the founding of this dynasty, chiefly because of the high character of its leading men, who were regarded by Confucius as the impersonations of everything wise and noble. Wu wang is represented as having invoked the assistance of Shangtí in his designs, and, when he was successful, returned thanks, and offered prayers and sacrifices. He removed the capital from the province of Honan to the present Síngan fu, in Shensí, where it remained for a long period. This prince committed a great political fault in dividing the empire into petty states, thus destroying the ancient pure monarchy, and leaving himself only a small portion of territory and power, which were quite insufficient, in the hands of a weak prince, to maintain either the state or authority due the ruling sovereign. The number of states at one time was one hundred and twenty-five, at another forty-one, and, in the time of Confucius, about 600 years after the establishment of the dynasty, fifty-two, all quarrelling among themselves. From about B. C. 700, the imperial name and power lost the allegiance and respect of the feudal princes, and gradually became contemptible. Its nominal sway extended over the country lying north of the Yangtsz' kiang, the regions on the south being occupied by tribes of whom no intelligible record has been preserved.

The duration of the three dynasties, the Hia, Shang, and Chau, comprises a very important period in the history of the world, extending from B. C. 2205 to 249, from the time when Terah dwelt in Charran, and the sixteenth dynasty of Theban kings ruled in Egypt, down to the reigns of Antiochus Soter and Ptolemy Philadelphus, and the translation of the Septuagint.

I. The HIA Dynasty, founded by Yu the Great, existed 439 years, down to B. C. 1766, under seventeen monarchs, the re-

cords of whose reigns are very brief. Among the contemporary events of importance are the call of Abraham, in the year B. C. 2093, Jacob's flight to Mesopotamia in 1916, Joseph's elevation in Egypt in 1885, and his father's arrival in 1863.

II. The SHANG Dynasty began with Chingtang, and continued 644 years, under twenty-eight sovereigns, down to B. C. 1122. This period was characterized by wars among rival princes, and the power of the sovereign depended chiefly upon his persona character. The principal contemporary events were the Exodus of the Israelites in 1648, their settlement in Palestine in 1608, judgeship of Othniel, 1564, of Deborah, 1406, of Gideon, 1359, of Samson, 1202, and death of Samuel in 1122.

III. The CHAU Dynasty began with Wu wang, and continued for 873 years, under thirty-five monarchs, down to B. C. 249, the longest of any recorded in history. The sway of many of these was little more than nominal, and the feudal states increased or diminished according to the vigor of the monarch, or the ambition of the princes. The contemporary events of these eight centuries are too numerous to particularize. The accession of Saul in 1110; of David, 1070; of Rehoboam, 990; taking of Samaria, 719; of Jerusalem, 586; death of Nebuchadnezzar, 561; accession of Cyrus, and return of the Jews, 551; battle of Marathon, 490; accession of Alexander, 235, &c. The conquest of Egypt by Alexander in 322, brought the 31st and last dynasty of her kings to an end, the first of which had begun under Menes about B. C. 2715, or 22 years after Shinnung began to reign.

Among the feudal states under the house of Chau, that of Tsin on the north-west had long been the most powerful, occupying nearly a fifth of the country, and its inhabitants forming a tenth of the whole population. One of the princes, called Chau-siang wang, carried his encroachments into the acknowledged imperial possessions, and compelled its master, Tungchau kiun, the last monarch, to humble himself at his feet. Although, in fact, master of the whole empire, he did not take the title, but left it to his son Chwangsiang wang, who exterminated the blood royal, and ended the Chau dynasty, yet lived only three years in possession of the supreme power.

The son carried on his father's successes until he had reduced all the petty states to his sway. He then took the name of Chí hwangtí (i. e. First emperor) of the Tsin dynasty, and set him-

self to regulate his conquests and establish his authority by securing to his subjects a better government than had been experienced during the feudal times. He divided the country into 36 provinces, over which he placed governors, and went throughout them all to see that no injustice was practised.

This monarch, who has been called the Napoleon of China, was one of those extraordinary men who turn the course of events, and give an impress to subsequent ages; Klaproth gives him a high character as a prince of energy and skill, but the native historians detest his name and acts. It is recorded that at his new capital, Hienyang, on the banks of the Hwai, he constructed a palace exactly like those of all the kings who had submitted to him, and ordered that all the precious furniture of each, and those persons who had inhabited them, should be transported to it, and everything rearranged. The whole occupied an immense space, and the various parts communicated with each other by a magnificent colonnade and gallery. He made progresses through his dominions with a splendor hitherto unknown, built public edifices, opened roads and canals to facilitate intercourse and trade between the various provinces, and repressed the incursions of the Huns, driving them into the wilds of Mongolia. In order to keep them out effectually, he conceived the idea of extending and uniting the walls which the princes of some of the northern states had erected on their frontier into one grand wall, stretching across the empire from the sea to the desert. This gigantic undertaking was completed in ten years, but not until his family had been destroyed, from which it may be inferred, that this mode of protecting the country commended itself to the nation, which joined heartily in it, and that this stupendous work was not forced out of the labor of unwilling subjects; whether it was so or not, it has made the name of Chi hwangtí celebrated throughout the world, however ineffectual it was to preserve his frontiers.

The vanity of the new monarch led him to endeavor to destroy all records written anterior to his own reign, that he might be by posterity regarded as the first emperor of the Chinese race. Orders were issued that every book should be burned, and especially the writings of Confucius and Mencius, upon the feudal states of Chau, whose remembrance he wished to blot out. This strange command was executed to such an extent that many of

the Chinese literati believe that not a perfect copy of the classical works escaped destruction, and the texts were only recorded by rewriting them from the memories of old scholars, a mode of reproduction that does not appear so singular to a Chinese as it does to us; and, perhaps, if the same literary tragedy should be reënacted, thousands of persons could easily be found in China who could rewrite from memory the text and commentary of their nine classical works. "Nevertheless," as Klaproth remarks, "they were not in fact all lost; for, in a country where writing is so common, it was almost impossible that all the copies of works universally respected should be destroyed, especially at a time when the material on which they were written was very durable, being engraved with a stylet on bamboo tablets, or traced upon them with dark colored varnish." The destruction was no doubt as nearly complete as possible, and not only were many works entirely destroyed, but a shade of doubt thereby thrown over the accuracy of others, and the records of the ancient dynasties rendered suspicious as well as incomplete. Not only were the books sought after to be destroyed, but nearly five hundred literati were buried alive, in order that no one might remain to reproach, in their writings, the First Emperor with having committed so barbarous and insane an act.

The dynasty of Tsin, founded in such cruelty and blood, did not long survive the death of Chí hwangtí, for his son was unable to maintain his rule over the half subdued feudal chieftains, and after a nominal reign of seven years, he was overcome by Liu Pang, a soldier of fortune, who, having been employed by one of the chiefs as commander of his forces, used them to support his own authority when he had taken possession of the capital. Under the name of Kautsu, he became the founder of the Han dynasty, and his accession is regarded as the commencement of modern Chinese history. The number and character of its heroes and literati are superior to most other periods, and to this day the term son of Han is one of the favorite names by which the Chinese call themselves.

The first fourteen princes of this dynasty reigned in Shensí, but Kwangwu removed the capital to Lohyang in Honan, for which reason he and his successors are called the Eastern Han dynasty. During the reign of Ping tí (or the emperor Peace) the Prince of Peace, our Lord Jesus Christ was born in Judea, a

remarkable coincidence which has often attracted notice. During the reign of Ming tí, A. D. 65, a deputation was sent westward to India, where they found the doctrines and disciples of Budha, which they brought to China, and by their means disseminated and maintained this faith in the popular belief of the Chinese, and spread it eastward into Japan. This monarch and his successor, Chang tí, penetrated with their armies as far westward as the Caspian sea, dividing and overcoming the various tribes on the confines of the desert, and at the foot of the Celestial Mts., and extending the limits of the monarchy in that direction further than they are at present. The Chinese sway was maintained with varied success until towards the third century, and seems to have had a mollifying effect upon the nomads of those regions. In these distant expeditions the Chinese heard of the Romans, of whom their authors speak in the highest terms: "Everything precious and admirable in all other countries," say they, "comes from this land. Gold and silver money is coined there; ten of silver are worth one of gold. Their merchants trade by sea with Persia and India, and gain ten for one in their traffic. They are simple and upright, and never have two prices for their goods; grain is sold among them very cheap, and large sums are embarked in trade. Whenever ambassadors come to the frontiers they are provided with carriages to travel to the capital, and after their arrival, a certain number of pieces of gold are furnished them for their expenses." This description, so characteristic of the shopkeeping Chinese, reminds one of the accounts given of the Chinese themselves by some western authors. Klaproth thinks that intercourse was maintained between the two governments and their subjects until the eleventh century.

The period between the overthrow of the Han dynasty, A. D. 190, and the establishment of the Eastern Tsin, A. D. 317, is one of the most interesting in Chinese history, from the variety of characters which the troubles of the times developed. The distractions of this period are described in the History of the Three States, but this entertaining work cannot be regarded as much better than a historical novel. The bare mention of the succession of dynasties, and the names of sovereigns, unless connected with events of interest, is too brief to afford much entertainment, while the recital of the strifes attending the overthrow of one family and the establishment of another, the

names and actions of the leaders in these turmoils, and the detail of their defeats and successes, are not subjects of such interest that many wish to burden their memories with them. A very brief recital of their succession will therefore be sufficient for reference.

IV. The TSIN Dynasty is computed to end with Chwangsiang by the authors of the History Made Easy, and to have existed only three years, from B. C. 249 to 246.

V. The AFTER TSIN Dynasty is sometimes joined to the preceding, but Chí hwangtí regarded himself as the First monarch, and began a new house, which, however, lasted only forty-four years, from B. C. 246 to 202. The commotions in the furthest East during this period were not less destructive of life than the wars in Europe between the Carthaginians and Romans, and the Syrians, Greeks, and Egyptians.

VI, VII. The HAN and EASTERN HAN dynasties. Liu Pang took the title of Han for his dynasty, after the name of his principality, and his family swayed the Middle Kingdom from B. C. 202 to A. D. 221, under twenty-six monarchs. The removal of the capital to Lohyang is assigned as the reason of the division into two dynasties. During this bright period of Chinese history, the consolidation of the western world under the Roman emperors, and their conquests in Europe, Africa, and Asia, with the advent of Christ and establishment of his church, render the period of great interest to the general historian.

VIII. The AFTER HAN Dynasty began A. D. 211, and continued 44 years under two princes to A. D. 265. The country was divided into three principalities, called Wei, Wu, and Shuh; the first comprised all northern China, and was the most powerful; the second held the present region of Chehkiang and part of Kiangsu, and the prince of the third had his capital at Chingtu fu in Sz'chuen.

IX. The TSIN Dynasty was founded by a general in the employ of Hau of the last house, and seated himself on the throne of his master, A. D. 265; he possessed only the western and southern part of the country, and waged continual war with the Huns and petty states which still opposed his sway. Four emperors of this house held their sway at Lohyang during 52 years, till A. D. 317. The Huns maintained their sway in Shensí, until A. D. 352, under the name of the Chau dynasty.

X. The EASTERN TSIN is the same house as the last, but Yuen tí having moved his capital from Lohyang to Nanking, his successors are distinguished as the Eastern Tsin. Eleven princes reigned during a period of 103 years, down to A. D. 450. Budhism was the chief religion at this time; and the doctrines of Confucius were highly esteemed; "children of concubines, priests, old women, and nurses, administered the government," says the indignant annalist. During this period, Constantine moved the capital of the Roman Empire in 328, and the nations of northern Europe under Attila invaded Italy in 410.

XI. The SUNG, or Northern Sung, Dynasty was founded by Liu Yu, who commanded the armies of Tsin, and gradually subdued all the opposing states. Displeased at the weakness of his master, Ngan tí, he caused him to be strangled, and placed his brother Kung tí upon the throne, who, fearing a like fate abdicated the empty crown, and Liu Yu became monarch under the name of Kautsu, A. D. 420. Eight princes held the throne till A. D. 479, when Siau Tauching, duke of Tsí, the prime minister of the weak successors of Liu Yu, recompensed them as their ancestor had those of Tsin.

XII. Tsí Dynasty. The new monarch took the name of Kau tí or High emperor, but enjoyed his dignity only four years. Four princes succeeded him, the last of whom, Ho tí, was besieged in his capital by a faithless minister, assisted by the prince of Liang, who overthrew the dynasty, A. D. 502, after a duration of 23 years.

XIII. LIANG Dynasty. The first emperor, Wu tí, reigned 48 years, and reduced most of his opponents; he was so great a devotee of Budhism that he retired to a monastery like Charles V., but being persuaded to resume his crown, employed his time in teaching those doctrines to his assembled courtiers. Three successors occupied the throne, the last of whom, King tí, was killed, A. D. 557, after surrendering himself, by the general of the troops, who then seized the crown.

XIV. CHIN Dynasty. Three brothers reigned most of the time this house held its sway. During this period, and that of the three preceding families, the kingdom of Wei ruled over all the northern parts of China from A. D. 386 to 534, under eleven monarchs, when it was violently separated into the Eastern and Western Wei, and other smaller states. One of the sovereigns

had given his daughter in marriage to Yang Kien, the prince of Sui, one of his ministers, who, gradually extending his influence, took possession of the throne of the north and all the petty principalities, and then extended his conquests southward, overthrew the imbecile scion of Chin at Nanking, and once more reunited all China under his hand, A. D. 589, after it had been divided nearly four centuries.

XV. Sui Dynasty. The successors of Kautsu, as Yang Kien called himself, fell into the same idleness and vice as their predecessors of other dynasties, and after holding the reins of government for 31 years, the last one, called Kung ti, resigned in favor of Li Yuen, A. D. 618, a descendant of the house of Liang, named the prince of Tang.

XVI. Tang Dynasty. This celebrated line of princes began its sway in peace, and during the 287 years they held the throne China was probably the most civilized country on earth, and the darkest days of the West, when Europe was wrapped in the ignorance and degradation of the Middle Ages, formed the brightest era of the East. Li Chimin, the son of the founder, was one of the most celebrated monarchs in the Chinese annals; like Harun Al Raschid, he was famed alike for his wisdom and nobleness, his conquests and good government, his temperance, cultivated tastes, and patronage of literary men. While still prince of Tang, he contributed greatly to his father's elevation in place of the imbecile princes of the family of Sui, and to the extension of his sway over the regions of Central Asia. When the house of Tang was fully acknowledged, and all rival aspirants overcome, the capital was removed from Lohyang back to Si-ngan in Shensi, and everything done to compose the disordered country, and reunite the distracted state under a regular and vigorous administration. Feeling himself unequal to all the cares of his new office, Kautsu resigned the yellow in favor of his son, who took the title of Tai-tsung, A. D. 627, and still further extended his victorious arms. One of his first acts was to establish schools, and institute a system of literary examinations; he ordered a complete and accurate edition of all the classics to be published under the supervision of the most learned men in the empire, and honored the memory of Confucius with special ceremonies of respect.

He drew up a code of laws for the direction of his high offi-

cers in their judicial functions, and made progresses through his dominions to inspect the condition of the people. During his reign, the limits of the empire were extended over all the Turkish tribes lying west of Kansuh, and south of the Tien shan as far as the Caspian sea, which were placed under four satrapies, or residencies, those of Kuché, Pisha or Khoten, Harashar, and Kashgar, as their names are at present. West of the last, many smaller tribes submitted, and rendered a partial subjection to the emperor, who arranged them into sixteen governments under the management of a governor-general over their own chieftains. His frontiers reached from the borders of Persia, the Caspian sea, and the Altai of the Kirghís stepp, along those mountains to the north side of Cobi eastward to the Inner Hingan. Sogdiana and part of Khorassan, and the regions around the Hindu-kush, also obeyed him. The rulers of Nipal and Magadha or Bahar in India sent their salutations by their ambassadors, and the Greek emperor Theodosius sent an envoy to Sí-ngan in 643 carrying presents of rubies and emeralds, as did also the Persians. The Nestorian missionaries also presented themselves at court. Taitsung received them with respect, and heard them rehearse the leading tenets of their doctrine; he ordered a temple to be erected at his capital, and had some of their sacred books translated for his examination, though there is no evidence now remaining that any portion of the Bible was done into Chinese at this time.

Near the close of his life, Taitsung undertook an expedition against Corea, but the conquest of that country was completed by his son after his death. During his reign, his life was attempted several times, once by his own son, but he was preserved from these attacks, and died after a reign of twenty-three years, deeply lamented by a grateful people. The Chinese accounts state that the foreign envoys resident at his court cut off their hair, some of them disfigured their faces, bled themselves, and sprinkled the blood around the bier in testimony of their grief. Whatever may have been the truth in this respect, many proofs exist of the distinguished character of this monarch, and that the high reputation he enjoyed during his lifetime was a just tribute to his excellences; he will favorably compare with Akbar, Kanghí, Charlemagne, or Harun Al Raschid.

Taitsung was succeeded by his son Kautsung, whose indolent

imbecility appeared the more despicable after his father's vigor, but his reign fills a large place in Chinese story, from the extraordinary career of his empress, Wu Tsihtien, or Wu hau as she is called, who by her blandishments obtained entire control over him. The character of this woman has, no doubt, suffered much from the bad reputation native historians have given her, but enough can be gathered from their accounts to show that with all her cruelty, she understood how to maintain the authority of the crown, repress foreign invasions, quell domestic sedition, and provide for the wants of the people. Introduced to the hareem of Taitsung at the age of 14, she was sent at his death to the retreat where all his women were condemned for the rest of their days to honorable imprisonment; while a member of the palace, Kautsung had been charmed with her appearance, and having seen her at one of the state ceremonies connected with the ancestral worship, brought her back to the palace. His queen Wang-shí also favored his attentions in order to draw them off from another rival, but the charms of Wu Tsihtien soon obtained entire sway over the monarch, and united them both against her; she managed to fill the principal offices with her friends, and by a series of manœuvres, supplanted them both, and became empress. One means she took to excite suspicion against her majesty was, on occasion of the birth of her first child, after the empress had visited it, and before Kautsung came in to see his offspring, to strangle it and charge the crime upon her majesty, which led to her trial, degradation, and imprisonment, and ere long to her death.

As soon as she became empress, Wu began gradually to assume more and more authority, until, long before the emperor's death, she engrossed the whole management of affairs, and at his demise openly assumed the reins of government, which she wielded for twenty-one years with no weak hand. Her generals extended the limits of the empire, and her officers carried into effect her orders to alleviate the miseries of the people. Her cruelty vented itself in the murder of all who opposed her will, even to her own sons and relatives; and her pride was rather exhibited than gratified by her assuming the titles of queen of heaven, holy and divine ruler, holy mother, and divine sovereign. When she was disabled by age, her son Chungtsung, supported by some of the first men of the land, asserted his claim to the throne, and by a palace conspiracy succeeded in removing her

to her own apartments, where she died aged 81 years. Her character has been blackened in histories and popular tales, and her conduct held up as an additional evidence of the evil of allowing women to meddle with governments.*

A race of twenty monarchs swayed the sceptre of the house of Tang, but after the demise of the empress Wu Tsih-tien, none of them equalled Taitsung, and the Tang dynasty at last succumbed to ambitious ministers lording over its imbecile sovereigns. In the reign of Hiuen-tsung, about the year 722, the population of the fifteen provinces is said to have been 52,884,818. The last three or four emperors exhibited the usual marks of a declining house, and the general of Chautsung rose against his master, and destroyed him A. D. 903, and soon after compelled his son Chau-siuen tí, to abdicate, A. D. 907.

XVII. After Liang Dynasty. Numerous competitors arose against the regicide, and the new emperor was unable to extend his sway beyond the provinces of Honan and Shantung. After a short reign of six years, he was killed by his brother Liang Chu-tien, who, on his part, fell under the attack of a Turkish general, and ended this dynasty, A. D. 923, after a duration of sixteen years.

XVIII. After Tang Dynasty. The conqueror called himself Chwang-tsung, and his dynasty Tang, as if in continuation of that line of princes, but this mode of securing popularity was unsuccessful. Like many of the Roman emperors, he was killed by his troops, who chose a successor, and his grandson, unable to resist his enemies, burned himself in his palace, A. D. 936, and ended the dynasty after continuing thirteen years.

XIX. After Tsin Dynasty. The Kitan, or Tartars of Liau-tung, who had assisted in the overthrow of the last dynasty, compelled the new monarch to subsidize them, at his accession A. D. 936; but his nephew Chuh tí who succeeded him, refusing to pay the shameful tribute, was removed A. D. 947 by them, which ended this house, after eleven years.

XX. After Han Dynasty. The Tartars now endeavored to subdue the whole country, but were repulsed by a loyal general who assumed the yellow, and called his dynasty after the renowned house of Han; he and his son held sway four years, till A. D. 951, and then were cut off.

* Chinese Repository, Vol. III. page 543.

XXI. After Chau Dynasty. Ko Wei, the successful aspirant to the throne, maintained his seat, but died in three years, leaving his power to an adopted son, Shîtsuñg, whose vigorous rule consolidated his still unsettled sway. His early death, and the youth of his son, decided his generals to bestow the sceptre upon Chau Kwangyu, one of their own number, lately appointed tutor to the infant monarch, which closed the After Chau dynasty A. D. 960, after a brief duration of nine years. These shortlived houses between A. D. 907–960 are known in Chinese history as the Wu tai, or Five Dynasties. During this period, Europe was distracted by the wars of the Normans and Saracens, and learning there was at a low ebb.

XXII. Sung Dynasty began A. D. 970, and maintained its power over the whole empire under nine sovereigns for 157 years, till A. D. 1127. The mode in which its founder was made head of the state, reminds one of the way in which the Prætorian guards elevated their chiefs to the throne of the Cæsars: after the military leaders had decided upon their future sovereign, they sent messengers to announce to him his new honor, who found him drunk with wine, and "before he had time to reply, the yellow robe was already thrown over his person." His successors were unable to maintain themselves against the Kin Tartars, who compelled them to pay tribute from time to time, and at last drove them south of the Yellow river, A. D. 1118, and kept possession of part or all that region under ten princes until A. D. 1235.

XXIII. Southern Sung Dynasty forms part of the preceding in reality, but from the loss of the northern half of the country, is thus designated. From A. D. 1127 to 1280, under nine emperors, its princes continually gave way to the power of Kublai khan and his fierce Mongols, whom Lîtsung, about 1245, called in to help him against the Kin, until Tî Ping, the last scion of the house, drowned himself with his adherents off the mouth of the Pearl river near Canton. The subjugation of the southern parts of the country was attended with great slaughter, "the blood of the people flowing in sounding torrents," according to native chroniclers. Marco Polo details many of the particulars of the conquest, adding "that the number of inhabitants is so great that no person can count them, and if they were men-at-arms, those of the province of Manji would conquer the whole world; they

are not so, however, but prudent merchants." The term *Manji* here applied to the southern Chinese, was used as a contemptuous epithet, and is probably derived from *Man-i* or *Man-tsz'*, "southrons," and has been since transferred to the inhabitants of the Archipelago.

XXIV. The YUEN Dynasty was founded by Kublai, who soon succeeded in reducing his extensive dominions to order, gaining the good opinion of all his subjects by his equable rule and disposal of offices. He was a vigorous and magnificent prince, and had the advantage of having his acts and splendor related by Marco Polo. The Grand canal, which was dug during his reign, is a lasting monument of his sagacity and enlightened policy. The Mongols retained their power under the reign of Ching-tsung, or Timur khan, a grandson of Kublai, and Wu-tsung or Genesek khan, a nephew of the former, but their successors met with opposition, or were destroyed by treachery. The offices were also filled with Mongols, without any regard to the former mode of conferring rank according to literary qualifications, and the native Chinese began to be thoroughly dissatisfied with a sway in which they had no part. The last one, Ching-tsung or Tocatmur khan, came to the throne at the age of thirteen, and gave himself up to pleasure, his eunuchs and ministers dividing the possessions and offices of the Chinese among themselves and their adherents. This conduct aroused his subjects, and Chu Yuen-chang, a plebeian by birth, and formerly a priest, raised the standard of revolt, and finally expelled the Mongols, A. D. 1368, after a duration of 89 years. Like most of the preceding dynasties, the new one established itself on the misrule, luxury, and weakness of its predecessors; the people submitted to a vigorous rule, as one which exhibited the true exposition of the decrees of heaven, and upheld its laws and the harmony of the universe; but a weak sovereign plainly evinced his usurpation of the "divine utensil," and unfitness for the post, by the disorders, famines, piracies, and insurrections which afflicted the mismanaged state, and which were all taken by ambitious leaders as evidences of a change in the choice of heaven, and reasons for their carrying out the new selection which had fallen on them. Amid all the revolutions in China, none have been founded on principle; they were mere mutations of masters, attended with more or less destruction of life, and no better appreciation of the rights of the subject

or the powers of the rulers. Nor without some knowledge of the high obligations man owes his Maker and himself, is it easy to see whence the sustaining motive of free religious and political institutions can be derived.

XXV. The MING, i. e. BRIGHT Dynasty. The character of Hungwu, as Chu Yuenchang called himself on his accession, has been well drawn by Rémusat, who accords him a high rank for the vigor and talents manifested in overcoming his enemies and cementing his power. He established his capital at Kiangning fu, or Nanking, on the Yangtsz' kiang, and after a reign of thirty years, transmitted the sceptre to his grandson, Kienwăn, a youth of sixteen. Yungloh his son, dissatisfied with this arrangement, overcame his nephew and seized the crown after five years, and removed the capital to Shuntien fu, or Peking in Chihlí. This prince is distinguished for the code of laws framed under his auspices, which has, with some modifications and additions, ever since remained as the basis of the administration. During the reign of Kiahtsing, the Portuguese came to China, and in that of Wanleih, about 1580, the Jesuits gained an entrance into the country. In his time, too, the eastern Tartars, whom the Mongols had driven away, again became numerous and troublesome, and took possession of the northern frontiers. The first chieftain of the Manchus who attained celebrity was Tienming, who in 1618 published a manifesto of his designs against the house of Ming, in which he announced to heaven the seven things he was bound to revenge. These consisted of petty oppressions upon persons passing the frontiers, assisting his enemies, violating the oath and treaty of peace entered into between the two rulers, and killing his envoys. The fierce nomad had already assumed the title of emperor, and "vowed to celebrate the funeral of his father with the slaughter of 200,000 Chinese." Tienming overran the north-eastern parts of China, and committed unsparing cruelties upon the people of Liautung, but died in 1627, before he had satisfied his revenge, leaving it and his army to his son Tientsung.

The Chinese army fought bravely, though unsuccessfully, against the warlike Manchus, whose chief not only strove to subdue, but endeavored by promises and largesses, to win the troops from their allegiance. The apparently audacious attempt of this small force to subdue the Chinese, was assisted by nume-

rous bodies of rebels, who, like wasps, sprung up in various parts of the country, the leaders of each asserting his claims to the throne, and all of them rendering their common country an easier prey to the invader. One of them, called Lí Tsz'ching, attacked Peking, and the last emperor Hwai-tsung, feeling that he had little to hope for after the loss of his capital, and had already estranged the affections of his subjects by his ill conduct, first stabbed his daughter and then hung himself, in 1643, and ended the race of Hungwu, after 276 years. The usurper received the submission of most of the eastern provinces, but the Chinese general, Wu Sankwei, in command of the army on the north, refused to acknowledge him, and making peace with the Manchus, invoked the aid of Tientsung in asserting the cause of the rightful claimant to the throne. This was willingly agreed to, and the united army marched to Peking, and speedily entered the capital, whereupon the Manchus declared themselves the rulers of the empire. Tientsung dying, his son Shunchí, who succeeded him in 1644, is regarded as the first emperor.

XXVI. The Tsing, i. e. Pure Dynasty. During the eighteen years he sat upon the throne, Shunchí and his officers subdued most of the northern and central provinces, but the maritime regions of the south held out against the invaders, and one of the leaders by means of his fleets carried devastation along the whole coast. The spirit of resistance was in some parts crushed, and in others exasperated by an order for all Chinese to adopt the national Tartar mode of shaving the front of the head, and braiding the hair in a long queue, as a sign of submission. Those who gave this order, as Davis remarks, must have felt themselves very strong before venturing so far upon the spirit of the conquered, and imposing an outward universal badge of submission upon all classes of the people. "Many are the changes which may be made in despotic countries, without the notice or even the knowledge of the larger portion of the community; but an entire alteration in the national costume affects every individual equally, from the highest to the lowest, and is perhaps of all others the most open and degrading mark of conquest." This order was resisted by many, who chose to lose their heads rather than part with their hair, but the mandate was gradually enforced, and has now for about two centuries been one of the distinguishing marks of a Chinese, though to this day the natives of Fuhkien wear a

kerchief around their head to conceal it. The inhabitants of this province and of Kwangtung held out the longest against the invaders, and under Ching Chílung and his son Ching Chingkung or Koshinga, molested the coast to such a degree that the emperor Kanghí ordered all the people to retire three leagues inland, in order to prevent this heroic man from molesting them. This command was generally obeyed, and affords an instance of the singular mixture of power and weakness seen in many parts of Chinese legislation; for it might be supposed that a government which could compel its maritime subjects to leave their houses and towns and go into the country at great loss, might have easily armed and equipped a fleet to have defended those towns and homes. Koshinga, finding himself unable to make any serious impression upon the stability of the new government, went to Formosa, drove the Dutch out of their settlement, and made himself master of the island.

Shunchí died in 1661, and was succeeded by his son Kanghí, who was eight years old at his accession, and remained under guardians till he was fourteen, when he assumed the reins of government, and swayed the power vested in his hands with a prudence, vigor, and success, that have rendered him more celebrated than almost any other Asiatic monarch. During his unusually long reign of sixty-one years (the longest of any in Chinese annals, except Taimau of the Shang dynasty, B. C. 1637–1562), he extended his dominions to the borders of Kokand and Badakshan on the west, and to the confines of Tibet on the southwest, simplifying the administration and consolidating his power in every part of his vast dominions. To his regulations, perhaps, are mainly owing the unity and peace which the empire has exhibited for more than a century, and which has produced the impression abroad of the unchangeableness of Chinese institutions and character. This may be ascribed, chiefly, to his indefatigable application to all affairs of state, to his judgment and penetration in the choice of officers, his economy in regard to himself, and liberal magnificence in everything that tended to the good of his dominions, and his sincere desire to promote the happiness of his people by a steady and vigorous execution of the laws, and a continual watchfulness over the conduct of his high officers. These qualities have perhaps been unduly extolled by his foreign friends and biographers, the Romish missionaries, and

if their expressions are taken in their widest sense, as we understand them, they do elevate him too high; he is to be compared, not with Alfred, William III., Henry IV. of France, and other European kings, but with other Chinese and Asiatic princes, few of whom equal him. The principal events of his long reign are the conquest of the Eleuths, and subjugation of several tribes lying on the north and south of the Celestial mountains; an embassy across the Russian possessions in 1713 to the khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, preparatory to their return to the Chinese territory; the settlement of the northern frontier between himself and the czar, of which Gerbillon has given a full account; the survey of the empire by the Romish missionaries; and the publication of a dictionary of the language. In many things, he showed himself liberal towards foreigners, and the country was thrown open to their commerce for many years.

His son Yungching succeeded in 1722; during his reign he endeavored to suppress Christianity and restore the ancient usages, which had somewhat fallen into desuetude during his father's sway, and generally seems to have held the sceptre to the benefit of his subjects. Yungching is regarded as an usurper, and is said to have changed the figure four to fourteen on the billet of nomination, himself being the fourteenth son, and the fourth being absent in Mongolia, where he was soon after arrested and imprisoned, and subsequently died in a palace near Peking; whether he was put to death or not is uncertain, but Chinese annals seldom record any domestic quarrels, and butcheries of the sons and nephews of a deceased monarch by rival aspirants. Kienlung succeeded Yungching in 1736, and proved himself no unworthy descendant of his grandfather Kanghi; like him he had the singular fortune to reign sixty years, and for most of that period in peace. Some local insurrections disturbed the general tranquillity, principally among the aborigines in Formosa and Kweichau, and in an unprovoked attack upon Birmah his armies sustained a signal defeat, and were obliged to retreat. The incursions of the Nipalese into Tibet induced the grand lama to apply to him for assistance, and in doing so, he contrived to establish a guardianship over the whole country, and place bodies of troops in all the important positions, so that in effect he annexed that vast region to his empire, but continued the lamas in the internal administration.

During his long reign, Kienlung received embassies from the Russians, Dutch, and English, by which the character of the Chinese, and the nature of their country, became better known to western nations. These embassies greatly strengthened the impression on the part of the Chinese of their superiority to all other nations, for they looked upon them as acknowledgments on the part of the governments who sent them of their allegiance to the court of Peking. The presents were regarded as tribute, the ambassadors as deputies from their masters to acknowledge the supremacy of the emperor, and the requests they made for trade as rather another form of receiving presents in return, than a mutual arrangement for a trade equally beneficial to both. Kienlung abdicated the throne in favor of his fifth son, and retired with the title of *supreme emperor*, while his son, Kiaking, had that of emperor.

The character of this prince was dissolute and superstitious, and his reign of 25 years was much disturbed by secret combinations against the government, and by insurrections and pirates in and about the empire. A conspiracy against him broke out in the palace in 1813, where he was for a time in some danger, but was rescued by the courage of his guard and family. A fleet of about 600 piratical junks under Ching Yih and Chang Pau, infested the coasts of Kwangtung for several years, and were at last put down in 1810, by the provincial government taking advantage of internal dissensions between the leaders. The principal scene of the exploits of this fleet was the estuary of the Pearl river, whose numerous harbors and channels afforded shelter and escape to their vessels when pursued by the imperialists, while the towns upon the islands were plundered, and the inhabitants killed if they resisted. The internal government of this audacious band was ascertained by two Englishmen, Mr. Turner and Mr. Glasspoole, who at different times fell into their hands, and were obliged to accompany them in their marauding expeditions. To so great a height did they proceed, that the governor of Canton went to Macao to reside, and entered into some arrangements with the Portuguese for assistance in suppressing them; the piratical fleet was attacked and blockaded for ten days by the combined forces, but without much damage; and there was little prospect of overcoming them, had not rivalry between the two leaders gone so far as to result in a severe en-

gagement and loss on both sides. The conquered pirate soon after made his peace with the government, and the victor in time followed the same course. The story of those disturbed times to this day affords a frequent subject for the tales of old people in that region, and the same waters are still infested by the "foam to the sea," as the Chinese term these freebooters.

The reign of Kiaking ended in 1820, and by his will his second son was appointed to succeed him, and took the name of Taukwang. Thus far his administration has been attended with a continual succession of wars, insurrections, and troubles, in one quarter or another of his vast dominions, though none of them threatened the overthrow of the government, until the war with England commenced in 1840. A rebellion in Turkestan in 1828 was attended with great cruelty and treachery on the part of the Chinese, and its leader Jehangír was murdered in violation of the most solemn promises. An insurrection in Formosa, and a rising among the mountaineers of Kwangtung, in 1830–32, were put down more by money than by force, but as peace is both the end and evidence of good government in China, the authorities are not very particular how it is brought about. Still, so far as can be judged from the imperfect data of native historians of former days, compared with the observations of foreigners at present, there is little doubt that this enormous mass has been better governed by the Manchus, than under the princes of the Ming dynasty; there has been more vigor in the administration of government and less palace favoritism and intrigue in the appointment of officers, more security of life and property from the exactions of local authorities, bands of robbers, or processes of law;—in a word, the Manchu sway has well developed the industry and resources of the country, of which the population, loyalty, and content of the people are the best evidences.

The sovereigns of the Ming and Tsing dynasties, being more frequently mentioned in history than those of former races, are here given, with the length of their reigns. The succession of the emperors of all the dynasties is given in Gutzlaff's History of China, and in Du Halde's China.

KWOH HIAU, OR REIGNING TITLE.	MIAU HIAU, OR TEMPLE TITLE.	BEGAN TO REIGN.	LENGTH OF REIGN.	CONTEMPORARY MONARCHS.
1. Hungwu,	Taitsu,	1368	30	Tamerlane, Richard II., Robert II.
2. Kienwan,	Kienwan ti,	1398	5	Manuel-Paleologus, Henry IV. of Eng.
3. Yungloh,	Taitsung,	1403	22	James I., Henry V., Martin V.
4. Hunghi,	Jintsung,	1425	1	Amurath II., Henry VI., Charles VII.
5. Siuentih,	Siuentsung,	1426	10	Albert II., Cosmo de Medicis.
6. Chingtung,	Yingtsung,	1436	21	James II., Fred. III. of Aus., Nich. V.
7. Kingtai,	Kingti,	1457	8	Mahomet II., Edward IV., Sixtus IV.
8. Chinghwa,	Hientsung,	1465	23	James III., Ferd. & Isabella, Louis XI.
9. Hungchi,	Hiautsung,	1488	18	Bajazet II., James IV., Henry VII.
10. Chingtih,	Wutsung,	1506	16	James V., Henry VIII., Charles V.
11. Kiaitsing,	Shitsung,	1522	45	Solyman II., Mary, Philip II., Henry II.
12. Lungking,	Muhtsung,	1567	6	Selim II., Elizabeth, Gregory III.
13. Wanleih,	Shintsung,	1573	47	James I., Henry IV., Louis XIII.
14. Taichang,	Kwangtsung,	1620	1	Othman II., Philip IV., Gregory XV.
15. Tienki,	Hitsung,	1621	7	Amurath IV., Charles I., Urban VIII.
16. Tsungching,	Hwaitsung,	1628	16	Innocent X., Frederick the Great.
1. Shunchi,	Chang hwangti,	1644	18	Mahomet IV., Cromwell, Louis XIV.
2. Kanghi,	Jin hwangti,	1662	61	Charles II., Clement IX., Sobiesky.
3. Yungching,	Hien hwangti,	1723	13	Mahomet V., George II., Louis XV.
4. Kienlung,	Shun hwangti,	1736	60	Osman III., George III., Clement XIV.
5. Kiaking,	Jui hwangti,	1796	25	Selim III., Napoleon, Fred. Wm. II.
6. Taukwang,	now reigning,	1821		Mahmoud, George IV., Louis XVIII.

The whole number of sovereigns in the twenty-six dynasties, from Yu the Great to Taukwang is 235, or 243 commencing with Fuhhí, during a period of 4699 years, from B. C. 2852 to A. D. 1847; this gives to each dynasty a duration of 180 years, and to each monarch an average of 19⅓ years. If the computation commence with Yu, the time comprised in the Chinese monarchies gives 162 years to each dynasty, and an average of 17¼ years to each reign. From B. C. 2715, when Menes founded the first Egyptian dynasty, to B. C. 331, a period of 2384 years, Manetho reckons thirty-one dynasties, and 378 kings, which is 77 years to each family, and only 6½ years to each reign. In England, during the 771 years from William the Conqueror in 1066, to Victoria, in 1837, there have been 34 sovereigns, averaging 22⅔ years to each reign; and about the same average holds in other European states.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Religion of the Chinese.

The real religious belief and practices of a heathen people are hard to describe intelligibly. Men naturally exercise much freedom of thought in such matters, and feel the authority of their fellow-men over their minds irksome to bear; and though it is comparatively easy to describe religious ceremonies and festivals, the real belief of a people, especially a pagan people,—that which constitutes their religion, their trust in danger and guide in doubt, their prompter to present action and hope for future reward,—is not quickly examined, nor easily described. The want of a well understood and acknowledged standard of doctrine, and the degree of latitude each one allows himself in his observance of rites, or belief of dogmas, the diverse views and imperfect knowledge of the writer, and misapprehension of the effect this tenet or that ceremony has upon the heart of the worshipper, both in writer and reader, also tend still further to embarrass the subject. This at least is the case with the Chinese, and notwithstanding what has been written upon their religion, no one has very satisfactorily elucidated the true nature of their belief, and the intent of their ritual. The reason is owing partly to the indefinite ideas of the people themselves upon the character of their ceremonies, and their consequent inability to give a clear notion of them; and partly to the variety of observances found in distant parts of the country, and the discordant opinions entertained by those belonging to the same sect, so that what is seen in one district is sometimes utterly unknown in the next province, and the opinions of one man are laughed at by another.

Before proceeding, two negative features of Chinese religion deserve to be noticed, which distinguish it from the faith of most other pagan nations. These are, the absence of human sacrifices, and the non-deification of vice. The prevalence of human offerings in almost all ages of the world, and among nations of differ-

ent degrees of civilization, not only widely separated in respect of situation and power, but flourishing in ages remote from each other, and having little or no mutual influence, has often been noticed. Human sacrifices are offered to this day in some parts of Asia, Africa, and Polynesia, which the extension of Christian instruction and power has, it is to be hoped, greatly reduced and almost accomplished the extinction of; but no record of the sacrificial immolation of man by his fellow, "offering the fruit of his body for the sin of his soul," has been found in Chinese annals, in such a shape as to carry the conviction that it formed part of the religious belief, or ceremonial practice of the people, although the Scythian custom of burying the servants and horses of a deceased prince or chieftain with him, was perhaps observed before the days of Confucius, and may have been occasionally done since his time. Still this feature, negative though it be, stands in strong contrast with the appalling destruction of human life for religious reasons, still existing among the tribes of western and central Africa, and recorded as having been sanctioned among the Aztecs and Egyptians, the Hindus and Carthaginians, and other ancient nations, not excepting the Jews and Greeks.

The other, and still more remarkable trait of Chinese idolatry is, that there is no deification of sensuality, which, in the name of religion, could shield and countenance those licentious rites and orgies, that enervated the minds of worshippers, and polluted their hearts, in so many other pagan countries. No Venus or Lakshmi occurs in the list of Chinese goddesses; no weeping for Thammuz, no exposure in the temple of Mylitta, or obscene rites of the Durga-puja, have ever been required or sanctioned by Chinese priests; nor are nautch girls as in Indian temples, or courtesans as at Corinth, kept in their sacred buildings. Their speculations upon the dual powers of the *yin* and *yang* have never degenerated into the vile worship of the *linga* and *yoni* of the Hindus, or of Amun-kem, as pictured on the ruins of Thebes. Although they are a licentious people in word and deed, the Chinese have not endeavored to sanctify vice, and lead the votaries of pleasure, falsely so called, further down the road of ruin, by making its path lie through a temple, and under the protection of a goddess. Nor does their mythology teem with the disgusting relations of the amours of their deities, which render the religious stories of the Hindus and Greeks so revolting; on the

contrary, they exalt and deify chastity and seclusion as much as the Romanists do, as a means of bringing the soul and body nearer to the highest excellence. Vice is kept out of sight, as well as out of religion, in a great degree, and it may be safely said, that no such significant sign as has been uncovered at Pompeii, with the inscription *Hic habitat felicitas*, was ever exhibited in a Chinese city.

If the irresponsible authority of the Governor of the world be acknowledged in the establishment and removal of the kingdoms of the earth, and his declared detestation of these things be regarded as one reason for destroying those who practised them, then may not one reason be found for the long duration of the Chinese people and government, in their comparative freedom from these abominations? He expressly says to his chosen people (Lev. xviii. 24, 25), "Defile not yourselves in any of these things; for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out before you: and the land is defiled: therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants." A principal cause of the subsequent calamities which befel the Jews, is repeatedly ascribed to the immolation of their sons and daughters in sacrifice to false gods, and their imitation of the bacchanalian orgies of the heathen around them. If the same causes produce the same effects among other people, the removal of the great nations of antiquity may be ascribed as much to their utter pollution and cruelty, as to their loss of martial vigor, the rancor of political dissensions, and the luxurious indolence which made them a prey to their more vigorous neighbors. When a land is defiled and spews out its inhabitants, the King of the whole earth easily finds a besom to execute his purposes. One pagan nation has come down from ancient times, and this alone is distinguished for its absence from religious slaughter of innocent blood, and the sanctified license of unblushing lust.

To these traits of Chinese character, preventive of their national chastisement and removal, may be added the preservative features of their regard for parents and superiors, and their general peaceful industry. If there be any connexion between the former of these virtues, and the promise attached to the fifth commandment, "That thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee," then the long duration of the Chi-

nese people and empire is a stupendous monument of the good effects of even a partial obedience to the law of God, by those who only had it inscribed on their hearts, and not written in their hands. If this view of the case suggest an answer to the inquiry as to the causes of the permanence of their institutions, then the comparative efficacy of the means made use of to perpetuate them, such as general education in morality, a code of laws, a well ordered civil magistracy, regard for life and property, equality of social privileges, &c., are accounted for in China, while they have failed of producing the same conservative effects in other times and nations.

The absence of a hierarchy supported by the state has already been noticed as a remarkable feature in the Chinese polity. No body of priests has ever been able to rise to power and influence, and form a hereditary religious caste like the Brahmins, although both Budhists and Rationalists have been repeatedly patronized by the monarchs, and individuals of their number admitted to imperial confidence. There is, however, a state religion in China of very ancient date, which has undergone few modifications in its essential features, during the long succession of monarchs, and still retains much of its primitive simplicity. "The state religion of the Chinese," observes Dr. Morrison, "does not consist of doctrines which are to be taught, learned, and believed, but of rites and ceremonies; it is entirely a bodily service, and its ritual is contained in the statistics and code of the empire." The word *kiau*, which means to teach, or doctrines taught, is applied to all sects, Jews and Mohammedans, as well as Budhists and Rationalists, but not to this state religion; there is no generic term for religion. The objects of state worship are chiefly things, although persons are also included. There are three grades of sacrifices, the *great*, *medium*, and *inferior*, collectively called *kiun sz'*, "the crowd of sacrifices." The objects to which the great sacrifices are offered are only four; viz. *tien*, the heavens or sky, called the imperial concave expanse; *ti*, the earth, likewise dignified with the appellation imperial; *tai miau*, or the great temple of ancestors, in which the tablets of deceased monarchs are placed; and lastly, the *shié tsih*, or gods of the land and grain, the special patrons of each dynasty. These four objects are placed on an equality by the present monarchs, which is strong presumptive proof that by *tien* is now meant the

material heavens. What may have been the precise idea connected with the words, *tien*, "heaven," and *hwang tien*, "imperial heaven," as they were used in ancient times, may be difficult to determine; the worship rendered to them was probably of a mixed sort, the material heavens being taken as the most sublime manifestation of the power of their Maker, whose character was then less obscured and unknown than in after times, when it degenerated to Sabianism.

The medium sacrifices are offered to eight objects; viz. the sun, or "great light," the moon, or "night light," the manes of the emperors and kings of former dynasties, Confucius, the ancient patrons of agriculture and silk weaving, the gods of heaven, earth, and the passing year. The inferior herd of sacrifices are offered to the ancient patron of the healing art, and the innumerable spirits of deceased philanthropists, eminent statesmen, martyrs to virtue, &c.; clouds, rain, wind, and thunder; the five celebrated mountains, four seas, and four rivers; famous hills, great water courses, flags, triviæ, gods of cannon, gates, queen goddess of earth, the north pole, and many other things. The state religion has been so far corrupted from its ancient simplicity, as to include as objects of worship with the heavens, gods terrestrial and stellar, and ghosts infernal, flags and cannon, as well as idols and tablets, the effigies and mementoes of deified persons.

The personages who assist the emperor in his worship of the four superior objects, and perform most of the ceremonies, belong to the imperial clan and the Board of Rites; but while they go through with the ceremony, he, as pontifex maximus, refuses to pay the same homage that he demands of all who approach him, and puts off heaven with three kneelings and nine profound bows. When he worships heaven, he wears robes of a blue color, in allusion to the sky; and when he worships earth, he puts on yellow to represent the clay of this earthly clod; so likewise, he wears red for the sun, and pale white for the moon. The princes, nobles, and officers who assist, are clad in their usual court dresses, but no priests or women are admitted, except at the worship of Yuenfi, the goddess of silk manufacture. There exists in China only one temple consecrated to *heaven* and one to *earth*; both of them at Peking, and there also the annual sacrifices at the solstices are offered. The temple of the sun is east, and that of the moon west of the city, and at the

equinoxes, a regulus, or prince of the imperial clan, is commissioned to perform the requisite ceremonies, and offer the appointed sacrifices.

The hierophants in this worship of nature, so lauded by some infidels, are required to prepare themselves for the occasion by fasting, ablutions, and change of garments, and separation from their wives and pleasurable scenes, and from the dead; "for sickness and death defile, while banqueting dissipates the mind, and unfits it for holding communion with the gods." The sacrifices consist of calves and bullocks, sheep or pigs, and the offerings of silks. Both are brought into the temple on chargers, not killed before or on the altar, but laid out ready dressed, in proper order. This custom of presenting cooked sacrifices is general in Chinese worship; no garlands are placed on the victim when its life is taken, nor is the blood sprinkled on any particular spot or article. The statutes annex penalties of fines or blows in various degrees of punishment, in case of informality or neglect; but, "in these penalties, there is not the least allusion to any displeasure of the things or beings worshipped, there is nothing to be feared but man's wrath, nothing but a forfeiture or a fine." Heavier chastisement, however, awaits any of the common people or the unauthorized, who should presume to state their wants to high heaven, or worship these objects of imperial adoration; strangulation or banishment, according to the demerits of the case, would be their retribution. The ignobile vulgus of China may worship stocks and stones in almost any form they please, but death awaits them if they attempt to join the son of heaven, the vicegerent of heaven and earth, in his adorations to the supposed sources of his power.

From this it is plain, that the emperors of China, like the popes of Rome, regard themselves as the exponents of the will of heaven, and both of them, "as God, sit in the temple of God, showing themselves that they are God." The idea the Chinese have of heaven seems to be pantheistic, and in worshipping heaven, earth, and terrestrial gods, they mean to include and propitiate all superior powers. If, as seems probable, the original idea of *shangti*, worshipped by the early monarchs, was that of a supreme Intelligence, it has since been lost; and the words of Paul are applicable, when he says, "that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; . . . . and did not like to re-

tain God in their knowledge." The high priests of China love power and adulation too well to share this worship with their subjects, and in engrossing it entirely, they have escaped the political evils of a state hierarchy, and the people the combined oppressions of a church and state.*

The state religion of China is, therefore, a mere pageant, and can no more be called the religion of the Chinese, than the teachings of Socrates could be termed the faith of the Greeks. It is, however, intimately connected with the *Ju kiau*, or sect of the Learned, commonly called Confucianists, because all its members and priests are learned men, who venerate the classical writings. It is somewhat inappropriate to designate the *Ju kiau* a religious sect, or regard it otherwise than as a comprehensive term for those who adopt the writings of Confucius and Chu Hí, and their disciples. The word *ju* denotes one of the literati, and was first adopted A. D. 1150, as an appellation for those who followed the speculations of Chu Hí regarding the *tai kih*, or Great Extreme. This author's comments on the classics, and his metaphysical writings, have had greater influence on his countrymen than those of any other person, except Confucius and Mencius; whose works, indeed, are received according to his explanations. The *Ju kiau* have no temples, priests, or creed, in the common acceptation of the term, and they can consequently worship at Budhist shrines, or with the Rationalists, or even become Romanists, without thereby losing their connexion with the learned class among their countrymen.

The remarks of Confucius upon religious subjects were very few; he never taught the duty of man to any higher power than the head of the state or family, though he supposed himself commissioned by heaven to restore the doctrine and usages of the ancient kings. He admitted that he did not understand much about the gods, that they were beyond and above the comprehension of man, and that the obligations of man lay rather in doing his duty to his relatives and society than in worshipping spirits unknown. "Not knowing even life," said he, "how can we know death?"—and when his disciples asked him in his last illness, whom he should sacrifice to, he said he had already worshipped. Chu Hí resolved the few and obscure references to

* Chinese Repository, Vol. III., page 49.

shangtí in the Shu King, into pure materialism; making nature to begin with the *tai kih*, called *premier principe matériel* by the French, which operating upon itself resolved itself into the dual powers, the *yin* and *yang*.

Sir John Davis compares this production of the yin and yang, to the masculo-feminine principle in the development of the mundane egg in the Egyptian cosmogony, and quotes an extract showing that the idea was entertained among the Hindus, and that the androgyn of Plato was only another form of this myth. The Chinese have also the notion of an egg, and that the *tai kih* was evolved from it, or acted like the process of hatching going on in it, though it may be, that with them the introduction of the egg is more for the sake of illustration than as the form of the cause. Some of Chu Hí's philosophical notions have already been quoted in Chapter XII., p. 550. His system of materialism captivates his countrymen, for it allows great scope for the vagaries of every individual, who thinks he understands and can apply it to explain whatever phenomena come in his way. Heat and cold, light and darkness, fire and water, mind and matter, every agent, power, and substance, known and supposed, are endued with these principles, and their infinite reactions and varied consequences explained by them. With regard to the existence of gods and spirits, Chu Hí "affirmed that sufficient knowledge was not possessed to say positively that they existed, and he saw no difficulty in omitting the subject altogether. His system is also entirely silent respecting the immortality of the soul, as well as future rewards and punishments. Virtue is rewarded and vice is punished in the individual, or in his posterity on earth; but of a separate state of existence he or his disciples do not speak."

In thus disposing of the existence of superior powers, the philosophers do not shut out all intelligent agencies, but have instituted a class of sages or pure-minded men of exalted intellects and simple hearts, who have been raised up from time to time by heaven, *shangtí*, or some other power, as instructors and examples to mankind, and who therefore deserve the reverence of their fellows. The office of these *shing jin*, "holy men" or saints, is to expound the will of heaven and earth, and form with them a trinity; they did not so much speak their own thoughts as illustrate and settle the principles on which the world should be governed; they were men, intuitively wise without instruction, while common people

must learn to be wise. Of all the saints in the calendar of the *Ju kiau*, Confucius is the chief; with him are reckoned the early kings, as Yau and Shun, king Wăn and lord Chau, but China has produced no one since the "most holy teacher of ancient times," whom his proud disciples are willing to regard his equal, Mencius being only a "number two saint." The deceased emperors of the reigning dynasty are canonized as saints, but a new line of monarchs would serve them as they did their predecessors, by reducing them to mere spirits. The demonolatry of the learned has gradually become so incorporated with popular superstitions that there is now little practical distinction; every one is willing to worship whatever can promise relief or afford assistance. Learning is followed chiefly as a means of attaining office, and a student of the classical works naturally adopts their views on these points, without supposing that they militate against worshipping his ancestors, joining the villagers in adoring the goddess of Mercy or any other Budhistic idol, or calling in a Rationalist to write a charm. He also, on coming into office, expects to perform all the ex-officio religious ceremonies required of him, and add the worship of the emperor to the rest. Form is the end of the whole; all alike fail in satisfying the desire of pardon for sin, and answering the question, How shall a man be just with his God? No one of them reaches the heart or conscience, none can convince the soul of its accountability, or show it the way to true happiness.

Every magistrate is officially required to perform various idolatrous ceremonies at the temples. The objects of worship are numerous, including many others besides those forming the "herd of inferior sacrifices," and new deities are frequently made by the emperor, on the same principle that new saints are canonized by the pope. The worship of certain hills and rivers, and of spirits supposed to preside over particular cities and districts, has prevailed among the Chinese from ancient times, long before the rise of Rationalism or introduction of Budhism, and is no doubt the origin of this official worship. In every city, the *Ching-hwang miau*, i. e. City and Moat temple, contains the tutelar divinity of the city called *Ching-hwang*, with other gods, and here on the solstices, equinoxes, new and full moons, &c., officers repair to sacrifice to it and the gods of the land and grain. Over the door of the one in Canton, is written, "Right and wrong, truth

and falsehood are blended on earth, but all are most clearly distinguished in heaven." Capt. Loch describes the Ching-hwang miau at Shanghai as a fine building:

"In the centre of a serpentine sheet of water, there is a rocky island, and on it a large temple of two stories, fitted up for the accommodation of the wealthy public. Pillars of carved wood support the roof, fretted groups of uncouth figures fill up the narrow spaces, while movable lattices screen the occupants from the warmth of the noonday sun. Nothing can surpass the beauty and truth to nature of the most minutely carved flowers and insects prodigally scattered over every screen and cornice. This is the central and largest temple. A number of other light aerial looking structures of the same form are perched upon the corners of artificial rocky precipices and upon odd little islands. Light and fanciful wooden bridges connect most of these islands, and are thrown across the arms of the serpentine water, so that each sequestered spot can be visited in turn. At a certain passage of the sun, the main temple is shaded in front by a rocky eminence, the large masses of which are connected with great art and propriety of taste, but in shape and adjustment most studiously grotesque. Trees and flowers and tufts of grass are planted where art must have been taxed to the utmost to procure them a lodgment. In another part of the garden there is a miniature wood of dwarf trees, with a dell and waterfall; the leaves, fruit, and blossoms of the trees are proportionate to their size. Tortuous pathways lead to the top of the artificial mountain, each turn formed with studied art to surprise and charm by offering at every point fresh views and objects. Flowers and creepers sprout out from crevices, trees hang over the jutting crags, small pavilions are seen from almost every vista, while grottoes and rocky recesses, shady bowers and labyrinths, are placed to entrap the unwary, each with an appropriate motto, one inviting the wanderer to repose, another offering a secluded retreat to the philosopher."—*Loch's Events in China*, p. 47.

According to the Repository there are 1560 temples dedicated to Confucius, attached to the examination halls, and the offerings presented in them are all eaten or used by the worshippers; there are, it is said, 62,606 pigs, rabbits, sheep, and deer, and 27,000 pieces of silk, annually presented upon their altars. The municipal temple is not the only one where the officers worship, but like the common people, they bow before whatever they think can aid them in their duties or estates. It has already been stated that the duty of Chinese officers extends to the securing of genial seasons by their good administration, and consequently

if bad harvests ensue or epidemics rage, the fault and removal of the calamity belong to them. The expedients they resort to are both ludicrous and melancholy. In 1835, the prefect of Canton, on occasion of a distressing drought of eight months, issued the following invitation, which would have better befitted a chieftain of the Sechuanas.

"Pwan, acting prefect of Kwangchau, issues this inviting summons. Since for a long time there has been no rain, and the prospects of drought continue, and supplications are unanswered, my heart is scorched with grief. In the whole province of Kwangtung, are there no extraordinary persons who can force the dragon to send rain? Be it known to you, all ye soldiers and people, that if there be any one, whether of this or any other province, priest or such like, who can by any craft or arts bring down abundance of rain, I respectfully request him to ascend the altar [of the dragon], and sincerely and reverently pray. And after the rain has fallen, I will liberally reward him with money and tablets to make known his merits."

This invitation called forth a Budhist priest as a "rain maker," and the prefect erected an altar for him before his own office, upon which the man armed with cymbal and wand, for three days vainly repeated his incantations from morning to night, exposed bareheaded to the hot sun, the butt of the jeering crowd. The prefect himself was lampooned by the people for his folly, the following quatrain being pasted under a copy of his invitation:

"Kwangchau's great protector, the magnate Pwan,
Always acting without regard to reason;
Now prays for rain, and getting no reply,
Forthwith seeks for aid to force the dragon."

The unsuccessful efforts of the priest did not render the calamity less grievous, and their urgent necessities led the people to resort to every expedient to force their gods to send rain. The authorities forbade the slaughter of animals, or in other words a fast was proclaimed, to keep the hot winds out of the city, the southern gate was shut, and all classes flocked to the temples. It was estimated that on one day 20,000 persons went to a celebrated shrine of the goddess of Mercy, among whom were the governor and prefect and their suites, who all left their sedans and walked with the multitude. The governor, as a last expe-

dient, the day before rain came, intimated his intention of liberating all prisoners not charged with capital offences. As soon as the rain fell, the people presented thank-offerings, and the southern gate of the city was opened, accompanied by an odd ceremony of burning the tail off a live sow, while the animal was held in a basket.

The officers and literati, though acknowledging the folly of these observances, and even ridiculing the worship of senseless blocks, still join in it. Sometimes devotees become irritated against their gods, and resort to summary means to force them to hear their petitions. It is said that the governor having gone repeatedly in a time of drought to the temple of the god of Rain in Canton dressed in his burdensome robes, through the heat of a tropical sun, on one of his visits said, "The god supposes I am lying when I beseech his aid; for how can he know, seated in his cool niche in the temple, that the ground is parched and the sky hot?" Whereupon he ordered his attendants to put a rope around his neck and haul his godship out of doors, that he might see and feel the state of the weather for himself; after his excellency had become cooled in the temple, the idol was reinstated in its shrine, and the good effects of this treatment considered to be fully proved by the copious showers which soon after fell. The emperor himself on such occasions resorts to unusual sacrifices, and a prayer for rain offered by him has already been noticed, Vol. I., p. 369. Imperial patronage of the popular superstitions is sought after by the officers in one way and another, to please the people, but it does not involve much outlay of funds. One common mode is to solicit his majesty for an inscription to be placed over the doorway of a temple, or a higher title to be conferred upon the god. On occasion of a victory over the rebels in Kwangtung in 1822, the shrine of a neighboring deity, supposed to have assisted in obtaining it, received a new title commemorative of the event, and a temple was built for him at the expense of government.

The combined effect of the state religion and classical writings, notwithstanding their atheism and coldness, has had some effect in keeping the people out of the swinish ditch of pollution. It is one of their prime tenets that human nature is originally virtuous, and becomes corrupt entirely by bad precept and example. This is taught children from their earliest years, and officers refer

to it in their exhortations to obedience, and its necessary results of happiness, if carried out, are illustrated by trite comparisons drawn from common life and general experience. The Chinese seldom refer to the vengeance of the gods or future punishment, as motives for reform, but to the well-being of individuals and good order of society in this world. Examples of this standard of human perfection, fully developed, are constantly set before the people in Confucius and the ancient kings he delineates. The classical tenets require duties that carry their own arguments in their obedience, as well as afford matter of thought, while the books of the Budhists and Rationalists are mostly filled with solemn nonsense. Consequently the priests of those sects had only the superstitious fear of the people to work upon where reason was at fault, and so could not take the whole man captive; for his reason accorded with the teaching of the classics as far as they went, and only took up with divination and supplication of higher powers where their instructions ceased. The government, therefore, being composed chiefly of such people, educated to venerate pure reason, could not be induced to take the initiatory step of patronizing a religion of such an uncertain character, and confessedly inferior to what they already possessed. The current has, more or less, always set this way, and the two superstitions been tolerated so far as they did not interfere with government. It is too true that the instructions of Confucius and his school are imperfect and erroneous, and the people can never emerge from selfish atheism and silly superstition as long as they have nothing better, but the vagaries of the Budhists neither satisfy the reason nor reprove vice, nor does their celibate idleness benefit society. If the former be bad, the latter is confessedly worse.

The sect of the Rationalists, or *Tau kia*, was founded by Lautsz' or Laukiun. He was born B. C. 604, in the kingdom of Tsu, now Hupeh, 54 years before Confucius, and is believed to have had white hair and eyebrows at his birth, and been carried in the womb eighty years, whence he was called Lau-tsz', the "old boy," and afterwards Lau-kiun, the "venerable prince." According to Pauthier, who has examined his history with some attention, his parents were poor, and after entering mature years, he was appointed librarian by the emperor, where he diligently applied himself to the study of the ancient books, and became acquainted

with all the rites and histories of former times. During his life, he made a journey through Central Asia, but what was its extent and duration is not recorded. De Guignes says he went to Ta Tsin, a country under the rule of the Romans, but he forgets that the Romans had not then even conquered Italy; some suppose Ta Tsin to be Judea. His only philosophical work, the *Tau Teh King*, or Memoir on Reason and Virtue, was written before his travels, but whether the teachings contained in it are entirely his own, or were derived from hints imported from India and Persia, cannot be decided. A parallel has been suggested between the tenets of the Rationalists of China, the Zoroastrians of Persia, Essenes of Judea, Gnostics of the primitive church, and the eremites of the Thebaid, but a common source for their conformity—the desire to live without labor on the credulity of their fellow men—explains most of the likeness, without supposing that their tenets were derived from each other.

The teachings of Lautsz' are not unlike those of Zeno; both recommend retirement and contemplation as the most effectual means of purifying the spiritual part of our nature, annihilating the material passions, and finally returning to the bosom of the supreme Reason. He says "All material visible forms are only emanations of *Tau* or Reason; this formed all beings. Before their emanation, the universe was only an indistinct confused mass, a chaos of all the elements in a state of a germ or subtle essence." In another section he says, "All the visible parts of the universe, all beings composing it, the heavens and all the stellar systems, all have been formed of the first elementary matter: before the birth of heaven and earth, there existed only an immense silence in illimitable space, an immeasurable void in endless silence. Reason alone circulated in this infinite void and silence." In one of his sections, Lautsz' says, "Reason has produced one, one produced two, two produced three, and three made all things. All beings repose on the feminine principle, and they embrace, envelope the male principle; a fecundating breath keeps up their harmony." He teaches the emanation and return of all good beings into the bosom of Reason, and their eternal existence therein, but if not good, the miseries of successive births and their accompanying sorrows, await them. M. Pauthier, in his high estimation of these speculations, regards this as the Asiatic form of the doctrine and procession of the

Trinity, and the Biblical idea of the reunion of good men with their Maker!

His own life was passed in ascetic privacy, and he recommends the practice of contemplation, joined with the performance of good deeds. Lautsz' says, when enforcing benevolent acts,

"The holy man has not an inexorable heart:
He makes his heart like that of all men.
The virtuous man should be treated as a virtuous man,
The vicious man should likewise be treated as a virtuous man;
This is wisdom and virtue.
The sincere and faithful man should be treated as a sincere and faithful man,
The insincere and unfaithful should likewise be treated as a sincere and faithful man:
This is wisdom and sincerity.
The perfect man lives in the world tranquil and calm;
It is only on account of the world, for the happiness of man, that his heart experiences disquiet.
Though all men think only of pleasing their eyes and their ears,
Those who are in a state of sanctity will treat them as a father treats his children."

M. Pauthier, in his admiration of the Chinese philosopher, says, "La sagesse humaine n'a peutêtre jamais exprimé des paroles plus saintes et plus profondes;" and perhaps he properly compares Lautsz' with his countryman Rousseau in his complaints upon the evil of the times. The precept found in the Confucian school of commencing all reformation at home, and making our own thoughts and actions correct before endeavoring to regulate those of others, is also found in the *Tau Teh King*.

"He who knows men is wise;
He who knows himself is truly enlightened.
He who can subjugate men is powerful,
He who conquers himself is truly strong.
He who knows when he has enough is rich.
He who accomplishes difficult and meritorious works leaves a durable remembrancer among men.
He who does not dissipate his life is imperishable;
He who dies and is not forgotten has eternal life."

The writings of this teacher, unlike those of Confucius, seldom

refer to ancient models or personages; he derives his ideas of reason and virtue entirely from his own conceptions. These have been strangely altered and travestied by his followers, and their notions, both of the reason they pretend to follow, and of the founder of their sect, have given them a character nearly allied to the magicians of Egypt; but so far as can be learned from the *Tau Teh King*, their extravagant vagaries are not fully chargeable to Lautsz' himself, or to his doctrine. M. Pauthier is enthusiastic in his praises of this teacher (Chine, pp. 110–120), and estimates the value of his instructions much higher than has been usually done; but the students of Chinese ethics are under obligations to him for his translation, which enables them to judge of their character for themselves.

One of the most celebrated Rationalist writers is Chwang-tsz', a disciple of Lautsz', from whom his followers derive more of their opinions than from their master himself; his writings have been repeatedly commented upon by members of the fraternity, and are referred to as authoritative. In ancient times, small parties of them retired to secluded places to meditate upon virtue. When Confucius visited Lautsz', the cynic upbraided the sage for his ambition in collecting so many disciples and seeking after office, and added that such a course of conduct was more likely to nourish pride than cherish the love of virtue and wisdom. "The wise man," he said, "loves obscurity; far from being ambitious of offices, he avoids them. Persuaded that at the end of life, a man can only leave behind him such good maxims as he has taught to those who were in a state to receive and practise them, he does not reveal himself to all he meets: he observes time and place. If the times be good, he speaks; if bad, he keeps quiet. He who possesses a treasure, conceals it with care lest it be taken from him; he is careful about publishing everywhere that he has it at his disposal. The truly virtuous man makes no parade of his virtue, he does not announce to the world that he is a wise man. This is all I have to say; make as much of it as you please."

Such speculative teachings and waiting till the times were good, were not adapted to entertain or benefit, and Confucius understood his countrymen and his own duty much better than Lautsz', in doing all he could by precept and practice, to show them the excellence of what he believed to be right. The dis-

ciples of Lautsz' discourse upon Reason in a way that would befit the pages of the Dial, and the teachings of the ancient and modern transcendentalists are alike destitute of common sense and unproductive of good to their fellow-men. Dr. Medhurst quotes one of the Chinese Rationalists, who praises reason in a most rapturous rhapsody:

"What is there superior to heaven, and from which heaven and earth sprang? Nay, what is there superior to space and which moves in space? The great Tau is the parent of space, and space is the parent of heaven and earth, and heaven and earth produced men and things." "The venerable prince (Reason) arose prior to the great original, standing at the commencement of the mighty wonderful, and floating in the ocean of deep obscurity. He is spontaneous and self-existing, produced before the beginning of emptiness, commencing prior to uncaused existences, pervading all heaven and earth, whose beginning and end no years can circumscribe."

The sectarians suppose their founder was merely an impersonation of this power, and that he whom they call "the venerable prince, the origin of primary matter, the root of heaven and earth, the occupier of infinite space, the commencement of all things, further back than the utmost stretch of numbers can reach, created the universe." They notice three incarnations of him during the present epoch, one during the Shang dynasty, B. C. 1407, one at the time of Confucius, and a third about A. D. 623, when a man of Shansí reported having seen an old man, who called himself Laukiun. Only the priests of this sect are regarded as its members; they live in temples and small communities with their families, cultivating the ground attached to the establishment, and thus perpetuate their body; many lead a wandering life, and derive a precarious livelihood from the sale of charms and medical nostrums. They shave the sides of the head, and coil the rest of the hair in a tuft upon the crown, thrusting a pin through it; and are moreover recognised by their slate colored robes. They study astrology, and profess to have dealings with spirits, and their books contain a great variety of stories of priests who have done wonderful acts by their help; the Pastimes of the Study, already noticed, is one of these books, and Davis introduces a pleasant story of Chwang and his wife from another work.* They long endeavored to find a beverage which

* The Chinese, Vol II., pp. 113–128.

would insure longevity or immortality, and during the Tang dynasty, the emperor and highest officers were carried away with the delusion. The title of Heavenly Doctors was conferred on them, and a superb temple erected to Laukiun, containing his statue; examinations were ordered in A. D. 674, to be held in his Memoir on Reason, and some of the priests reached the highest honors in the state. Since that time they have degenerated, and are now looked upon as ignorant cheats and designing jugglers, who are quite as willing to use their magical powers to injure their enemies as to help those who seek their aid.

Tau Priests jumping through the fire.

In some places, the votaries of Tau on the third day of the third month go barefoot over ignited charcoal; and on the anniversary of the birthday of the High Emperor of the Sombre Heavens, "they assemble together before the temple of this imaginary being, and having made a great fire, about fifteen or twenty feet in diameter, go over it barefoot, preceded by the priests, and bearing the gods in their arms. The previous ceremonies consist in chanting prayers, ringing bells, sprinkling holy water, blowing horns, and brandishing swords in and over the flames in order to subdue the demon, after which they dart through the devouring element. They firmly assert that if they possess a sincere mind, they will not be injured by the fire, but both priests and people get miserably burnt on these occasions. Yet such is the delusion, and the idea the people entertain of the benefit

of these services, that they willingly contribute large sums to provide the sacrifices and pay the performers."*

This ceremony is practised in Fukhien and at Batavia, but is not very general, for the Chinese are the antipodes of the Hindus in their endurance and relish for such sufferings and austerities. The Rationalists worship a great variety of idols, among which *Yuh-hwang Shangtí* is one of the highest; their pantheon also includes genii, devils, inferior spirits, and numberless other objects of worship. The *Siu Shin Kí*, or Records of Researches concerning the Gods, contains an account of the birth of the deity whose anniversary is celebrated as above described.

"There was once a childless emperor called Tsingtih, i. e. Pure Virtue, who summoned a large company of Tau priests to perform their rites in his behalf, and continued their worship half a year. The empress Pau Yueh-kwang, i. e. Gemmeous Moonlight, on a night dreamed that she saw the great and eminent Laukiun, together with a large number of superior deities, riding in particolored carriages with vast resplendent banners and shaded by bright variegated umbrellas. Here was the great founder Laukiun sitting in a dragon carriage, and holding in his arms a young infant, whose body was entirely covered with pores, from which unbounded splendors issued, illuminating the hall of the palace with every precious color. Banners and canopies preceded Laukiun as he came floating along. Then was the heart of the empress elated with joy, and reverently kneeling before him, said, 'At present our monarch has no male descendants, and I wishfully beseech you for this child, that he may become the sovereign of our hearts and altars. Prostrate I look up to your merciful kindness, earnestly imploring thee to commiserate and grant my request.' He at once answered, 'It is my special desire to present the boy to you;' whereupon she thankfully received him, and immediately returned from the pursuit of the dream, and found herself advanced a year in pregnancy. When the birth took place, a resplendent light poured forth from the child's body, which filled the whole country with brilliant glare. His entire countenance was super-eminently beautiful, so that none became weary in beholding him. When in childhood, he possessed the clearest intelligence and compassion, and taking the possessions of the country and the funds of the treasury, he distributed them to the poor and afflicted, the widowers and widows, orphans and childless, the houseless and sick, halt, deaf, blind, and lame.

"Not long after this, the demise of his father took place, and he succeeded to the government; but reflecting on the instability of life, he resigned his throne and its cares to his ministers, and repaired to the

* Medhurst's China, its State and Prospects, p. 168.

hills of Puming; where he gave himself up to meditation, and being perfected in merit ascended to heaven to enjoy eternal life. He however descended to earth again eight hundred times, and became the companion of the common people to instruct them in his doctrines. After that he made eight hundred more journeys, engaging in medical practice, and successfully curing the people; and then another similar series, in which he exercised universal benevolence in hades and earth, expounded all abstract doctrines, elucidated the spiritual literature, magnanimously promulged the renovating ethics, gave glory to the widely spread merits of the gods, assisted the nation, and saved the people. During another eight hundred descents, he exhibited patient suffering, though men took his life, yet he parted with his flesh and blood. After this he became the first of the verified golden genii, and was denominated the pure and immaculate one, self-existing, of highest intelligence."*

These figments, which seem to be merely a transcript of the vagaries of the Hindu theosophists, and not the teachings of Lautsz,' still amuse his followers. The learned Confucianists laugh at their fables, but are still so much the prey of fears as to be often duped by them, and follow even when sure of being deceived.

The most popular religious sect is the Budhists, or the followers of Fuh, Fo, Făt, or Fuh-tu, whose tenets were introduced into China about A. D. 66, by means of an embassy sent to the west at the suggestion of the Rationalists, to seek for a wise man said to have appeared there; according to others, it arose from a remarkable expression of Confucius, "The people of the west have sages, or a sage." It may have been that this mission was excited by some indistinct tidings of the advent and death of Christ, though there is no trace of such a rumor having reached the land of Sinim: the Christian, however, is naturally led to speculate upon the results which might have followed if these men had been led, like the magians, to the land of Judea, and had returned with the knowledge of Him whom to know aright is life eternal. Many data have been collected by the industry of oriental scholars from Budhist books, relating to the rise and progress of this sect, and the leading features of its faith.

Budha is supposed to have been a human being, though some say he was the last avatar of Vishnu, who brought himself by contemplation to a state of purity and perfection, and spent his life in teaching his doctrines, which were received with such

* Chinese Repository, Vol. X., p. 306

success, that at his death, about B. C. 950, at the age of eighty, they had spread over all India. His name was Sarvarthasidda, and his father Suddhodana was king of Magadha in Bahar; he was during his life complimented by the titles Sakya-sinha and Sakya-muni, i. e. the "lion" or "devotee" of the race Sakya; and towards the end of his days was called Budha or the Sage. Gaudama, by which he is known in Siam and Birmah, appears to have been a patronymic; it has also been changed in the former tongue into Sommona-codom, i. e. the "ascetic Gaudama." This superstition, the least revolting and impure of the false religions which have deluded and afflicted mankind, has also reckoned the greatest number of devotees, if the entire population of the countries where it is known be included. Ceylon, Tibet, Siam, and Burmah, are the countries where it holds the least divided sway; but Cochinchina, China, Mongolia, Manchuria, Corea, Lewchew, and Japan, all contain more or less of its adherents and priests, though they cannot be called Budhist countries with the same strictness the first four are. In China, no one is called a Budhist except the priests and nuns, and the same is true in Japan and Lewchew, and probably in Corea, in all of which Budhism has no support from government, though approved by many officers.

Budhist priests are more numerous in China than the Tau sz', and they obtained influence more rapidly over the people. Their demonolatry allows the incorporation of the deities and spirits of other religions, and goes even further, in permitting the priests to worship the gods of other pantheons, so that they could adapt themselves to the popular superstitions of the countries they went to, and ingraft all the foreign spirits into their calendar they saw fit. They had a good entrance into China through imperial favor, and as their rites presented nothing cruel or revolting, and their tenets held out promises of happiness hereafter, of which Confucius said nothing, the people naturally looked upon them with favor. The worship of the manes of ancestors, of spirits supposed to pervade and rule this world, and every superior power, was perfectly compatible with the reception of Budhism; and thus its priests gradually became the high priests of the popular superstition, and have since remained so. They first ingratiated themselves by making their services useful in the indigenous ritual, and were afterwards looked upon as necessary for its exe-

cution. They propagated their doctrines principally by books and tracts, rather than by collecting schools or disciples in their temples; the quiet indolent life they led, apparently absorbed in books and worship, and yet not altogether estranged from the world, likewise held out charms to some people. China is full of temples, in most of which Budhist priests are found, but it is not quite the true inference to suppose that all the buildings were erected or the priests hired, because the people wished to do reverence to Budha. It is impossible to state the proportion in which Budhist priests are found; there are 124 in Canton alone, containing idols of every name and attribute, in most of which they live and act as the mediators and assistants of whoever comes to worship.

The tenets of Budhism require a renunciation of the world, and the observance of austerities to overcome evil passions, and fit its disciples for future happiness. A vow of celibacy is taken, and the priests dwell together for mutual assistance in attaining perfection by worshipping Budha, and calling upon his name. They shave the entire head as a token of purity, but not the whole body, as the ancient Egyptian priests did; they profess to eat no animal food, wear no skin or woollen garments, and get their living by begging, by the alms of worshippers, and the cultivation of the grounds of the temple. Much of their support is derived from the sale of incense sticks, gilt paper, and candles, and fees for services at funerals. In the monasteries of this sect, like the Hai-chwang sz' at Honam, the people only occasionally worship, the priests performing the whole service; but in other temples, they contrive to gain a livelihood, and many of those better situated, derive a large portion of their income from entertaining strangers of wealth and distinction. The sale of charms, the profits of theatrical exhibitions, the fees paid by neighborhoods for feeding hungry ghosts on All-Souls' day, and other incidental services performed for the living or the dead, also furnish resources. Their largest monasteries contain extensive libraries, and a portion of the fraternity are well acquainted with letters, though numbers of them are ignorant even of their own books. Their moral character, as a class, is on a par with their countrymen, and many of them are respectable, intelligent, and sober minded persons, who seem to be sincerely desirous of making themselves better, if possible, by their religious observances.

The liturgy is in the language of *Fan* or Sanscrit, with which the majority are unacquainted, nor have they many bilingual glossaries or dictionaries to explain the words. Dr. Milne, speaking of the use of unknown tongues in liturgies, thus remarks: "There is something to be said in favor of those Christians who believe in the magic powers of foreign words, and who think a prayer either more acceptable to the Deity, or more suited to common edification, because the people do not generally understand it. They are not singular in this belief. Some of the Jews had the same opinion; the followers of Budha and Mohammed all cherish the same sentiment. From the chair of his holiness at Rome, and eastward through all Asia to the mountain retreats of the Yama-bus in Japan, this opinion is espoused. The bloody Druids of ancient Europe, the gymnosophists of India, the Mohammedan hatib, the Budhists of China, the talapoins of Siam, and the bonzes of Japan, the Romish clergy, the vartabeds of the Armenian church, and the priests of the Abyssinian and Greek communions, all entertain the notion, that the mysteries of religion will be the more revered the less they are understood, and the devotions of the people (performed by proxy) the more welcome in heaven, for being dressed in the garb of a foreign tongue. Thus the synagogue and mosque, the pagan temple and Christian church, seem all to agree in ascribing marvellous efficacy to the sounds of an unknown language; and, as they have Jews and Mohammedans, Abyssinians and pagans, on their side, those Christians, who plead for the use of an unknown tongue in the services of religion, have certainly the majority. That Scripture, reason, and common sense, should happen to be on the other side, is indeed a misfortune for them, but there is no help for it." *

The following canon, delivered by Fuh, for exterminating misfortune, is extracted from the Budhist liturgy, and the priest, while repeating it, strikes upon a wooden drum shaped like a skull, to arouse the attention of the god.

"Nan-mo O-mí-to po-yė, to-ta-kia to-yė, to-tí-yė-ta O-mí-lí-to po-kwăn, O-mí-lí-to, sieh-tan-po-kwăn, O-mí-lí-to, kwăn-kia-lan-ti O-mí-lí-to, kwăn-kia-lan-tí; kia-mí-ní kia-kia-na, chih-to-kia-lí po-po-ho."

* Penny Cyclopædia, Art. BUDDHA. Indochinese Gleaner, Vol. III. p 141 Chinese Repository, Vol. IX., p. 640

This is as unintelligible to most Chinese Budhists as it is to the English reader, and similar invocations, with the name O-mí-to Fuh (Amida Budha) are repeated thousands and myriads of times to attain perfection, affording a good illustration of the propriety of our Savior's direction, "When ye pray, use not vain repetitions as the heathen do; for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking." A plate in one Budhistic work contains 5048 open dots, arranged in the shape of a pear; each dot to be filled up when the name of Budha has been repeated a hundred or a thousand times, and then the paper to be burned to pass into the other world to the credit of the devotee. The Budhists have a system of merits and demerits, which Sir John Davis notices, and remarks, "that this method of *keeping a score* with heaven is as foolish and dangerous a system of morality as that of penances and indulgences in the Romish church." In this Budhist scale of actions, "to repair a road, make a bridge, or dig a well, ranks as ten; to cure a disease, or give enough ground for a grave, as thirty; to set on foot some useful scheme, ranks still higher. On the other hand, to reprove another unjustly, counts as three on the debtor side; to level a tomb, as fifty; to dig up a corpse, as one hundred; to cut off a man's male heirs, as two hundred, and so on." This notion of keeping accounts with heaven prevails among all classes of the Chinese, and the score is usually settled about the end of the year, by fasting and doing charitable acts, such as making a piece of road, repairing a temple, or distributing food, to prove their repentance, and benefit the world. Festival days are chosen by devout people to distribute alms to the poor, and on such occasions troops of beggars cluster about their doors, holding clap-dishes in their outstretched hands, while the donor stands behind the half opened door dealing out the rice.

Considering how few restraints this religion imposes on the evil propensities of the human heart, and how easily it provides for the expiation of crimes, it is surprising that it has not had as great success among the Chinese, as among the Tibetans, Birmese, and Siamese. The probable explanation is, the thorough education in the reasonable teachings of the classics, and the want of filial duty, so repugnant to Chinese ideas of propriety, shown by celibates to their parents, in leaving them to take care of themselves. The priests have always had the better judgment of the people against them, and being shut out by their very pro-

fession from entering into society as companions or equals, and regarded as servants, to be sent for when their services were wanted, they can neither get nor maintain that influence over their countrymen, which would enable them to form a party, or a powerful sect. One of the officers of Chingtih of the Ming dynasty, Wang Yangning, who addressed a remonstrance to his sovereign against sending an embassy to India, to fetch thence books and priests of that faith, relies for his chief argument on a comparison between the precepts and tendency of the Budhist faith, and the higher doctrines of the classics, proving to his own satisfaction that the latter contained all the good there was in the former, without its nonsense and evil. The opposition to Budhism on the part of the literati has been in fact a controversy between common sense, imperfectly enlightened indeed, and superstitious fear; the first inclines the person to look at the subject with reference to the principles and practical results of the system, as exhibited in the writings and lives of its followers, while, not having themselves anything to look forward to beyond the grave, they are still led to entertain some of its dogmas, because there may be something in them after all, and they have themselves nothing better. The result is, as Dr. Morrison has observed, "Budhism in China is decried by the learned, laughed at by the profligate, yet followed by all." The paraphrase and commentary on the seventh of Kanghi's maxims against strange religions present a singular anomaly, for while the emperor decries Budhism and Rationalism, and exalts the "orthodox doctrine," as he terms the teachings of the classics, he was himself a daily worshipper of Budhist idols served by the lamas.

He inveighs against selling poor children to the priests, in no measured terms, and shows the inutility and folly of repeating the books or reciting the unintelligible charms written by the priests, where the person never thought of performing what was good. He speaks against the promiscuous assemblage of men and women at the temples, which leads to unseemly acts, and joins in with another of his own class, who remarked in reference to a festival, "That most of the worshippers are women, who like these worshipping days, because it gives them an opportunity to see and be seen in their fine clothes; and most of the men who go there, go to amuse themselves and look at the women."—"The sum of the whole is, these dissolute priests of Budha are lazy;

they will neither labor in the fields, nor traffic in the markets, and being without food and clothing they set to work and invent means of deceiving people." But though this upholder of the good old way well exhibits the follies of these idolatrous sects, he has nothing better to present his countrymen than "the two living divinities placed in the family," nothing to lead their thoughts beyond this world; his best advice and consolation for their troubled and wearied souls is, "Seek not for happiness beyond your own sphere; perform not an action beyond the bounds of reason, attend solely to your own duty; then you will receive the protection of the gods."*

The mutual forbearance exhibited by the different sects in China, is praiseworthy so far as it goes, but the government tolerates no denomination suspected of interfering with its own influence, and as none of the sects have any state patronage, none of them hold any power to wield for persecution, and the people soon tire of petty annoyances and unavailing invectives. The Budhists perpetuate their priesthood chiefly by purchasing orphans and poor children, and rearing them; persons occasionally enter late in life, weary with the vexations of the world; Mr. Milne was acquainted with one who had two sons when he took the vows upon him, but gave himself no care as to what had become of them. The only education which most of the acolytes receive consists in memorizing the prayers in the liturgy, and reading the canonical works, of which there is a vast collection. A few fraternities have tutors from whom they receive instruction.

A few nunneries also exist, most of them under the patronage of the Holy Mother, Queen of Heaven. From the account given by Mr. Milne, who resided in one at Ningpo for a short time, it appears that the priests advocate their establishment as a good means of working upon the feelings of the more susceptible part of society, to whom they themselves cannot get admittance. The succession among the "sisters" is kept up by purchase, and by self-consecration; the feet of children bought young are not bandaged. The novice is not admitted to full orders till she is sixteen, though previous to this she adopts the garb of the sisterhood; the only difference consists in the front part of the head being shaved, and

* Milne's Sacred Edict, pages 133-143. Chinese Repository, Vol. I., page 217; Vol. II., page 265.

the hair plaited in a queue, while nuns shave the whole. It is not easy to distinguish the monks from the nuns as they walk the streets, for both have natural feet, wear clumsy shoes, long stockings drawn over full trousers, short jackets, and have bald pates. Like her sister in Romish countries, the Chinese nun, when her head has been shaved—the opposite of taking the veil, though the hair of both is sacrificed—is required to live a life of devotion and mortification, eat vegetables, care nothing for the world, and think only of her eternal canonization, keeping herself busy with the service of the temple. "Daily exercises are to be conducted by her; the furniture of the small sanctuary that forms a part of the convent must be looked after and kept clean and orderly; those women or men who come to worship at the altars, and seek guidance and comfort, must be cared for and assisted. When there is leisure, the sick and the poor are to be visited; and all who have placed themselves under her special direction and spiritual instruction, have a strong claim upon her regard. That she may live the life of seclusion and self-denial, she must vow perpetual virginity. The thought of marriage should never enter her head, and the society of men must be shunned. On her death, she will be swallowed up in nihility!" In this nunnery at Ningpo, there were only seven inmates, and two conducted the daily services, but on special occasions, nuns from other convents and priests came in to assist. As might be supposed, the rehearsal of an unmeaning liturgy before a senseless idol has nothing devotional in it: "they are as merry and tricky as flirting and frolicksome, as any party of girls met to keep the birthday of one of their schoolmates."

Most of them are taught to read the classics as well as their own literature, and some of the sisterhood are said to be well read in the lore of the country. Each nun has her own disciples among the laity, and cultivates and extends her acquaintances as much as she can, inasmuch as upon them her support principally depends. Each of her patrons, whether male or female, receives a new name from her, as she herself also did when her head was shaven. Contributors' names are written or engraved in conspicuous places in the building, casual fees or donations go to the general expenses. Each nun also receives ten cents when public masses are recited for those who have engaged them. Their moral character is uniformly represented by the Chinese as dis-

solute, and they are both despised for their profligacy, and dreaded for the supposed power they can exert by means of their connexion with spirits. The number of nunneries in the department of Ningpo is stated to be thirty, and the sisterhood in them all to amount to upwards of three hundred persons.*

The numerous points of similarity between the rites of the Budhists, and those of the Romish church, early attracted attention; the reader will have already noticed some of these coincidences, such as the vow of celibacy in both sexes, the object of their seclusion, the loss of hair, taking a new name, and looking after the care of the convent. There are many grounds for supposing, too, that their favorite goddess *Kwanyin*, i. e. the Hearer of Cries, called also Holy Mother, Queen of Heaven, is only another form of Our Lady. The monastic habit, holy water, counting rosaries to assist in prayer, the ordinances of celibacy and fasting, and reciting masses for the dead, worship of relics and canonization of saints, are alike features of both sects. Both burn candles and incense, and bells are much used in their temples; both teach a purgatory, from which the soul can be delivered by prayers, and use a dead language for their liturgy, and their priests pretend to miracles. These striking resemblances led the Romish missionaries to suppose that some of them had been derived from the Romanists or Syrians who entered China before the twelfth century; others referred them to St. Thomas, but Prémare ascribes them to the devil, who had thus imitated holy mother church in order to scandalize and oppose its rites. But as Davis observes, "To those who admit that most of the Romish ceremonies are borrowed directly from paganism, there is less difficulty in accounting for the resemblance."

The worship is similar and equally imposing. One eyewitness describes the scene he saw in a Budhist temple: "There stood fourteen priests, seven on each side of the altar, erect, motionless, with clasped hands and downcast eyes, their shaven heads and flowing grey robes adding to their solemn appearance. The low and measured tones of the slowly moving chant they were singing might have awakened solemn emotions, too, and called away the thoughts from worldly objects. Three priests kept time with the music, one beating an immense drum, another a large iron

* Chinese Repository, Vol. XIII., pages 93–98.

vessel, and a third a wooden ball. After chanting, they kneeled upon low stools, and bowed before the colossal image of Budha, at the same time striking their heads upon the ground. Then rising and facing each other, they began slowly chanting some sentences, and rapidly increasing the music and their utterance until both were at the climax of rapidity, they diminished in the same way until they had returned to the original measure. In the meantime, some of the number could not restrain their curiosity, and even while chanting and counting their beads, left their places to ask for books. The whole service forcibly reminded me of scenes in Romish chapels; the shaven heads of the priests, their long robes, mock solemnity, frequent prostrations, chantings, beads, yea, and their idol too, all suggested their types, or their antitypes in the apostate church."*

The form of Budhism prevailing among the Mongols and Tibetans differs more in its state and power than in its doctrines; it is called Shamanism, or *Hwang kiau*, the Yellow doctrine, from the color of the priestly robes. The dalai lama at H'lassa, in the great monastery of the Putala, is the pope of the religion, the incarnation of deity. Mongolia swarms with lamas, and the government at Peking aids in supporting them in order to maintain its sway more easily over the tribes, though the Manchus have endeavored to supplant the civil authority of the dalai-lama and banchin-erdeni, by partially aiding and gradually subdividing their power. The ritual of the Shamans, in which the leading tenets held and taught by the lamas are exhibited, has been translated by Neumann, a German sinologue. They have ten principal precepts, forming a kind of decalogue, viz. 1. Do not kill sentient beings; 2. Do not steal; 3. Do not marry; 4. Speak not falsely; 5. Drink not wine; 6. Perfume not the hair on the crown nor paint the body; 7. Do not behold songs or plays, and perform none thyself; 8. Sit not nor lie on a high large couch; 9. Do not eat after the time; 10. Do not grasp hold of gold or silver, or any valuable thing. The book contains also twenty-four sections of directions as to the conduct to be observed in various places, and before different persons. When using the sacred books, the devotee must consider himself to be in the presence of Budha, and he is forbidden to study books of divination,

* Foreign Missionary Chronicle, Vol. XIV., p. 300

physiognomy, medicine, drawing lots, astronomy, geography, alchemy, charms, magic, or poetry :—no wonder the priests are ignorant, when almost every source of instruction is thus debarred them. The number of temples scattered over Mongolia and Tibet, and the proportion of priests, are far greater than in China, and the literature is not less enormous for bulk than are the contents of the volumes tedious and uninstructive. A good device for a religion of formality to economize time and accommodate ignorance is adopted by the lamas, which is to write the prayers on a piece of paper and fasten them to a wheel, carried round by the wind; chests are also set up in temples having prayers for worshippers engraved on the outside in large letters, and the prayer is repeated as often as the wind or the hand revolves the wheel or chest. The lamas exert a great influence through their incantations and demoniacal exhibitions, and no intelligent or educated class interposes any obstacle.

The hold of the Budhists upon the mass of Chinese consists far more in the position they occupy in relation to the rites performed in honor of the dead, than in their temples and tenets. This brings us to the consideration of the real religion of the Chinese, that in which more than anything else they trust, and to which they look for consolation and reward,—the worship of deceased ancestors. The doctrines of Confucius, and the ceremonial of the state religion, exhibit the speculative, intellectual dogmas of the Chinese; the tenets of Lautsz', and the sorcery and invocations of his followers, may be regarded as the marvellous and subtle part of the popular creed; while the idle, shaven priest of Budha impersonates its sensual and scheming features; but the heart of the nation reposes more upon the rites offered at the family shrine to the two "living divinities" who preside in the hall of ancestors than to all the rest. This sort of family worship has been popular in other countries, but in no part of the world has it reached the consequence it has received in Eastern Asia; every natural feeling serves, indeed, to strengthen it when once it becomes common. Who so likely to watch over their children, protect from harm, and rescue from danger, cure in sickness and preserve in health, prosper in business and succor in poverty, as those who had performed these kindly offices when they were alive, and around whom the best affections of the heart are entwined? That the worship rendered to their ancestors

by the Chinese, is idolatrous cannot be doubted; and it forms one of the subtlest phases of idolatry, essentially evil with the guise of goodness, ever established among men.

The prevalence of infanticide, and the indifference with which the crime is regarded, may seem to militate against this view of Chinese social character, and throw discredit on the degree of respect and reverence paid to parents; for how, some will ask, can a man thus worship and venerate parents who once imbrued their hands in his sister's blood? Such anomalies may be found in the distorted minds and depraved hearts educated under the superstitions of heathenism in every country, and the Chinese are no exception. It is exceedingly difficult, however, to ascertain the extent of infanticide in China, and all the reasons which prompt to the horrid act. Investigations have been made about Canton, and evidence obtained to show that it is comparatively rare, and not at all countenanced by public opinion; though by no means unknown, nor punished by law when done. Similar investigations at Amoy have disclosed a fearful extent of murders of this nature; yet while the latter are believed, the assertions of the former are regarded as evasions of the truth from the fear of displeasing a foreign examiner, or a greater sense of shame when detected! The whole nation has been branded as systematic murderers of their children from the practice of the inhabitants of a portion of two provinces, who are generally regarded by their countrymen as among the most violent and poorest people in the eighteen. Sir John Barrow heard that the carts went about the streets of Peking daily, to pick up dead and dying infants thrown out by their unnatural parents, but he does not mention ever having seen a single corpse in all his walks or rides about the capital. The bodies of children are not as often seen in the lanes and creeks of Canton as those of adults, and the former are as likely to have died natural deaths as the latter.

In Fuhkien province, especially in the departments of Tsiuenchau and Changchau, infanticide prevails to a greater extent than in any other part of the empire yet examined. Mr. Abeel extended his inquiries to forty different towns and villages lying in the first, and found that the percentage was between seventy and eighty down to ten, giving an average of about forty per cent of all girls born in those places being murdered. In Changchau, out of seventeen towns, the proportion lies between one fourth and

three tenths, in some places, occasionally rising to one third, and in others sinking to one fifth, making an average of one fourth put to death. In other departments of the province, the practice is confessed, but the proportion thought by intelligent natives to be less, since there was less poverty and fewer people. The examination was conducted in as fair a manner as possible, and persons of all classes questioned as to the number of children they had killed themselves, or known were killed by their relatives or neighbors. One of eight brothers told him that only three girls were left among all their children, sixteen having been killed. On one occasion, he visited a small village on Amoy I., called Bo-au, where the whole population turned out to see him and Doct. Cumming, the latter of whom had recently cut out a large tumor from a fellow villager. He says:—

"From the number of women in the crowd which turned out to greet us, we were pretty well persuaded that they were under as little restraint as the men from indulging their curiosity; and, upon inquiry, found it to be so. We were conducted to a small temple, when I had the opportunity of conversing with many who came around us. On a second visit, while addressing them, one man held up a child, and publicly acknowledged that he had killed five of the helpless beings, having preserved but two. I thought he was jesting, but as no surprise or dissent was expressed by his neighbors, and as there was an air of simplicity and regret in the individual, there was no reason to doubt its truth. After repeating his confession, he added with affecting simplicity, 'It was before I heard you speak on this subject, I did not know it was wrong; I would not do so now.' Wishing to obtain the testimony of the assembled villagers, I put the question publicly, 'What number of female infants in this village are destroyed at birth?' The reply was, 'More than one half.' As there was no discussion among them, which is not the case when they differ in opinion, and as we were fully convinced from our own observation of the numerical inequality of the sexes, the proportion of deaths they gave did not strike us as extravagant."

The reasons assigned for committing the unnatural deed are various. Poverty is the leading cause; the alternative being, as the parents think, a life of infamy or slavery, since if they cannot rear their offspring themselves, they must sell them. The fact of the great numbers of men who emigrate to the Archipelago has no doubt also had its effect in inducing parents to destroy daughters, for whom they had little expectation of finding hus-

bands if they did rear them. Many who are able to support their daughters, prefer to destroy them rather than incur the expenses of their marriage, which are sometimes great, but the investigation showed that the crime was rather less among the educated than the ignorant, and that they had done something to dissuade their poor neighbors from putting their girls to death. In the adjoining departments of Chauchau and Kiaying in Kwangtung, the people admit that the practice is frequent, and as their circumstances are similar, it is probable that it is not much less than around Amoy. While one of the worst features of the crime is the little degree of detestation everywhere expressed at it, yet the actual proportion is an important inquiry, and taking the whole nation, has been much exaggerated, chiefly from applying such facts and estimates as the preceding to the whole country. The lieut.-governor of Canton once issued a dissuasive exhortation on this subject to the people, telling them that if they destroyed all their daughters they would soon have no mothers. Until investigations have been made elsewhere, it is not fair to charge all the Chinese with the atrocities of a small portion, nor to disbelieve the affirmations of the inhabitants of Canton, Ningpo, and Shanghai, and elsewhere, that they do not usually put their daughters to death, until we have overwhelming testimony that they deny and conceal what they are ashamed to confess.*

The ceremonies practised on the decease of a person vary in different parts of the country, though they are not necessarily elaborate or expensive anywhere, and all the important ones can be performed by the poorest. The inhabitants of Fuhkien put a piece of silver in the mouth of the dying person, and carefully cover his nose and ears. Scarcely is he dead, when they make a hole in the roof to facilitate the exit of the spirits proceeding from his body, of which they imagine each person possesses seven animal senses which die with him, and three souls, one of which enters elysium and receives judgment, another abides with the tablet, and a third dwells in the tomb. The popular ideas regarding their fate vary so much that it is difficult to describe the national faith in this respect; transmigration is more or less believed in, but the detail of the changes the good or evil spirit undergoes before it is absorbed in Budha varies *ad libitum*.

* Chinese Repository, Vol. XII., pp. 510-518; Vol. XI., p. 598; Vol. VII., p. 54. Smith's China, p. 413.

almost according to the fancy of the worshipper. Those who are sent to hell pass through every form of suffering inflicted upon them by hideous monsters, and are at last released to wander about as houseless demons to torment mankind, or vex themselves in the body of animals and reptiles. When the priests come, the corpse is laid out upon the floor in the principal room, and a tablet set up by its side; a table is near, on which are placed meats, lamps, and incense. While the priests are reciting prayers to deliver the soul from purgatory and hell, they occasionally call on all present to weep and lament, and on these occasions, the females of the household are particularly clamorous in their grief, alternately uttering the most doleful accents, and then tittering with some of the new comers. Papers having figures on them, and Peter's pence in the form of paper money, are burned, white lanterns, instead of the common red ones, and a slip of paper containing the name and titles, age, &c., of the dead are hung up at the door; a mat porch is put up for the musicians and the priests. The soul, having crossed the bridge leading out of hell with the aid of the priests, gets a letter of recommendation from them to be admitted into the western heavens.

Previous to burial, a lucky place for interment, if the family have moved away from its paternal sepulchre, must be found. The body is coffined soon after death, arrayed in the most splendid habiliments the family can afford; a fan is put in one hand, and a prayer on a piece of paper in the other. The form of a Chinese coffin resembles the trunk of a tree; the boards are three or four inches thick, and rounded on top, from whence a coffin is called "longevity boards," making a very substantial case. When the corpse is put in, it is laid in a bed of lime or cotton, or covered with quicklime, and the edges of the lid are closed with mortar in the groove, so that no smell escapes; and the coffin varnished, if it is to remain in the house before burial. The Chinese often expend large sums in the purchase and preparation of a coffin during their lifetime; the cheapest are from $5 to $10, and upwards to five hundred dollars, and even one or two thousand, according to the materials and ornamenting.

The bodies of deceased persons are sometimes kept in or about the house for many years, and incense burned before them morning and evening; they are placed either on trestles near the doorway, and protected by a covering, in the principal hall, or

in the ancestral chamber, where they remain until the fortunes of the family improve so as to enable them to bury the remains, or a lucky place is found, or until opportunity and means allow the survivors to lay them in their patrimonial sepulchre.

The lineal relatives of the deceased are informed at the time of his death, and as many as can do so repair to the house to condole with and assist the family. The eldest son or the nearest descendant repairs to an adjoining river or well, with a bowl in his hand, and accompanied by two relatives, to "buy water" with money which he carries and throws into it; with this water he washes the corpse before it is dressed. After the body is laid in the coffin, and before interment, the sons of the deceased among the poor are frequently sent around to the relatives and friends of the family to solicit subscriptions to buy a grave, hire mourners, or provide a suitable sacrifice, and it is considered a good act to assist in such cases; perhaps fear of the ill-will of the displeased spirit prompts to the charity. The coffin is sometimes seized or attached by creditors, to compel the relatives to collect a sum to release it, and instances of filial sons are mentioned who have sold themselves into temporary or perpetual slavery in order to raise money to bury their parents. On the day of burial, a sacrifice of cooked provisions is laid out and the coffin placed near it. The chief mourners, clothed in coarse white sackcloth, then approach and kneel before it, knocking their heads upon the ground, and going through with the full ceremony; two persons dressed in mourning, hand them incense-sticks which are placed in jars. After the male mourners have made their parting prostrations, the females perform the same ceremonies; and then such friends and relations as are present; during these observances a band of music plays. The funeral procession is formed of all these persons, the band, the tablets priests, &c.

Burial-places are selected by geomancers, who, if the family be rich, protract their decision to a tedious length. The doctrines of the *fung shwui*, or "wind and water rules," are as ridiculous a farrago of nonsense, superstition, and craft, as have ever held sway over the human mind in any country or age; and it is not more surprising than melancholy to see a people like the Chinese so completely befooled by them. The professors of the art are usually acquainted with the doctrines of the Budhists and Ration-

alists, have a smattering of medicine and astronomy, and join thereto almost any hocuspocus they please. The propitious influences of a grave are easily vitiated, and calamities are referred to this cause by the geomancers, who then have the prospect of another job. Mr. Brown mentions the case of one necromancer, who, after having selected a grave for a family, was attacked with ophthalmia, and in revenge for their giving him poisonous food which he supposed had caused the malady, hired men to remove a large mass of rock near the grave, whereby its efficacy was completely spoiled. The side of a hill in view of water, a copse, or a ravine near a hill-top, are all lucky spots.

Care is taken to choose a spot which the water cannot reach, and at the south, uncultivated hills are selected for burial-places, because they are dry, and the white ants will not attack the coffin; but at the north, where ants are unknown, the dead are buried in fields and cultivated land. They are nowhere collected in graveyards in cities or temples, as is the practice in western countries, where sometimes the living are jeoparded to honor the dead. The forms of the grave vary, sometimes consisting of a simple tumulus with a tombstone at the head, but in the southern provinces oftener in the shape of the Greek letter Ω. or that of a huge arm chair. The back of the supposed chair is the place for the tombstone, while the body is interred in the seat, the sides of which are built around with masonry, and approach each other in front. The whole is occasionally built of stone in a substantial manner, and carved pillars are placed at the corners. The position is thought to be the better if it command a good view, as the spirit of the defunct will be better satisfied. Some of the graves occupy many hundred square feet, the lot being defined by a low stone, bearing two characters, importing whose *chih* or *house* it is; and large sums are expended by the rich upon the sculpture and building of the tomb. The carving in some cases is very elaborate, and in others the sculptures are arranged for effect. Mr. Fortune mentions one tomb near Sung-kiang fu, which was situated on a hill-side, to be reached by a stone stairway, on each side of which were statues of goats, dogs, cats, horses ready saddled and bridled, and lastly two gigantic priests, a pair of each; the tomb itself was hidden from view by trees. The shapes of graves vary more at the north, some of them being conical mounds planted with shrubs or flowers, others

made of masonwork shaped like little houses, others mere square tombs, or earthy tumuli, and not a few coffins are laid upon the ground. It is seldom the Chinese hew graves out of the rock, or dig large vaults; their care is to make a showy grave, and at the same time a convenient one for performing the prescribed rites.

When the day of interment arrives, which is usually the nearest lucky day to the third seventh after death, the friends assemble at the house. A band of musicians accompanies the procession, in which is also carried the ancestral tablet of the deceased in a separate sedan, accompanied sometimes by a sacrifice and the tablets of the offices and dignities of the family. The mourners are dressed entirely in white, or wear a white fillet around the head; the sons of the deceased must put on the expression and habiliments of woe, and the eldest one is at times supported along the street to the grave in all the eloquence and attitude of grief, although it may have been years since his father went to "wander among the genii." The women and children of the family follow, and at intervals cry and wail. A man goes ahead and scatters paper money in the way to purchase the goodwill of such wandering spirits as are prowling about. Different figures and banners are carried according to the means and rank of the family, which, with the friends and crowd attracted by the show, sometimes swell the train to a great length. The grave is deep, and lime is freely mixed with the earth thrown in; a body is never put into an old grave, while anything remains of the former occupant; crackers are fired, libations poured out, and prayers recited, and afterwards papers, folded into the shape of clothes, horses, money, and everything he can possibly want in the land of shadows (which Davis calls a *wise economy*), are burned for the use of the deceased. The tablet and sacrifice are then carried back, and the family feast on the latter, or distribute it among the poor around the door, while the former is placed in the ancestral hall. The married daughters of the dead are not considered part of the family, and wear no mourning; nor are they always invited to their father's funeral.

The period of mourning for a father is nominally three years, ~~t~~ actually reduced to twenty-seven months; the persons required to observe this are enumerated in the Code, and Secs. clxxix—clxxxi, contain the penalties for concealing the death of

a parent, or misrepresenting it, and of omitting the proper formalities. Burning the corpse, or casting it into the water, unfeelingly exposing it in the house longer than a year, and making the funeral ceremony and feast an occasion of merrymaking, and indecorous meeting of males and females, are also prohibited. For thirty days after the demise, the nearest kindred must not shave their heads nor change their dress, but rather exhibit a slovenly, slipshod appearance, as if grief had taken away both appetite and decorum. Half mourning is blue, and this is usually exhibited in a pair of blue shoes and a blue silken cord woven in the queue, instead of a red one; grass shoes neatly made, are now and then worn. The visiting cards also indicate that the time of mourning has not passed. The expenses of money and time incurred by the rich are great, and in some cases the priests receive large sums for masses. Two funerals, at Canton, are mentioned in Bridgman's Letters from China as having cost more than ten thousand dollars each.*

When the empress dies, officers are required to put on mourning, take the buttons and fringes from their caps, stamp their seals with blue, instead of red ink, and go through a prescribed set of ceremonies; they must not shave their heads for a hundred days, nor the people for a month. Full details of the ceremonies ordered on the occasion of the decease of the empress, or "interior assistant, who for thirteen years had held the situation of earth to heaven," were published in 1833, in both Manchu and Chinese. When the emperor dies, all his subjects let their hair grow for a hundred days, marriages are postponed, theatres and sports disallowed, and a ceremonial gloom and dishabille pervades the empire. De Guignes says the emperor Shunchí ordered thirty persons to be immolated at the funeral of his consort; but Kanghí, his son, forbade four women from sacrificing themselves on the death of his empress.

In the drawing on the next page, the tablets are arranged on the same level, and the sacrifice laid on the altar before them; the character *shau*, "longevity," is drawn on the wall behind. During the ceremonies, fire-crackers are let off and papers burned, and after it the feast is spread.

* Letters from China, p. 16. Chinese Repository, Vol. IV., p. 352, Vol. II., p. 499.

Ancestral Hall, and Mode of Worshipping the Tablets.

The hall of ancestors is found in the house of almost every member of the family, but always in that of the eldest son. In rich families it is a separate building; in others a room set apart for the purpose, and in many a mere shelf or shrine. The tablet consists of a board called *shin chu*, i. e. house of the spirit, about twelve inches long and three wide, placed upright in a block, and having the name, quality, and date of birth and death, carved in the wood. A receptacle is often cut in the back, containing pieces of paper bearing the names of the higher ancestors, or other members of the family. Incense and papers are daily burned before them, accompanied by a bow or act of homage, forming in fact a sort of family prayer. The tablets are ranged in chronological order, those of the same generation being placed

in a line When the hall is large, and the family rich, no pains are spared to adorn it with banners, and insignia of wealth and rank, and on festival days it serves as a convenient place for friends to meet, or indeed for any extraordinary family occasion. A person residing near Macao spent about $1500 in the erection of a hall, and on the dedication day, the female members of his family assembled with his sons and descendants, to assist in the ceremonies. The portraits of the deceased are also suspended in the hall, but effigies or images are not now made.

In the first part of April, during the term called *tsing-ming*, a general worship of ancestors, called *pai shan*, or "worshipping at the hills," is observed. The whole population, men, women, and children, repair to their family tombs, carrying a tray containing the sacrifice, and libations for offering, and the candles, paper, and incense, for burning, and there go through a variety of ceremonies and prayers. The grave is also carefully repaired and swept, and at the close of the service, three pieces of turf are placed at the back and front of the grave, to retain long strips of red and white paper; this indicates that the accustomed rites have been performed, and these fugitive testimonials remain fluttering in the wind, long enough to announce it to all the friends as well as enemies of the family; for when a grave has been neglected three years, it is sometimes dug over, and the land resold. "Such are the harmless, if not meritorious forms of respect for the dead," says Davis, "which the Jesuits wisely tolerated in their converts, knowing the consequences of outraging their most cherished prejudices; but the crowds of ignorant monks, who flocked to the breach which those scientific and able men had opened, jealous, perhaps, of their success, brought this as a charge against them, until the point became one of serious controversy, and reference to the pope. His holiness espoused the bigoted and unwiser part, which led to the expulsion of the monks of all varieties." And elsewhere, he says, the worship paid to ancestors is "not exactly idolatrous, for they sacrifice to the invisible spirit, and not to any representation of it in the figure of an idol." This distinction is much the same as that alleged by the Greek church, which disallows images, but permits gold and silver pictures, having the face and hands only painted; for Sir John Davis, himself being a Protestant, probably admits, that worship paid to any other object besides the true

God is idolatry; and that the Chinese do worship their ancestors, and implore their assistance, is evident from the prayer offered at the tombs, a translation of one of which is here introduced.

"Taukwang, 12th year, 3d moon, 1st day. I, Lin Kwang, the second son of the third generation, presume to come before the grave of my ancestor, Lin Kung. Revolving years have brought again the season of spring. Cherishing sentiments of veneration, I look up and sweep your tomb. Prostrate I pray that you will come and be present; and that you will grant to your posterity that they may be prosperous and illustrious; at this season of genial showers and gentle breezes, I desire to recompense the root of my existence, and exert myself sincerely. Always grant your safe protection. My trust is in your divine spirit. Reverently, I present the five-fold sacrifice of a pig, a fowl, a duck, a goose, and a fish; also, an offering of five plates of fruit, with libations of spirituous liquors, earnestly entreating that you will come and view them. With the most attentive respect, this annunciation is presented on high."

It is not easy to perceive, perhaps, why the pope and the Dominicans were so much opposed to the worship of ancestral penates among the Chinese, when they performed much the same services themselves before the images of Mary, Joseph, Cecilia, Ignatius, and hundreds of other deified mortals; but it is somewhat surprising that a Protestant should describe this worship as consisting of "harmless, if not meritorious forms of respect for the dead." Mr. Fortune, too, thinks "a considerable portion of this worship springs from a higher and purer source than a mere matter of form, and that when the Chinese periodically visit the tombs of their fathers, to worship and pay respect to their memory, they indulge in the pleasing reflection, that when they themselves are no more their graves will not be neglected or forgotten." This feeling no doubt actuates them, but it is mingled with idolatry; and there can be no dispute, one would think, about its idolatrous character; and it is an idolatry, too, which is likely to form one of the greatest obstacles to the spread of the gospel. The few Chinese who have embraced the doctrines of the New Testament, and who may be supposed qualified to judge of their own acts and feelings, regard the rites as superstitious and sinful. It is a form of worship, indeed, which presents fewer revolting features than most systems of false religion, merely consisting of pouring out libations, and burning paper and candles

at the grave, and then a family meeting at a social feast, with a few simple prostrations and petitions. No bacchanalian companies of men and women run riot over the hills, as in the Eleusinian mysteries, nor are obscene rites practised in the house; all is pleasant, decorous, and harmonious, the junior members of the family coming from a distance, sometimes two or three hundred miles, to observe it, and the family meeting on this occasion is looked forward to by all with much the same feelings that Christmas is in Old England, or Thanksgiving in New England. Brothers and sisters, cousins and friends, join in the worship and the feast, and it is this intimate and pleasant reunion of dear ones, perhaps the most favorable to the cementing of family affection to be found in heathen society, which constitutes its power, and will present such an obstacle to the reception of the gospel, and removal of the "two divinities" from the house.

The funeral ceremonies here described are performed by children for their parents, especially for the father; but there are few or no ceremonies and little expense, for infants, unmarried children, concubines, or slaves. These are coffined and buried without parade in the family sepulchre; the poor sometimes tie them up in mats and boards, and lay them in the fields, to shock the eyes and noses of all who pass. The municipal authorities of Canton issued orders to the people in 1832, to bring such bodies as had no place of burial to the potter's field, where they would be interred at public expense; and societies exist in all the large cities, whose object is to bury poor people. In some parts the body is wrapped in cloth or coffined, and laid in graveyards on the surface of the ground; but a more common disposition of the poor dead is to erect buildings for receiving the coffins, where they remain many years. Few acts, during the late war, irritated the people about Canton against the English more than forcing open the coffins found in these mausolea, and mutilating the corpses. One building near the city walls contained hundreds of coffins, from which, when opened, a pungent aromatic smell was perceptible, and the features presented a dried appearance. One of the Romish missionaries tells a story of his guide, when he was conducting him over the hills in Hupeh, ordering him to conceal his blue eyes, by putting on green spectacles, as they were approaching some houses, and describes his surprise at finding them all filled with coffins arranged in an orderly man-

ner. Graves are seldom inclosed by a fence, cattle pasture among them, and paths lead over and through them.

Epitaphs are very simple, merely stating what dynasty reigns, where the deceased was born, what generation of the family he belonged to, and his ancestral name. Dr. Medhurst describes some square, dome-covered tombs in Shantung like topes, destitute of inscription, but very solidly built. He also noticed one stone in that province, bearing an epitaph to the memory of a faithful wife by a sorrowing husband. Laudatory expressions are very rare on Chinese tombstones, nor are quotations from the classics, or stanzas of poetry, introduced to convey a sentiment. The corpses of officers who die at their stations are carried to their paternal tombs, sometimes at the public expense, and the emperor, in some instances, orders all the funeral rites of distinguished statesmen to be defrayed out of the treasury; this was done during the late war, in the cases of commissioner Yukien, and General Hailing, who burned himself at Chinkiang fu.

Besides these funeral rites and religious ceremonies to their departed ancestors, the Chinese have an almost infinite variety of superstitious practices, most of which are of a deprecatory rather than intercessory character, growing out of their belief in demons and genii, who trouble or help people. It may be said that most of the religious acts of the Chinese, especially those performed in temples, are intended to avert misfortune rather than supplicate blessings. In order to ward off malignant influences, amulets are worn and charms hung up, by persons of all ranks. Among the latter are money-swords, made of coins of different monarchs strung together in the form of a dagger; and leaves of the sweet-flag (*Acorus*) and Artemisia tied in a bundle, or a sprig of peach-blossoms; the first is placed near beds, the latter over the lintel, to drive away demons. A man also collects a cash or two from each of his friends, and gets a lock made, which he hangs to his son's neck in order to lock him to life, and make the subscribers surety for his safety; adult females also wear a neck lock for the same purpose. Charms are common. One bears the inscription, "May you get the three *manys* and the nine *likes*;" another, "To obtain long eye-browed longevity." The three *manys* are, many years of happiness and life, and many sons. Old brass mirrors to cure mad people, are hung up by the rich in their halls, and figures or representations of the

unicorn, of gourds, tiger's claws, or the eight diagrams, are worn to insure good fortune or ward off sickness, fire, or fright. Stones, or pieces of metal, with short sentences cut upon them, are almost always found suspended or tied about the persons of children and women, which are supposed to have great efficacy in preventing evil. The rich pay large sums for rare objects to promote this end.

Besides their employment in the worship and burial of the dead, and cultivation of glebe lands, the priests of both sects resort to many expedients to increase their incomes, few of which have the improvement of their countrymen as a ruling motive. Some go around the streets collecting printed or written paper in baskets, to burn them, lest the venerable names of Confucius or Budha be defiled; others obtain a few pennies by writing inscriptions and charms on doors; and many turn beggars or thieves.

Budhist priests.

The Budhists issue small books, called Girdle Classics, containing prayers addressed to the deity under whose protection the person has placed himself. Spells are made in great variety, some of them to be worn or pasted up in the house, and others are written on leaves, paper, or cloth, and burned, and their ashes thrown into a liquid for the patient or child to drink. These spells are sold by Rationalists to their votaries, and usually consist of characters, like *fuh* (happiness), or *shau* (longevity), fancifully combined. The god of doors, of the North Pole, Pwanku, the heavenly astronomer, the god of thunder and lightning, of tyfoons, the god of medicine, demigods and genii of almost every name and power, are all invoked, and some of them by all persons. In shops, the mere word *shin*, æon or genius, is put up in a shrine, and incense placed before it, all objects of fear and worship being included under this general term. The threshold is peculiarly sacred, and incense-sticks are lighted morning and evening at its side.

The Chinese have great dread of wandering and hungry demons and ghosts of departed wicked men, and the Budhists are hired to celebrate a mass called *ta tsiau*, to appease these disturbers of human happiness, which, in its general purport, corresponds to All-Souls' day among the Romanists, and from its splendor and the general interest taken in its success, is very popular. The priests and shopmen manage the preliminaries. The streets are covered with canvas awnings, and festoons of cheap silk, of brilliant colors, are hung across and along the streets. Chandeliers of glass are suspended at short interwals, alternating with small trays, on which paper figures in various attitudes, intended to illustrate some well known scene in history, amuse the spectators. At night, the glare of a thousand lamps shining through myriads of lustres, lights up the whole scene in a gorgeous manner. The priests erect a staging somewhere in the vicinity, for the rehearsal of prayers to *Yen wang* or Pluto, and display tables covered with eatables for the hungry ghosts to feed on. Their acolytes mark the time when the half-starved ghosts, who have no children or friends to care for them, rush in and shoulder the viands, which they carry off for their year's supply. Bands of music chime in from time to time, to refresh these hungry sprites with the dulcet tones they once heard, for the Chinese, judging their gods by themselves, provide what is pleasing to

those who pay for the entertainment, as well as to those who are supposed to be benefited by it. After the services are performed, the crowd are allowed to rush in, and carry off what is left from the spiritual feast, but when this is permitted, the priests sometimes cheat them with merely a cover of food on the tops of the baskets, the bottoms being filled with shavings.

There is another festival in August, connected with this, called *shau i*, or "burning clothes," at which pieces of paper folded in the form of jackets, trousers, gowns, and other garments, are burned for the use of the suffering ghosts, besides a large quantity of paper money. Paper houses with proper furniture, and puppets to represent household servants, are likewise made; and Medhurst adds, "that writings are drawn up and signed in the presence of witnesses, to certify the conveyance of the property, stipulating that on its arrival in hades it shall be duly made over to the individuals specified in the bond; the houses, servants, clothes, money and all, are then burned with the bond, the worshippers feeling confident that their friends obtain the benefit of what they have sent them." Thus "they make a covenant with the grave, and with hell they are at agreement." This festival, like all others, is attended with feasting and music. In order still further to provide for childless ghosts, their ancestral tablets are collected in temples, and placed together in a room set apart for the purpose, called *wu sz' tan*, or "orbate temple," and a man hired to attend and burn incense before them. The feelings which arise on going into a room of this sort, and seeing one or two hundred small wooden tablets standing in regular array, and knowing that each one, or each pair, is like the silent tombstone of an extinct family, are such as no hall full of staring idols can ever inspire. The tablets look old, discolored, and broken, covered with dust and black with smoke, so that the gilded characters are obscured, and one cannot behold them long in their silence and forgetfulness, without almost feeling as if spirits still hovered around them. All these ghosts are supposed to be propitiated by the sacrifices on All-Souls' day.

The patronage given to idolatry and superstition is constant and general among all classes, and thousands of persons get their livelihood by shrewdly availing themselves of the fears of their countrymen. Special efforts are made from time to time to build or repair a temple or pagoda, in order to insure or recall prospe-

rity to a place, and large sums are subscribed by the devout. A case occurred in 1843, which illustrates this spirit. One of the English officers brought an image of *Wa-kwang*, the god of Fire, from Chinkiang fu, which he presented as a curiosity to a lady in Macao. It remained in her house several months, and on the breaking up of the establishment, previous to a return to India, it was exposed for sale at auction with the furniture. A large crowd collected, and the attention of the Chinese was attracted to this image, which they examined carefully to see if it had the genuine marks of its ordination upon it; for no image is supposed to be properly an object of worship, until the spirit has been inaugurated into it by the prescribed ceremonies. Having satisfied themselves, the idol was purchased for thirty dollars by two or three zealous persons, and carried off in triumph to a shop, and respectfully installed in a room cleared for the purpose. A public meeting was shortly after called, and resolutions passed to improve the propitious opportunity to obtain and preserve the protecting power of so potent a deity, by erecting a pavilion, where he would have a respectable lodgment, and receive due worship. A subscription was thereupon started, some of its advocates putting down fifty, and others thirty dollars, until about $1200 were raised, with which a small lot was purchased on the island west of Macao, and a pavilion or temple erected, where *Wa kwang* was enshrined with pompous parade amid theatrical exhibitions, and a man hired to keep him and his domicile in good order.

No people are more enslaved by fear of evil than the Chinese, and none resort more frequently to sortilege to ascertain whether an enterprise will be successful, or a proposed remedy avail to cure. Confucius himself was not above his countrymen in this respect, for in the Due Medium he remarks, "The reason of perfect ones enables them to foreknow things: if a nation be about to flourish there will be happy omens, and unlucky ones if it totter to its fall. These will appear in the divining herb *sz'*, in the tortoise, and in the airs and motions of the four members. When either happiness or misery is about to come, sages will foreknow both the good and the evil, so that the supremely sincere are equal to the gods." This desire actuates all classes, and thousands and myriads of persons take advantage of it to their own profit. The tables of fortune-tellers, and the shops of

geomancers, are met at the corner of every street; and one of the principal inducements for persons to repair to the temples is to cast lots as to the success of the prayers offered. One common way of divining is to hold up a bamboo root cut in halves, resembling in size and color a common potatoe, and let it drop as the petition is put up. Sometimes the worshipper drops it many times, in order to see if a majority of trials will not be favorable, and when disappointed the first time, not unfrequently tries again, if mayhap he can force the gods to be more propitious. The devotee may determine himself what position of the blocks shall be deemed auspicious, but usually one face up and one down is regarded as promising. The countenances of worshippers as they leave the shrines, some beaming with hope and resolution to succeed, and others, notwithstanding their repeated knockings and divinings, going away with vexation and gloom written on their faces at the obduracy of the gods and sadness of their prospects, offer a study not less melancholy than instructive. "Such is the weakness of mortals: they dread, even after mature reflection, to undertake a project, and then enter blindly upon it at a chance, after consulting chance itself as blind."

Man consulting a Fortune-teller.

The fortune-tellers also consult fate by means of bamboo slips bearing certain characters. The applicant comes up to the table, and states his desire; he wishes to know whether it will be fair weather, which of a dozen doctors shall be selected to cure his child, what sex an unborn infant will be, where his stolen property is, or any other matter. Selecting a slip, the diviner dissects the character upon it into its radical and primitive, or in some

other way, and writes the parts upon a board lying before him, joining to them the time, the names of the person, five planets, colors, viscera, and other heterogeneous things, and from them all, putting on a most cabalistic, sapient look, educes a sentence which contains the required answer. The man receives it as confidently as if he had entered the sybil's cave and heard her voice, pays his fee, and goes away. Others, less shrewd, refer to books in which the required answer is contained in a sort of equivocal delphian distich.

The purchase of a lot for building upon, and especially the selection of a grave, involve many ceremonies; and when a succession of misfortunes come upon a family, they will sometimes disinter all their relatives and bury them in a new place to remove the ill luck. Before a house is built, a written prayer is tied to a pole stuck in the ground, petitioning for good luck, that no evil spirits may arise from beneath; when the ridge pole is laid, another prayer is pasted on, and charms hung to it, to insure the building against fire; and lastly, when the house is done, it is dedicated to some patron, and petitions offered for its safety. Prayers are sometimes offered according to forms, at others the suppliant himself speaks. Two middle aged women, attended by a maid-servant, were once met opposite Canton in the fields among the graves. They had placed a small paper shrine upon a tomb near the pathway, and one of them was kneeling before it, her lips moving in prayer; there was nothing in the shrine, but over it was written, "Ask and ye shall receive."

Answers are looked for in various ways. A man was once met at dusk repairing a lonely grave before which candles were burning, and plates of rice and cups of spirits arranged. He knelt and knocking his head, began to repeat some words in a half audible manner, when he was asked if the spirits of his ancestors heard his supplications. At the instant, a slight puff of air blew the candles, when he replied, "Yes, see they have come; don't interrupt me." Contingent vows are often made, and useful acts performed in case the answer be favorable. A sick man in Macao once made a vow that he would repave a bad piece of road if he recovered, which he actually performed, aided a little by his neighbors; but it was deemed eminently unlucky that a man passing soon after, who was somewhat flustered, should fal into the public well. Persons sometimes insult

the gods, spit at them or whip them, or even break the ancestral tablets, in their vexation at having been deluded into foolish deeds, or misled by divination, and legends are told of the vengeance which has followed such impiety.

The worship of street divinities is common, and some of the shrines in Canton are resorted to so much by women as to obstruct the path. The unsocial character of heathenism is observable at such places and in temples; however great the crowd may be, each one worships by himself as much as if no one else were present. That delightful union before a common God and Savior, when the devotees alike feel their need of his mercy from a common sense of sinfulness, is utterly unknown in pagan countries, and is lost, indeed, in Christian worship when saints and virgins are allowed to stand between. Before a senseless idol of whatever name, one or two persons may unite, but for a congregation to join in hearty prayer or praise to a stupid block is never seen in China; hymns or pæans are also unheard. Altars are erected in fields, on which a smooth stone is placed, where offerings are presented and libations poured out to petition for a good crop. Few farmers omit all worship in the spring to the gods of the land and grain; and some go further, and present a thanksgiving after harvest. Temples are open night and day, and in towns are the resort of crowds of idle fellows. Worshippers go on with their devotions amidst all the hubbub, strike the drum and beat the bell to arouse the god burn paper prayers, and knock their heads upon the ground to implore his blessing, and then retire; the one chiefly benefited being the priest who assisted them. Village altars are erected under trees to which the villagers resort, especially the women, who are the most devout in their worship.

The Chinese collectively spend enormous sums in their idolatry, though they are more economical of time and money than the Hindus. Rich families give much for the services of priests, papers, candles, &c., at the interment of their friends, but when a large sacrifice is provided, none goes to the priests, who are prohibited meat. The aggregate outlay to the whole people is very large, made up of repairs of temples, purchasing idols, and petty daily expenses, such as incense-sticks, candles, paper, &c., and charms and larger sacrifices prepared from time to time. The sum cannot of course be ascertained, but if the daily outlay

of each person be estimated at one third of a cent, or four cash, the total will exceed four hundred millions of dollars per annum, and this estimate is more likely to be under than over the mark, owing to the universality and constancy of the daily service. As an offset to this, it may be stated that it has been estimated that the total expenditure of all denominations in the United States for all purposes of a religious nature, including the erection of churches, salaries of clergymen and support of benevolent societies, is only half a dollar per annum for each man, woman, and child.

This brief sketch of Chinese religious character will be incomplete without some notice of the benevolent institutions found among them. Good acts are considered proofs of sincerity; the classics teach benevolence, and the religious books and tracts of the Budhists inculcate compassion to the poor and relief of the sick. Private alms of rice or clothes are frequently given, and householders pay a constant poor tax in their donations to the beggars quartered in their neighborhood. There is a foundling hospital in Canton founded in 1698, containing accommodations for about 300 children; its annual expenses are not far from $3500, a good part of which used to be filched from foreigners by a tax on their shipping. A retreat for poor aged and infirm or blind people is situated near it, the expenses of which are stated at about $7000, but the number of persons relieved is not mentioned. The peculation and bad faith of the managers vitiate many of these institutions, and indispose the charitable to patronize them. A translation* of the annual report of the Foundling Hospital at Shanghai established in 1707, opens with Yungching's rescript of approbation accompanying his donation, and a tablet he sent to it in 1725; and then follows a preface, succeeded by the regular report. In this the people are exhorted to subscribe to an institution conducted with so much order and energy, and which emperors and empresses have sanctioned and supported. The rules for its management are given under fourteen heads:

1. Public meetings of its friends are to be held on the 1st and 15th of each month, when, after worshipping the idol and burning incense, the registers of the children are to be inspected, and the nurses' food and wages paid.

* Chinese Repository, Vol. XIV. pp. 177—195.

2. Two of the directors must reside in the building; one of them must receive the infants, prepare their registers, distribute them among the nurses, and be cashkeeper. The other inspects the establishment, sees if the nurses do their duty, whether the children be fat or lean, and marks all his observations in his semi-monthly report. The monthly salaries of these directors is 2000 cash (about $2).

3. Provides for an errand-boy on a stipend of 1400 cash a month.

4. Requires two wet-nurses to be engaged, who suckle the children when first brought in; monthly wages 2000 cash.

5. Directs the examination and registering of the infants, "noting the lines and fashion of the fingers, whether the five senses and the four limbs be perfect or not," and then giving them to the nurses, each of whom receives 760 cash a month.

6. Speaks of the care to be taken in hiring nurses, and that no collusion be allowed to the neglect and detriment of the children.

7. Directs as to the items to be entered in the registers, such as the subscriptions and donations received, the names of those who adopt the children, &c.

8. Speaks of the four tickets to be issued; one is a receipt to the subscribers, one for the attendant physician, one to be sent to the apothecary, and the other a kind of bond to be entered into by the persons who adopt the children.

9. Regulates the mode of putting the children out to nurse, and the payment of those who suckle them.

10. Regulates the treatment of the children after the age of three years, in case no one has appeared to adopt them.

11. Provides for clothing the children. In April, a calico jacket and single trousers are given; in May, a bib and musquito curtains, and in September, a padded jacket and petticoat, cap, stockings, and cotton blanket.

12. "When a child has been cast away as a foundling, being thus cut off from the sympathies of father and mother, and our institution having received and brought it up, and eventually transferred it by adoption to other hands, if any one should falsely claim to be the said child's father and mother, presuming therefrom to take it away, the case shall be laid before the sub-prefect, and the offender punished."

13. Requires that none but foundlings be received, and directs concerning parents who endeavor to get their offspring surreptitiously introduced.

14. Contains regulations regarding the adoption of the children, and directs the overseers to take every precaution that the girls be not taken for vicious purposes, or by those who will rear them for sale as concubines.

The names of forty-eight persons connected officially with the

institution, and the report from the register for four years, 1839—1842, are given under the following heads:

CLASSES OF INMATES.	1839	1840	1841	1842
Old inmates, ...	35	23	23	35
New ones admitted in the year, .	79	70	114	91
New, received from Sungkiang fu, .	54	50	34	—
Transferred by adoption, . .	75	53	50	25
Deceased before registering, . .	33	37	68	33
Deceased after registering, . .	32	21	30	25

From this it appears that the deaths in these four years were nearly one half of the children. The names of distinguished benefactors are recorded, and the report concludes by an appeal for funds, as the institution is nearly out of money. Various modes of raising supplies are proposed, and arguments are brought forward to induce people to give; the appeal ends with the following, which would answer almost equally well for the report of a charitable institution in western lands.

"If, for the extension of kindness to our fellow creatures, and to those poor and destitute who have no father and mother, all the good and benevolent would daily give one cash ($\frac{1}{1000}$ of a dollar), it would be sufficient for the maintenance of the foundlings one day. Let no one consider a small good unmeritorious, nor a small subscription as of no avail. Either you may induce others to subscribe by the vernal breeze from your mouth, or you may nourish the blade of benevolence in the field of happiness, or cherish the already sprouting bud. Thus by taking advantage of opportunities as they present themselves, and using your endeavors to accomplish your object, you may immeasurably benefit and extend the institution."

The details of the receipts and expenditures are given at the end of the report in a business-like manner. The annual expenditure was about $1550, and the receipts from all sources more than that, so that a balance of $5000 is reported on hand, four fifths of which was derived from interest on subscriptions invested, and on wares from pawnbrokers.

Similar establishments are found in all large towns, some of them partly supported by the government; all of them seem to

be of modern origin, less than two centuries old, and may have been imitated from, or suggested by, the Romanists. Candida, a distinguished convert in the days of Ricci, about 1710, did much to establish these institutions, and show the excellence of the religion she professed. Mr. Milne, who visited one at Ningpo, says, after entering the court, "A number of coarse looking women were peeping through the lattice at us, with squallababies at their breasts, and squalid boys and girls at their heels; these women are the nurses, and these children are the foundlings, each woman having two or three to look after. But I have rarely beheld such a collection of filthy, unwashen, ragged, brats. There are at present between sixty and seventy children, the boys on one side, the girls on the other. Boys remain here till the age of fourteen, when they are hired out or adopted; girls stay till sixteen, when they are betrothed as wives, or taken as concubines or servants. It is supported by the rental of lands and houses, and by an annual tax of thirty-six stone or *shih* (about 500 *lbs.*) of rice from each district in the department."

Charity is a virtue which thrives poorly in the selfish soil of heathenism, but even badly managed establishments like these are praiseworthy, and promise something better when higher teachings and principles shall have been engrafted into the public mind. The government is obliged to expend large sums almost every year, for relieving the necessities of the starving and the distressed, and strong calls are also made on the rich to give to these objects. In the drama of a History of a Lute, one of the scenes represents the defalcating commissary of grain arraigned before the prefect, and ordered to supply a woman with rice, who had complained against him that the granary was empty. He unwillingly did so, and afterwards took her bag away by force, as she was trying to carry it home, upbraiding her for her meanness in complaining. The police of cities find it necessary to distribute food to the poor, in order to preserve quiet in times of dearth: a late Peking Gazette mentions, that 461,129 mouths had been supplied in that city with food during ten days. Generally speaking, beggars in China soon end their life and sufferings together, for the number is great, and the people are callous to their miseries.

The general condition of religion among the Chinese is effete; and the stately formalities of imperial worship, the doctrines of

Confucius, the ceremonies of the Budhists, the sorceries of the Rationalists, alike fail to comfort and instruct. But superstition and the worship of ancestors, the two beliefs which hold the Chinese of all ranks and abilities in their thrall, are still strong; and the principal sway the two sects exert is owing to the connexion of their priests with the latter ceremonies. All have exerted all the power over the people they could, and all have failed to impart present happiness or assure future joy to their votaries. Confucianism is cold and unsatisfactory to the affectionate and inquiring mind; and the transcendental dreams of Rationalism, or the nonsensical vagaries of Budhism, are a little worse. All classes are the prey of unfounded fears and superstitions, and dwell in a mist of ignorance and error, which the light of true religion and knowledge alone can dissipate. It is a matter of humble gratitude that the rays of Christian light are beginning to enter, and beams from the Sun of Righteousness commencing to dawn upon the miscalled Celestial Empire.

Besides the two leading idolatrous sects, there are also many societies and combinations existing among the people, partly religious, and partly political, two of which, the *Pih Lien kiau* and the Triad Society, have already been mentioned in Chapter VIII. The *Wän kiang*, or Incense-burning sect, is also denounced in the Sacred Commands, but has not been mentioned in late times. The Triad Society is comparatively peaceful in China itself in overt acts, the members of the various auxiliary societies contenting themselves with keeping alive the spirit of resistance to the Manchus, getting new members, and countenancing one another in their opposition; but in the ultramarine settlements of the Chinese in Siam, Singapore, Malacca, and the Archipelago, it has become a powerful body, and great cruelties are committed on those who refuse to join. The members are admitted with formalities bearing great resemblance to those of the Freemasons, and the professed objects of the society are the same. The novice swears before an idol to maintain inviolate secresy, and stands under naked swords while taking the oath, which is then read to him; he afterwards cuts off a cock's head, the usual form of swearing among all Chinese, intimating that a like fate awaits him if treacherous. There are countersigns known among the members, consisting of grips and motions of the fingers. Such is the secresy of their operations in China, however, that very lit-

tle is known of their numbers, internal organization, or character; and the dislike the mass of the people have of their machinations is the best security against their ultimate success. Local delusions, caused by some sharpwitted fellow, now and then arise in one part and another of the country, but they are speedily put down or dissipate of themselves. None of them are allowed to erect temples, or make a public exhibition or procession, and exhortations are from time to time issued by the magistrates against them; while the penalties annexed to the statute against all illegal associations give the rulers great power to crush whatever they may deem suspicious or treasonable.

The Mohammedan sect has long been known and tolerated among the Chinese, and its adherents found their way to the Middle Kingdom during the Tang dynasty, or within a century after the hegira. They are found in all the provinces; some of them hold office and pass through the examinations to obtain it, but whether they worship Confucius and idols, or refuse on conscientious scruples, is not known; early in the last century, the whole number in the country was computed to be half a million. There is a mosque in Canton, and the votaries "are distinguished from the other inhabitants as persons who have no idols, and who will not eat swine's flesh." There is a mosque at Fuhchau and one at Changchau, to which a few persons resort; about a hundred of the sect live at Amoy, but throughout the southern provinces they are few in number and of inconsiderable influence.

Mr. Milne visited the mosque in Ningpo, and made the acquaintance of the head-priest. "He is a man about forty-five years of age, of a remarkably benign and intelligent countenance and gentlemanly bearing. His native place is Shantung, but his ancestors came from Medina. He readily reads the Arabic scriptures, and talks that language fluently, but can neither read nor write Chinese, which is somewhat surprising considering he can talk it well, was born in China, and is a minister of religion among the Chinese. His supporters number between twenty and thirty families, and one or two of his adherents are officers. He took me into the place of worship which adjoins his apartments. A flight of steps leads into a room, covered with a plain roof, on either side of which lay a mass of dusty furniture and agricultural implements; the pillars are ornamented with sentences out of the Koran. Facing you is an ornamented pair of small doors

hung upon the wall, within which the sacred seat is supposed to lie; and on one side is a convenient bookcase containing their scriptures. He showed me his usual officiating dress,—a white robe with a painted turban; but he never wears this costume except at service, appearing in the Chinese habit at other times. They have a weekly day of rest, which falls on our Thursday; on asking if I might be permitted to attend any of their services, he replied that if their adherents had business on that day, they did not trouble themselves to attend. The stronghold of his religion is in Hangchau fú, where are several mosques, but the low state of Mohammedanism seemed to dampen his spirits. Happening to see near the entrance a tablet similar to that found in every other temple, with the inscription, 'The emperor, everliving, may he live for ever!' I asked him how he could allow such a blasphemous monument to stand in a spot which he regarded as consecrated to the worship of Aloha, as he styles the true God. He protested he did not and never could worship it, and pointed to the low place given it as evidence of this; and added, that it was only for the sake of expediency it was allowed lodgment in the building, for if they were ever charged with disloyalty by the enemies of their faith they could appeal to it! His great desire was to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, and he inquired particularly respecting the price of a passage." Instances occur now and then of Chinese Mohammedans going to Mecca, but they are rare.

De Guignes visited a deserted mosque at Hangchau fu. "The edifice resembled Chinese buildings only in the roof; it was higher and more imposing; the gate, which was large and high, and rounded out under the top like a cupola, was covered with holes a foot apart; there were columns on each side surmounted with an entablature, the tops of which terminated in a kind of crescent. An Arabic inscription on the outside read, 'Temple for Mussulmans who travel and wish to consult the Koran.'"* The Mohammedan inhabitants of Turkestan and Ílí, along the southern range of the Celestial Mts., are tolerated in the profession of their tenets. They are distinguished into three classes by the color and shape of their turbans; one has red, and another white sugar-loaf turbans, and the third wear the common Arab turban.

* Chinese Repository, Vol. XIII, page 32; Vol. II., page 256. Voyage à Peking, tome II., page 65.

The existence of Jews in China has long been known, but the information possessed relative to their present number, condition, and organization is very imperfect. Mr. Finn has lately published a well digested account of the data collected concerning them by Gozani and other Jesuits, in the last century and before. The only city where they are found in a separate community large enough to attract attention is Kaifung fu in Honan, where they are known by the designation *Tiau-kin kiau*, the sect which pulls out the sinew; De Guignes says they are also called *Lan-mau Hwui-tsz'*, "Mohammedans with Blue Bonnets," because they wear a blue cap when they assemble in the synagogue. The whole place of worship occupies a space of between three and four hundred feet in length and about one hundred and fifty in breadth, comprising four successive courts. The first court has in its centre a portal, bearing an inscription to the Creator and Preserver of all things. The second court, entered through a large gate with two side wickets, contains dwellings for the keeper of the edifice. The third court contains a portal like that in the first, and tablets with inscriptions, and two chapels commemorative of their benefactors, with guest chambers. The fourth court is divided by a row of trees, and half-way down there is a brazen incense vase, and some other vases and sculpture. Adjoining the northern wall is a recess where the sinews are extracted from animals slain for food. A hall of ancestors is placed on the north and south sides of this court, where the Old Testament worthies are venerated at the equinoxes in the Chinese manner, their names being written upon tablets; censers are in them dedicated to Abraham, Moses, and others. Between these two halls, the booths used at the feast of tabernacles are annually erected. At the upper end of the court is the *Lí-pai sz'*, or synagogue, a building about sixty by forty feet, having a portico with a double row of four columns before it. In the centre of the room, between the rows of pillars, is the throne of Moses, a magnificent and elevated chair with an embroidered cushion, upon which they place the book of the law while it is read. Over it is a dome, and near by is the *Wansui pai* or Imperial tablet, but his majesty's title is surmounted by a Hebrew inscription, "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord. Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom for ever and ever" There is also another inscription in Hebrew in the room, on a

portal: "Blessed be the Lord for ever: The Lord is God of gods, and the Lord: a great God, strong and terrible." There is a table on which are placed six candelabra, and an incense vase in the middle of them; and near it is a laver for washing hands. Separated from the rest of the room by a railing is the *beth-el*, or house of prayer, square outside and round within, where none but the rabbi can enter during the time of prayer. Rolls of the law upon tables and the Ten Commandments in Hebrew on the wall, and closets containing manuscripts, occupy the remainder of the apartment.

On entering, the people take off their shoes; and the minister covers his face with gauze when reading, and wears a red silk scarf across his breast; no instruments of music are used in the services. They observe circumcision, the passover, and feast of tabernacles, the rejoicing of the law, Sabbath, and perhaps the day of atonement; make no proselytes, and never marry with the gentiles. They use their sacred books in casting lots, and pay homage to Confucius as the Chinese do. They say Adonai for the ineffable name, and render it in Chinese by *tien*, and not by *shangti*. They have no creed, but hold to the unity of God, and the doctrines of heaven, hell, and a sort of purgatory, resurrection, final judgment, and angels. Of the Lord Jesus Christ they had never heard, nor had they any prejudices against the crucifix. They worship no idols, and refuse to take an oath in a heathen temple; and pray westward towards Jerusalem. It is quite likely that they have all the canonical books of the Old Testament, but the Romish fathers were not allowed to copy them, and those who saw them were not able to read when they had the permission; these books are preserved with rigid care. Many of the books they once had have been destroyed by inundations, to which the city of Kaifung fu is subject from its nearness to the Yellow river. Comparisons were made between portions of their manuscripts and the Hebrew text, the result of which showed a complete conformity in sense, with a few verbal differences only. The time of the arrival of the Jews in China is involved in great uncertainty, but Mr. Finn sums up the evidences to show that they are Jews of the restoration from Chaldea, adducing the fact of their having portions of Malachi and Zechariah, adopting the era of Seleucus, and having many rabbinical titles and rules for slaughtering animals. He thinks

too they belong to the two tribes, and quotes some authorities to show that they came through Central Asia—a different route from the Mohammedans, who seem for the most part to have reached China by sea. Members of this community are said to have once lived at Hangchau fu and Nánking; but the man whom Mr. Milne asked concerning them at Ningpo knew of none except at Kaifung, and of them not much beyond their existence.

CHAPTER XIX.

Christian Missions among the Chinese.

The earliest recorded attempt to impart the knowledge of the true God to the Chinese ascribes it to the Nestorian church in the seventh century, though the voice of tradition, and many detached notices in ecclesiastical writers of the Eastern Empire, lead to the belief, that not many years elapsed after the times of the apostles before the sound of the gospel was heard in China and Chin-India, even if the Syriac tradition, that Thomas himself travelled as far as China, be not received. Mosheim, who does not credit the Apostle's journey thus far, remarks, "notwithstanding, we may believe that at an early period the Christian religion extended to the Chinese, Seres, and Tartars. There are various arguments collected from learned men to show that the Christian faith was carried to China, if not by the apostle Thomas, by the first teachers of Christianity." Arnobius, A. D. 300, speaks of the Christian deeds done in India, and among the Seres, Persians, and Medes. The monks who brought the eggs of the silkworm to Constantinople, in the year 552, had resided long in China, where it is reasonable to suppose they were not the first nor the only ones who went thither to preach the gospel. The extent of their success must be left to conjecture, but "if such beams have travelled down to us through the darkness of so many ages, it is reasonable to believe they emanated from a brighter source." No traces of their efforts have ever been found in Chinese literature, whether it was that they wrote no books, or that they have been lost; it is hard to conclude, however, that they made no use of the press to diffuse and perpetuate their doctrines.

The time of the arrival of the Nestorians in China cannot be specified certainly, but there are grounds for placing it as early as A. D. 505. Ebedjesus Sobiensis remarks, that "Salibazacha the Catholic, i. e. the Nestorian patriarch, created the metropo-

litan sees of Sina and Samarcand, though some say they were constituted by Achæus and Silas." This Silas was patriarch of the Nestorians from A. D. 505 to 520, and it is highly probable the two monks who brought the silkworm's eggs were also Nestorians. The metropolitan bishop of Sina is also mentioned in a list of those subject to this patriarch, published by Amro, and it is placed in the list after that of India, according to the priority of foundation.

The only record yet found in China itself of the labors of the Nestorians is the celebrated monument, which was discovered at Singan fu in Shensi, in 1625; and though the discussion regarding its authenticity has been rather warm between the Jesuits and their opponents, the weight of evidence, both internal and external, regarding its verity, leaves no doubt. It has been recently carefully translated from the original by Dr. Bridgman, and published in parallel columns with the original, and a Latin and French version; the three versions differ among themselves, and Dr. Bridgman remarks in relation to this discrepancy, "that were a hundred Chinese students employed on the document, they would probably each give a different view of the meaning in some parts of the inscription." This remarkable inscription is here inserted, with a few of the translator's notes.

A TABLET [COMMEMORATING] THE DIFFUSION OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS RELIGION OF TA-TSIN IN CHINA.

A stone tablet commemorating the diffusion of the illustrious religion in China, with a preface, written by King Tsing, a priest from the Church in Ta-Tsin [or Judea].

NOW VERILY, the unchangeably true and recondite, the eternal Cause of causes, the far-seeing and purely spiritual, the never ending and incomprehensible Being, who grasping the poles created the universe, and being more excellent than the holy ones, is the supremely honorable. This is our mysterious Trinity, the true eternal Lord Jehovah! He, determining, in the form of the cross,* to establish the four quarters of the earth, moved the primeval Spirit, and produced all things visible and invisible. The dark expanse was changed, and heaven and earth were unfolded. The sun and moon revolved, and day and night began.

As an architect, having finished the universe, he created the first man; endowed him with goodness and benignity; and commanded him

* That is, he determined to spread out the earth in the shape of a cross

to rule the world. His original nature was entirely pure and unsullied; and his simple and uncorrupted heart was wholly free from inordinate desires. But at length Satan, by exercising dissimulation, and by throwing a gilded covering over that pure and uncorrupted nature, took away equity and greatness from the centre of good, and insinuated evil and darkness in their stead.

Hence arose a multiplicity of sects, following each other in close succession, striving to weave their legal nets: some substituted the creature for the Creator; some considered being as nothing, sinking all things in oblivion; and some, in order to gain felicity, made prayers and offered sacrifices. Others deceived mankind with a show of goodness. With wisdom and solicitude they labored hard; and their anxieties and cares were unceasing. They were bewildered and obtained nothing. Heated and scorched, they writhed in anguish. They accumulated darkness, and lost their way; and, being misguided, they were irrecoverably lost.

Thereupon our Trinity set apart the illustrious and adorable Messiah; who, laying aside his true dignity, came into the world as man. Angels proclaimed the joyful tidings. A virgin gave birth to the holy child in Judea. A bright star proclaimed the happy event. Persians, seeing its brightness, came with presents. He fulfilled the ancient laws, given by the twenty-four holy ones.* He ruled families and nations with great virtue. He instituted the new doctrine of the Trinity, pure, spiritual, and inexplicable. Like a potter he formed good usages by the true faith. He established the measure of the eight boundaries.† He purged away the dross, and perfected the truth. He opened the gate of the three constant virtues,‡ revealing life and destroying death. He suspended the bright sun to break open the abodes of darkness, and thereby the wiles of the devil were frustrated. He put in motion the ship of mercy, to ascend to the mansions of light, and thereby succor was brought to confined spirits.

His mighty work thus finished, at mid-day he ascended to his true estate. Twenty-seven books remained. He set forth original conversion for the soul's deliverance; and he instituted the baptism of water and of the Spirit, to wash away the vanity of life and to cleanse and purify [the heart].

Taking the cross as a sign, [his disciples] unite together the people of all regions without distinction. They beat the wood, sounding out the voice of benevolence and mercy. In evangelizing the east, they take the way of life and glory. They preserve their beard for outward effect.

* The "holy ones" denote the writers of the books of the Old Testament.

† The "eight boundaries" are inexplicable; some refer them to the beatitudes.

‡ The "three constant virtues" may perhaps mean faith, hope, and charity.

They shave the crown of the head, to indicate the absence of passion. They keep no slaves, but place upon an equality the high and low. They do not hoard goods and riches, but bestow them on the destitute. They practise abstinence in order to increase their knowledge. They watch, in order to maintain quiet and circumspection. Seven times a day they offer praises to the great advantage of both the living and the dead. Once in seven days they have divine service, in order to cleanse their hearts, and to regain their purity.

The true and constant doctrine is mysterious, and difficult to be characterized. Anxious to make it clear and manifest, we can only name it the ILLUSTRIOUS INSTRUCTION. Now without holy ones, religion cannot be propagated; nor without religion, can holy ones become great. But when the two are united, the whole world will be civilized and enlightened.

In the reign of the civil emperor Taitsung, the illustrious and holy enlarger [of the Tang dynasty], there was in Judea a man of superior virtue, called Olopun, who, guided by the azure clouds, bearing the true Scriptures, and observing the laws of the winds, made his way through dangers and difficulties. In the year A. D. 636 he arrived at Chang-ngan. The emperor instructed his minister, duke Tang Hiuenling, to take the imperial sceptre and go out to the western suburbs, receive the guest, and conduct him into the palace. The Scriptures were translated in the library of the palace. The emperor, in his private apartments, made inquiry regarding the religion; and fully satisfied that it was correct and true, he gave special commands for its promulgation.

The document, bearing date, Chingkwan (the reigning style of Taitsung), 12th year, 7th month (August, A. D. 639), runs thus:

"*Religion is without an invariable name. Saints are without any permanent body. In whatever region they are, they give instruction, and privately succor the living multitudes. Olopun, a man of great virtue, belonging to the kingdom of Judea, bringing the Scriptures and images from afar, has come and presented them at our capital. On examining the meaning of his instruction, it is found to be pure, mysterious, and separate from the world. On observing its origin, it is seen to have been instituted as that which is essential to mankind. Its language is simple, its reasonings are attractive, and to the human race it is beneficial. As is right, let it be promulgated throughout the empire. Let the appropriate Board build a Judean church in the Righteous and Holy street of the capital, and appoint thereto twenty-one priests.*"

The power of the illustrious Chau dynasty having fallen, the green car having ascended westward, the religion of the great Tang family became resplendent, and the illustrious spirit found its way eastward. The appropriate officers were instructed to take a faithful likeness of the emperor, and place it on the wall of the temple. The celestial figure

shone in its bright colors, and its lustre irradiated the illustrious portals. The sacred lineaments spread felicity all around, and perpetually illuminated the indoctrinated regions.

According to the maps and records of the western nations, and the histories of the Han and Wei dynasties, Judea is bounded on the south by the Coral sea; on the north by the Shu-pau hills; on the west it stretches towards the flowery forests, and the regions of the immortals; and on the east it is conterminous with the Dead sea of perpetual winds. The country produces cloth that is proof against fire, a balm that restores life, bright lunar pearls, and night-shining gems. Theft and robbery do not exist. The people have joy and peace. None but illustrious laws prevail. None but the virtuous are placed in the magistracy. The country is extensive, and its literature and productions are flourishing.

The emperor Kautsung honored and perpetuated [the memory of] his ancestors. He supported the truth they inculcated, and built churches in all the departments of the empire. He raised Olopun to the rank of high priest and national protector. The law spread in every direction. The wealth of the state was boundless. Churches filled all the cities; and the families were rich, illustrious, and happy.

In the year A. D. 699, the followers of Budha raised a persecution, and argued against the eastern Chau family.

At the close of the year A. D. 713, some base scholars raised ridicule, and in Sikau spread abroad slanderous reports. But there were chief priests, Lohan, Tai-teh, Lich, and others, honorable descendants of those from the west, distinguished and elevated in character, who unitedly maintained the original doctrines, and prevented their subversion.

Hiuentsung, the most righteous emperor, commanded five kings, Ningkwoh and others, to go in person to the church of Felicity, build up the altars, restore the fallen timbers, and replace the dilapidated stones.

Tienpau, in the commencement of his reign, A. D. 742, commanded his general Kau-lih-sz' to take the portraits of the five sacred ones, and place them in the church, and also to present one hundred pieces of silk, to give éclat to the same. Though their august persons are remote, their bows and their swords can be handled. The horns of the sun send forth their light; and the celestial visages seem to be present.*

In the third year of Tienpau's reign, there was a priest, Kihhoh from Judea, who, observing the star, sought renovation: and, seeking the sun, came to the honored one. His majesty commanded the priests, Lohan, Pu-lun, and others, seven in all, with the eminently virtuous Kihhoh, to

* These personages are the first five emperors of the Tang dynasty, Hiuen-tsung's predecessors. Their portraits were so admirably painted that they seemed to be present, their arms could almost be handled, and their foreheads, or "horns of the sun," radiated their intelligence.

perform divine service in the church of Rising Felicity. Then the celestial writing appeared on the walls of the church, and the imperial inscriptions upon the tablets. The precious ornaments shone brightly. The refulgent clouds were dazzling. The intelligent edicts filled the wide expanse, and their glory rose above the light of the sun. The bounteous gifts are comparable to the lofty mountains of the south; the rich benevolences deeper than the eastern seas. The righteous do only what is right, and that which is fit to be named. The holy ones can do all things, and that which they do is fit to be commemorated!

The emperor Suhtsung, learned and illustrious, in five departments of the empire, Lingwu, &c., rebuilt the churches of the illustrious religion. The original benefits were increased, and joyous fortune began. Great felicity descended, and the imperial patrimony was established.

The civil and martial emperor Taitsung enlarged the sacred domains, and ruled without effort. On the return of his natal day, he gave celestial incense to celebrate the meritorious deeds of his government; and he distributed provisions from the imperial table, in order to give honor to those in the churches. As heaven confers its gifts, and sheds bounties on the living; so the sovereign, comprehending right principles, rules the world in equity.

Our emperor Kienchung, holy, divine, civil, and martial, arranged his form of government so as to abase the wicked and exalt the good. He unfolded the dual system so as to give great lustre to the imperial decrees. In the work of renovation, he made known the mysteries of reason. In his adorations, he felt no shame of heart. In all his duties, he was great and good. He was pure, and unbiassed, and forgiving. He extended abroad his kindness, and rescued all from calamities. Living multitudes enjoyed his favors. [The emperor says], "We strive to cultivate the great virtues, and to advance step by step."

If the winds and the rains come in their season, the world will be at rest; men will act rightly; things will keep in their order; the living will have affluence, and the dead joy. Considering life's responses, and prompted by sincere feelings of regard, I, King, have endeavored to effect these worthy ends,—the great benefactors, their excellencies of the Kwangluh Kintsz', the tsieh-tu fu-shí of the north, and the Shí-tien chungkien having conferred on me rich robes.*

The kind and courteous priest Isaac having thoroughly studied this religion, came to China from the city of the king's palace. His science surpassed that of the three dynasties (i. e. the Hia, Shang, and Chau); and he was perfect in the arts. From the first he labored at court, and his name was enrolled in the royal pavilion.

The secretary, duke Kwoh Tsz'-í, raised to royalty from the magistracy

* These officers are not now known, but all of them seem to be chamberlains, and other palatial lignitaries.

of Fānyang, first held military command in the north. Suhtsung made him his attendant; and though a chamberlain, always kept him in the military service. He was the tooth and nail of the palace, and the ears and eyes of the army. He distributed his emoluments, not laying them up at home. Western gems he offered to his majesty. He dispersed, and dispensed with, golden nets. Now he repaired the churches, and now he enlarged the schools of the law. He adorned all the sacred edifices, making them like the flying *hwui*. Imitating the scholars of the illustrious religion he distributed alms. Annually he held a general assembly of the young clergy from all the churches, and for fifty days exercised them in pure and elevating services. To the hungry, who came to him, he gave food; to those suffering from cold, he gave clothes; he cured the sick and raised them up; and the dead, he buried and laid down to rest.

The refined and circumspect Tahsha never heard of such noble deeds. The white robed and illustrious students, having seen those men, desired to erect a monument to commemorate their good and illustrious acts. The inscription reads thus:

"The true Lord is without beginning, silent, serene, and unchangeable. Possessed of creative power, he raised the earth and set up the heavens. The divided Person came into the world. The bark of salvation was boundless. The sun arose and darkness was annihilated. All bore witness to the truth. The glorious civil emperor, in reason joining all that was possessed by former kings, seized on the occasion to restore order. Heaven and earth were enlarged. The bright and illustrious religion visited our Tang dynasty, which translated the scriptures, and built churches. The ship [of mercy] was prepared for the living and the dead. All blessings sprung into existence; and all nations were at peace.

"Kautsung continued the work of his ancestors, and repaired the temples. The palace of Concord was greatly enlarged. Churches filled the land, and the true doctrine was clearly preached. Masters of the law were then appointed; the people had joy and tranquillity, and all things were free from calamities and troubles.

"Hiuentsung displayed divine intelligence, and cultivated truth and rectitude. The imperial tablets spread abroad their lustre. The celestial writings were glorious. The august domains were clearly defined. The inhabitants paid high respect to their sovereign. All things were glorious and tranquil, and under his auspices the people were prosperous.

"Suhtsung restored celestial reason. Great was his dignity as he rode in state. His splendor shone above the brightness of the moon. Happy winds swept the night. Felicity visited the august mansions. The autumnal vapors ceased for ever. Tranquillity reigned, and the empire increased.

"Taitsung was dutiful and just, in virtue according with heaven and earth. By his bestowments life was sustained, and great advantage accrued to all. With incense he made thank-offerings, and dispensed charity in his benevolence. Brightness came from the valley of the sun, and the veiled moon appeared in azure hues.*

"Kienchung was eminent in all things, and cultivated bright virtues. His martial dignity spread over all seas, and his mild serenity over all lands. His light came to human darkness; and in his mirror the color of things (i. e. their moral quality) was reflected. Throughout the universe, light of life was diffused. All nations took example [from the emperor].

"The true doctrine is great, and all-prevalent and pervading. Hard it is to name the Wórd, to unfold the Three-One. The sovereign can act, his ministers commemorate. Erect the splendid monument! Praise the great and the happy!"

Erected (A. D. 781) the second year of Kienchung, [the ninth emperor] of the great Tang dynasty, in the first month, and the seventh day. The priest Ningshu (King Tsing?) being special law lord, and preacher to those of the illustrious religion throughout the regions of the east.

Written by Lu Siu-yen, court councillor, formerly holding high military command in Taichau.—*Chi. Rep.*, Vol. XIV., p. 202.

This truly oriental performance is the most ancient Christian inscription yet found in Asia, and shows plainly that Christianity had made great progress among the Chinese. Both Kircher and Le Comte claimed it as a record of the success of the Romish church in China, but later writers have had the candor to allow, that it commemorates the exertions of the Nestorians.

Timothy, a patriarch, sent Subchal-Jesus in 780, who labored in Tartary and China for many years, and lost his life on his return, when his place was supplied by Davidis, who was consecrated metropolitan. In the year 845, an edict of Wu-tsung commanded the priests that belonged to the sect that came from Ta Tsin, amounting to no less than three thousand persons, to retire to private life. The two Arabian travellers speak of Christians, many of whom perished at the siege of Canfu. Marco Polo often speaks of the Nestorians, and his mode of referring to them leads us to conclude that they were both numerous and respected as well as long established, though there is reason

* The "valley of the sun" is China, where the sun, the vicegerent of heaven, holds his court, and sends forth light like the rising sun to illumine the world. The "veiled moon" is his majesty's residence.

to suppose they had lost their first energy and purity of doctrine, and had assimilated in practice to the heathen around them. He mentions the existence of two churches at Chinkiang fu, near Nanking, built by the prefect Marsarchis, who was himself a member of that church, and alludes to their residence in most of the towns and countries of Central Asia.

The existence of a Christian prince called Prester John, in Central Asia, is spoken of by Marco Polo and Corvino, but of the exact position of his dominions, and the extent of his influence in favor of that faith, little that can be depended upon is known. When the conquests of Gengis khan and his descendants threw all Asia into commotion, the Nestorians suffered much, but still maintained a precarious footing in China during the time of the Yuen dynasty. Mohammedanism was strong during that period, and controversies with Romish priests still further aided to undermine their churches, which were, moreover, nearly cut off from receiving assistance, and communicating with the mother church in Mesopotamia. Their proselyting efforts ceased on the expulsion of the Mongols in 1369, and the Nestorian churches and efforts gradually fell away and were suspended, until no trace of either remained. At the present time, no works composed by their priests, or notices of any churches belonging to them, or buildings erected by them, are known to exist in the empire, though perhaps some books may yet be found in monastic and other libraries. The Chinese historians seldom narrate anything except what tends to exalt their state and nation, and therefore we need look for nothing in their annals concerning a faith they despised. The buildings erected by the Nestorians for churches and dwellings were, of course, no better built than other Chinese edifices, and would not long remain when deserted; while, to account still further for the absence of books, the Buddists and other opposers may have sought out and destroyed such as existed, which even if carefully kept would not last many generations. The records of futurity alone will disclose to us the names and labors of the devoted disciples and teachers of true Christianity in the Nestorian church, who lived and died for the gospel among the Chinese, and the number of converts, who, through their instrumentality, believed on Him to salvation. The recent revival of pure Christianity among that ancient people, affords encouragement to hope that Nestorian missionaries may again find

their way over the Hindu-kush to the Middle Kingdom, carrying the Spirit and power of God with them.

The efforts of the Roman Catholics in China have been great; but not greater than the extent and importance of the field demanded. They have met with varied success, and their prudence in the choice of measures, and zeal in the work of evangelizing, have reflected the highest credit upon them; and would probably, if their object had simply been that of preaching the gospel, have gradually made the entire mass of the population acquainted with the leading doctrines of Christianity. The history of their missions is voluminous, and the principles on which they have been conducted can be learned from their own writings, especially the Lettres Édifiantes, and their continuation in the Annales de la Foi. There has been much written about their labors by themselves and others, and the present sketch need embrace only the principal points, for which we shall depend chiefly upon those writers who have already examined these sources.

The first epoch of Romish missions in China is the thirteenth century. The only name of note which has come down to us from that period is John de Monte Corvino, who was born in 1247 in Apulia, and was sent in 1288 to Tartary by pope Nicholas IV. Before this period, it would seem, from Marco Polo's silence, that the Nestorian was the only Christian sect in the dominions of Kublai, though the Romish priests had previously passed into Persia. Corvino arrived in India in 1291, and after preaching there a twelvemonth, during which time he baptized a hundred persons, he joined a caravan going to Cathay, and was kindly received by the khan. The Nestorians opposed his progress, and for eleven years he carried on the work alone, and not till the latter part of this period with much success. He built a church at Cambalu, "which had a steeple and belfry with three bells, that were rung every hour to summon the new converts to prayer." He baptized nearly 6,000 persons during that time, "and bought 150 children, whom he instructed in Greek and Latin, and composed for them several devotional books." *

Clement V., hearing of Corvino's success, appointed him archbishop in 1307, and sent him seven suffragan bishops as assistants.

* Chinese Repository, Vol. III., p. 112. Vol. XIII., *passim*, from which most of this sketch is derived, especially from the series of articles entitled *Land of Sinim*.

Two letters of his are extant, in which he gives a pleasing account of his efforts to preach the gospel; but of the subsequent success of the endeavors made by him and his coadjutors to propagate the faith, there are only imperfect records. Corvino was ordered to have the mysteries of the Bible represented by pictures in all his churches, for the purpose of captivating the eyes of the barbarians. He died in 1330, and the hierarchy which he had established gradually fell into weakness under Nicholas de Bentra, who was constituted his successor in the see in 1336, and twenty-six additional laborers sent to assist him. The short record preserved of Corvino speaks well of his character, and favorably of the toleration granted by the Mongols to his efforts to instruct them. It is affecting to hear him say, "It is now twelve years since I have heard any news from the west. I am become old and greyheaded, but it is rather through labors and tribulations than through age, for I am only fifty-eight years old. I have learned the Tartar language and literature, into which I have translated the whole New Testament, and the Psalms of David, and have caused them to be transcribed with the utmost care. I write and read, and preach openly and freely the testimony of the law of Christ." It would seem that during the sway of the Mongol princes, these missionaries carried on their work chiefly among their tribes, and did not labor much among the Chinese; it is, if such was the case, less surprising therefore, that we hear nothing of them and their converts, after the Chinese troops had expelled Kublai's weak descendants from the country, since they would naturally follow them into Central Asia. After the final establishment of the Ming dynasty, almost nothing is known concerning either them or the Nestorians, and it is probable that during the wanderings of the defeated Mongols, the adherents of both sects gradually lapsed into ignorance, and thence easily into Mohammedanism and Budhism.

The second period in the history of Romish missions in China includes a space of one hundred and fifty years, extending from the time Matteo Ricci first established himself at Canton in 1581 to the death of Yungching in 1736. Before Ricci entered the country, there had been some efforts made to revive the long deferred work among the Chinese, but the Portuguese and Spanish merchants were opposed to the extension of a faith which their flagitious conduct so outrageously belied. The Chinese govern

ment was still more strongly opposed to the residence of the foreign missionaries. Francis Xavier started from Goa in 1552 in company with an ambassador to China, but the embassy was hindered by the governor of Malacca, who detained Pereyra and his ship, and Xavier was obliged to go alone. He died, however, at Sanchuen, Sançian, or St. John's, an island about thirty miles south-west of the present site of Macao, disappointed in his expectations and thwarted in his plans by the untoward opposition of his countrymen living there. Other attempts were made by priests to accomplish this design, but it was reserved for the Jesuits to carry it into effect. Valignano, the superior of all Romish missions in the East, selected Paccio, Ruggiero or Roger, and Ricci, for this enterprise. Ruggiero arrived first in China in 1579, and commenced the study of the language; after two years he went to Canton, and "gave vent to his vocation, and began converting the people." According to one author cited in the Repository, he and Ricci, by whom he had been lately joined, "to conceal their real intention, recurred unblushingly to a falsehood, affirming that their only wishes were to make themselves masters of the Chinese language, and to become acquainted with the arts and sciences of the country."*

By persevering efforts Ricci obtained permission to reside at Shauchau fu, where he remained some years, wearing the costume of a Budhist priest, and winning the good opinions of all classes by his courtesy, presents, and scientific attainments, though his teachings were opposed by learned Confucianists and suspicious magistrates. In 1594, Valignano advised him and his associates to exchange their garb for the more respected dress of the literati; and soon after he set out for Nanchang fu, the capital of Kiangsí, and thence made his way to Nanking, still a place of great importance, although not the capital of the empire. He was directed to depart, and returned to Nanchang, where he was permitted to lay the foundation of a religious institution, and establish his associates. He then left again for Nanking, but finding many obstacles, proceeded to Suchau, the capital of Kiangnan, and there, too, established a school. The times becoming favorable, he appeared a third time at Nanking, where he was received with amity, frankness, and good breeding, and his

* Sir Andrew Ljungstedt's Macao. Chinese Repository, Vol. I., p. 430

lectures on the exact sciences listened to with rapture. He was also furnished with letters of recommendation to men high in rank and favor at court, and with letters from a high magistrate granting him liberty to carry a few European curiosities to the presence of the emperor; but being delayed six months on his journey at Lintsing chau, he did not reach the capital till January, 1601. The pleasing manners and extensive acquirements of Ricci, joined to a liberal distribution of presents, gained him the favor of men in authority, and he soon numbered some of them among his adherents, among whom Siu, baptized Paul, a native of Shanghai, was one of his earliest and most efficient co-operators, and assisted him in translating Euclid into Chinese.

The emperor Wanleih received him with kindness, and allowed him and Diego Pantoja, his companion, to be accommodated at the place where foreign envoys usually remained; he subsequently permitted them to hire a house, and assigned them a stipend. In the meantime, other Jesuits joined him at Peking, and were also settled in all the intermediate stations, where they carried on the work of their missions under his direction with success and favor. Paul Siu and his daughter, who took the baptismal name of Candida, proved efficient supporters of the new faith. The new religion encountered many obstacles, and the officers who saw its progress, felt the necessity of checking its growth before it got strength to set at naught the commands of government. A decree in 1617 ordered the missionaries to depart from court to Canton, there to embark for Europe, but like many others of the same import subsequently issued, it received just as much obedience as the missionaries thought expedient to give it;—and properly too; for if they were not disturbers of the peace or seditious, they ought not to have been sent out of the country. This edict hindered their work only partially, and such was their diligence, that by the year 1636, they had published no fewer than 340 treatises, some of them religious, but mostly on natural philosophy and mathematics. Ricci, who had been appointed superior of all the missions by the general of the order, published a set of rules for their guidance, in which he allowed the converts to practise the rites of ancestral worship, because he considered them purely civil in their nature. This matter subsequently became a bone of contention between the Jesuits and Franciscans, and their disputes as to the nature of

these rites alarmed the Chinese to such a degree that they seized the Jesuit Martinez, and punished him so severely that he died

The talented founder of these missions died in 1610, at the age of 80. He has been extolled by the Jesuits as a man possessed of every virtue; but another writer of the same church gives him the following character. "Ricci was active, skilful, full of schemes, and endowed with all the talents necessary to render him agreeable to the great, or to gain the favor of princes; but at the same time so little versed in matters of faith, that as the bishop of Conon said, it was sufficient to read his work on the true religion, to be satisfied that he was ignorant of the first principles of theology. Being more a politician than a theologian, he found the secret of remaining peacefully in China. The kings found in him a man full of complaisance; the pagans a minister who accommodated himself to their superstitions; the mandarins a polite courtier skilled in all the trickery of courts; and the devil a faithful servant, who, far from destroying, established his reign among the heathen, and even extended it to the Christians. He preached in China the religion of Christ according to his own fancy; that is to say, he disfigured it by a faithful mixture of pagan superstitions, adopting the sacrifices offered to Confucius and ancestors, and teaching the Christians to assist and co-operate at the worship of idols, provided they only addressed their devotions to a cross covered with flowers, or secretly attached to one of the candles which were lighted in the temples of the false gods."* These conflicting accounts must be taken for what they are worth, but in giving these instructions Ricci did not violate the rules of his order, or give his neophytes greater latitude than was allowed himself.

After his death, the work continued to prosper under the patronage of Siu, who in 1622 obtained the reversal of the edict of expulsion, and thereby caused the persecution to cease which had raged nearly four years. The talents and learning of Schaal, a German Jesuit, who was recommended by Siu to the emperor's regard in 1628, soon placed him at the head of all his brethren, and ranked him among the most distinguished men in the empire. The Dominicans and Franciscans also flocked to the land which had thus been opened by the Jesuits, but they were

* Anecdotes de la Chine, tome I, pref. vi. vii

not welcomed by those who wished to build up their own power and the Jesuits had the advantage over their rivals in the imperial favor, and in the number of their missions already established. During the troublous times which followed the decay of the Ming dynasty, and the establishment of the present family on the throne (1630–1660), the missions throughout the country suffered much, their spiritual guides retired to places of safety from the molestations of soldiers and banditti, and the converts were necessarily left without instruction. The missionaries in the north sided with the Manchus, and Schaal became a great favorite with the new monarch and his advisers, by whom he was appointed to reform the calendar. He succeeded in showing the incompetency of the persons who had the supervision of it, and after its revision was appointed president of the *Kin Tien Kien*, an astronomical board established for this object, and invested with the insignia and emoluments of a grandee of the first class. He employed his influence and means in securing the admission of other missionaries, and to build two churches in the capital, and repair many of those which had fallen to decay in the provinces.

The exertions of the native converts did much to advance the cause of religion, and none more than Siu and his daughter Candida. He gave his influence in favor of the missionaries, and his property to assist in building churches, while his revision of their writings made them acceptable to fastidious scholars. His daughter also spent her life in good works. According to Du Halde, she exhibited the sincerity of her profession in consecrating her property to the cause of religion, by building 39 churches in different provinces, and printing 130 Christian books for the instruction of the surrounding heathen. Having heard that the pagans in several of the provinces were accustomed to abandon their children as soon as born, she established a foundling hospital for infants; and seeing many blind people telling idle stories in the streets for the sake of gain, she got them instructed and sent forth to relate the different events of the Gospel history. A few years before her death, the emperor conferred on her the title of *sho jin*, or *virtuous woman*, and sent her a magnificent habit and head-dress adorned with pearls, which it is said she gradually sold and expended the proceeds in benevolent works. She received the last sacrament with a lively faith of being united to that God whom she had so zealously loved and served. She and

her father have since been deified by the people, and are worshipped now at Shanghai for their good deeds. Her example was emulated by another lady of high connexions, named Agatha, who was zealous in carrying on the same works. We can but hope that although the worship of these converts was mixed with much error, and Mary, Ignatius, and others received their homage as well as Christ, their faith was genuine, and their works done by an actuating spirit of humble love.*

The Romish missionaries had friends among the high families in the land during the first hundred years of their labors, besides converts of both sexes. Few missions in pagan countries have been more favored with zealous converts, or their missionaries more aided and countenanced by rich and noble supporters, than the early papal missions to China. Le Comte speaks of the high favor enjoyed by all the laborers in this work through the reputation and influence of Schaal at court. One of those who obtained celebrity was Faber, whose efforts in Shensí were attended with great success, and who wrought many miracles during his ministry in that province. Among others, he mentions that the "town of Hang ching was at a certain time overrun with a prodigious multitude of locusts, which ate up all the leaves of the trees, and gnawed the grass to the very roots. The inhabitants, after exhausting all the resources of their own superstitions and charms, applied to Faber, who promised to deliver them from the plague, provided they would become Christians. When they consented, he marched in ceremony into the highways in his stole and surplice, and sprinkled up and down the holy water, accompanying this action with the prayers of the church, but especially with a lively faith. God heard the voice of his servant, and the next day all the insects disappeared. But the people refused to perform their promise, and the plague grew worse than before. With much contrition they came to the father, confessing their fault and entreating his renewed interposition; again he sprinkled the holy water, and the insects a second time disappeared. Then the whole borough was converted, and many years afterwards was reckoned one of the devoutest missions in China. His biographer mentions that Faber was carried over rivers through the air; he foretold his own death, and did several

* Medhurst's China, p. 188; Du Halde's China, Vol. II., p. 8.

other such wonders; but the greatest miracle of all was his life which he spent in the continual exercise of all the apostolical virtues, and a tender devotion to the mother of God."

The increase of churches and converts in the northern provinces, was rapid during the reign of Shunchí, but the southern parts of the empire not being completely subdued, the claimant to the throne of Ming was favored by the missionaries there, and his troops led on by two Christian Chinese officers, called Thomas Kiu and Luke Chin. His mother, wife, and son were baptized with the names of Helena, Maria, and Constantine, and the former wrote a letter to pope Alexander VII., expressing her attachment to the cause of Christianity, and wishing to put the country through him under the protection of God. This was kindly answered by the pontiff, but the expectations of the Romanists were disappointed by the death of Tunglieh, the emperor, the defeat and dispersion of his troops, and the entire conquest of the country. There seems to have been little search for their foreign assistants by the conquerors, as nothing is recorded of their arrest or punishment.

During the reign of Shunchí, Schaal and his coadjutors stood high at Peking, and their cause prospered in the provinces; but on the emperor's death, the administration fell into the hands of four regents, and as they were known to be opposed to the new sect, a memorial was sent to court, setting forth the evils likely to arise if it was not repressed. "The strifes between the Jesuits and the other orders about the meaning and worship of *tien* and *shangti* (words used for the Supreme Being), revealed the important secret that the principles of the new doctrine were made to subserve the purposes of those who were aspiring to influence. It was remembered also, that while the Catholics continued in Japan, nothing but intrigue, schism, and civil war was heard of, calamities that might sooner or later befal China if the criminal eagerness of the missionaries in enlisting people of all classes was not checked. The members of the different orders wore distinctive badges of medals, rosaries, crosses, &c., and were always ready to obey the calls of their chiefs, who could have no scruple to lead them on to action the moment a probability of success in subverting the existing political order and the ancient worship of China should offer." The regents took the memorial into consideration, and in 1665, the tribunals under

their direction decreed "that Schaal and his associates merited the punishment of seducers, who announce to the people a false and pernicious doctrine."

Notwithstanding the honorable position Schaal held as tutor of the young emperor Kanghí, he was proscribed and degraded with the rest, and died of grief the next year, aged 78. Verbiest and others were imprisoned, one of whom died; and twenty-one Jesuits with some of other sects were sent out of the country. Magaillans says he himself was "loaden for four whole months together with nine chains, three about his neck, his arms, and his legs; he was also condemned to have forty lashes, and to be banished out of Tartary as long as he lived. But a great earthquake that happened at that time at Peking delivered both him and the rest of his companions."* Their relief, however, was probably owing more to the favor of Kanghí on taking the reins of government in 1671 than to the earthquake; he soon released Verbiest to appoint him astronomer in place of Schaal, and allowed the missionaries to return to their stations, though he forbade his subjects embracing Christianity. This favorable change is partly ascribed, too, to the errors Verbiest pointed out in the calendar, which showed an utter ignorance of the commonest principles of astronomy on the part of those who prepared it; an intercalary month had been erroneously introduced, and the unfortunate astronomers were made to exchange places with the imprisoned missionaries, while their intercalary month was discarded, and the year shortened to the great amazement of the common people. It may reasonably be doubted whether Verbiest acted with the usual sagacity and prudence of his order in thus exasperating those in high places, by this public ridicule of their incompetency. Verbiest also prepared an astronomical work entitled "The Perpetual Astronomy of the emperor Kanghí," which the emperor graciously received, and conferred the title of *tajin*, or magnate, on him, and ennobled all his kindred. "He had no relatives in China, but as the Jesuits called each other brother, they did not hesitate to use the same title. The greatest part of the religious caused it to be inscribed on the doors of their houses."

The favor of the emperor continued, and the missionaries requited

* Magaillans' China, page 117. Chinese Repository, Vol I, p. 193.

his kindness with many signal services, besides those of a literary and astronomical nature, among which was casting cannon for his army. In 1636, Schaal cast a number for Shunchí, and Verbiest at one time cast one hundred and thirty pieces for Kanghí with wonderful success; he afterwards cast three hundred and twenty more, which he blessed in a solemn manner, and gave the name of a saint to every piece. Some of the high officers were still opposed to the toleration of foreign priests, and the governor of Chehkiang undertook to carry into effect the laws against their admission into the country, and their proselyting labors, but Verbiest, on informing the emperor of their character as excellent mathematicians and scholars, obtained their liberation from confinement and reception at the capital.

During all this time, or at least since the other sects came to assist in the work, there had been constant disputes between the disciples of Loyola, Dominic, and Francis, excited probably by rivalry, but ostensibly relating to the rites paid to deceased ancestors and to Confucius. Ricci had drawn up rules for the regulation of the Jesuits, in which he considered these customs to be merely civil and secular, and such as might be tolerated in their converts. Morales, a Spanish Dominican, however, opposed this view, declaring them to be idolatrous and sinful, and they were condemned as such by the Propaganda, which sentence was confirmed by Innocent X., in 1645. This decree of the see at Rome gave the Jesuits some annoyance, and they set themselves at work to procure its revision. Martinez was the principal agent in this, and by many explanations and testimonials proved to the satisfaction of the tribunal of inquisitors their civil nature, and Alexander VII., in 1656, approved this opinion. There were thus two infallible decrees nearly opposed to each other, for Alexander took care not to directly contradict the bull of Innocent, and worded his decision so that both claimed it. When Shunchí died, and all the missionaries were imprisoned or sent to Canton, a good opportunity offered for mutual consultation and decision upon these and other points. Twenty-three priests then "involuntarily" met in the Jesuit seminary at Canton in 1665, and drew up forty-two articles to serve hereafter for rules of conduct, all of which were unanimously adopted. The one relating to the ceremonies was as follows:

"In respect to the customs by which the Chinese worship Confucius and the deceased, the answer of the congregation of the universal Inquisition, sanctioned in 1656 by his holiness Alexander VII., shall be invariably followed; for it is founded upon the most probable opinion, without any evident proof to the contrary; and this probability being admitted, the door of salvation must not be shut against innumerable Chinese, who would abandon our Christian religion were they forbidden to attend to those things that they may lawfully and without injury to their faith attend to, and forced to give up what cannot be abandoned without serious consequences."—*Chi. Rep.*, Vol. I., p. 437.

One member of this meeting, Navarette, soon expressed his dissent, and the dispute was renewed as virulently as ever. The opponents of the Jesuits complained that they taught their converts that there was but little difference generally between Christianity and their own belief; and allowed them to retain their old superstitions; they were charged, moreover, with luxury and ambition, and neglecting the duties of their ministry that they might meddle in the affairs of state. These allegations were rebutted by the Jesuits, though it appears from Mosheim that some of them partially acknowledged their truth. In 1693, Maigrot, a bishop and apostolic vicar living in China, issued a mandate on his own authority diametrically opposed to the decision of the Inquisition and the pope, in which he declared that *tien* signified nothing more than the material heavens, and that the Chinese customs and rites were idolatrous. In 1699, the Jesuits brought the matter before the emperor in the following memorial:

"We, your faithful subjects, although originally from distant countries, respectfully supplicate your majesty to give us clear instructions on the following points. The scholars of Europe have understood that the Chinese practise certain ceremonies in honor of Confucius, that they offer sacrifices to heaven, and that they observe peculiar rites towards their ancestors; but persuaded that these ceremonies, sacrifices, and rites, are founded in reason, though ignorant of their true intention, earnestly desire us to inform them. We have always supposed that Confucius was honored in China as a legislator, and that it was in this character alone, and with this view solely, that the ceremonies established in his honor were practised. We believe that the ancestral rites are only observed in order to exhibit the love felt for them, and to hallow the remembrance of the good received from them during their life. We believe that the sacrifices offered to heaven are not tendered to the visible heavens which are seen above us, but to the supreme Master, Author, and Pre-

server of heaven and earth, and of all they contain. Such are the interpretation and the sense which we have always given to these Chinese ceremonies; but as strangers cannot be considered competent to pronounce on these important points with the same certainty as the Chinese themselves, we presume to request your majesty not to refuse to give us the explanations which we desire concerning them. We wait for them with respect and submission."*

The emperor's reply in 1700 to this petition, and another one presented to him, was sent to the pope; in it he declared that "*tien* means the true God, and that the customs of China are political." The enemies of the Jesuits say that they "confirmed the sentiments expressed in the imperial rescript by the oaths which they exacted from a multitude of Chinese, among whom were many from the lowest classes, not only entirely ignorant of the meaning of many characters in their own language, but even of Christian doctrine." The strongest efforts were made by both parties to influence the decision of the pope, but the Jesuits failed; in 1704, a decree of Clement XI. confirmed the decision of bishop Maigrot. The court of the Vatican had already dispatched a legate *à latere* and apostolic visitor to China in the person of Tournon, who was consecrated patriarch of Antioch, in order to give him a title of sufficient dignity in the distant regions to which he was bound. Tournon was a great admirer of the Jesuits, but he indiscreetly excited the opposition of the king of Portugal by omitting to embark at Lisbon, and the bishop of Macao was directed to publish an order forbidding the Catholics in China (in his diocese probably) to acknowledge Tournon as an apostolic visitor. After escaping the perils of the sea, Tournon arrived at Pondicherry, where he lodged with the Jesuits. But on becoming somewhat better acquainted with their mode of proselyting, and their connivance at the superstitious practices of the natives, among which was one blessing the cow's dung used by their converts in worship, he turned against them, and solemnly forbade such practices. When he reached Manila, he also deposed the procureur of the Jesuits there on account of his avarice and confiscated his treasures, a proceeding which still more deeply incensed the order against him.

The legate landed at Macao in April, 1705, and was received

* Life of St. Martin, page 292.

with a show of honor by the governor and bishop. He arrived at Peking in December, but the Jesuits had already prejudiced the emperor against him, and he never succeeded in obtaining an audience, though he was on the point of having one when he was suddenly seized with a violent illness. He issued the mandate of Clement, "ordering that no Chinese Christian should ever practise the customs and usages which had been interdicted by the pope. But Kanghí was not the man who would transfer to a pope the right of legislating over his own subjects, and in Dec., 1706, decreed that he would countenance those missionaries who preached the doctrines of Ricci, but persecute those who followed the opinion of Maigrot." Examiners were appointed for ascertaining their sentiments, but Tournon, who had been banished to Macao, forbade the missionaries, under pain of excommunication, holding any discussion on these points with the examiners. The bishop of Macao confined the legate in a private house, and when he used his ecclesiastical authority and powers against his enemies, stuck up a monitory on the very door of his residence, exhorting him to revoke his censures within three days under pain of excommunication, and exhibit proofs of his legation to his diocesan. This was reëchoed from Tournon by a still severer sentence against the bishop. Three new missionaries reached Macao at this juncture in January, 1710, and one of them, P. Ripa, gives an account of a nocturnal visit they paid the legate in his prison after eluding the vigilance of his guards. Ripa remarks that about forty missionaries of different religious orders were confined with Tournon, who had lately been made a cardinal, but he himself and his companions were left at liberty. His eminence sent a remonstrance to the governor at Canton, against his imprisonment, and also a memorial to the emperor, stating that six missionaries had arrived from Europe, three of whom were acquainted with mathematics, music, and painting. Ripa, who was to be the painter, says that he knew only the rudiments of the art, and records his dissatisfaction at this change in his vocation, but soon resigned himself to obedience. Tournon died in his confinement in July of the same year.

The proceedings of Tournon were mainly confirmed by the pope, and in 1715, he dispatched Mezzabarba, another legate, by way of Lisbon, who was favorably received at Peking. He "was instructed to express the pope's sincere gratitude to Kanghí

for his magnanimous kindness towards the missionaries, to beg leave to remain in China as their head, or as superior of the whole mission, and to obtain from Kanghí his consent that the Christians in China might submit to the decision of his holiness concerning the rites." The emperor evaded all reference to the rites, and the legate, soon perceiving that his majesty would not surrender any part of his inherent authority, solicited and obtained permission to return to Europe. The first fifteen years of the eighteenth century was the period of the greatest prosperity to the Romish missions in China. It is stated that in the governor-generalship of the Two Kiang alone, there were one hundred churches and a hundred thousand converts. The survey of the empire was commenced by the emperor's command in 1708, under the direction of ten Jesuits, of whom Regis, Bouvet, and Jartoux, were the most prominent.

The disputes between the various orders of missionaries, and the resistance of some converts to the emperor's commands respecting the ancestral rites, together with the representations of his own officers upon the tendency of the new religion to undermine his own authority, gradually opened his eyes to the true character of the propagandists. In 1718, he forbade any missionary remaining in the country without permission from himself, given only after their promise to follow the rules of Ricci. Yet no European missionary could repair to China without subscribing a formula, in which he promised fully and entirely to obey the orders of Clement XI. upon these ceremonies, and observe those injunctions without any tergiversation. Kanghí was made acquainted with all these matters, and took his measures, gradually restraining the missionaries in their work, and keeping them about him at court, while he allowed persecuting measures to be carried on in the provinces. The work of Ripa affords evidence of this plan, and it was characteristic of Chinese policy.

After the death of Kanghí in 1723, the designs of the government and the new emperor, Yungching, were still more evident. In 1724, an order was promulgated by his majesty, in which every effort to propagate the *Tien Chu kiau*, or religion of the Lord of Heaven, as it was then and has ever since been called, was strictly prohibited. All missionaries not required at Peking for scientific purposes, were ordered to leave the country, by which more than three hundred thousand converts were deprived

of teachers. Many of the missionaries secreted themselves, and the converts exhibited the greatest fidelity in adhering to them, even at the risk of death. When the missionaries reached Canton, where they were allowed to remain, they devised measures to return to their flocks, and frequently succeeded. The influence of the priests at Peking was exerted to regain their former toleration, but with partial success; their enemies in the provinces harassed the converts in order to extort money, and found plenty of assistants who knew the names and condition of all the leading adherents of the proscribed faith, and aided in compelling them to violate their consciences or lose their property.

The edict of Yungching, in 1724, forms an epoch in the Romish missions in China. Since that time they have experienced various degrees of quiet and storm, but on the whole decreasing in number and influence. The troubles in France and Europe, towards the latter part of the eighteenth century, withdrew the attention of the supporters of missions from those in China, while in the country itself, the maintenance of the laws against the propagation of Christianity, and an occasional seizure of priests and converts, by a zealous officer, caused a still further diminution. The edicts of Kienlung, soon after his accession in 1736, showed that no countenance was to be expected from court; the rulers were thoroughly dissatisfied with the foreigners, and ready to take almost any measures to relieve the country of them. Perhaps their personal conduct had something to do with this course of procedure, for Ripa, who cannot be accused of partiality, says, when speaking of the number of converts, "that if our European missionaries in China would conduct themselves with less ostentation, and accommodate their manners to persons of all ranks and conditions, the number of converts would be immensely increased. Their garments are made of the richest materials; they go nowhere on foot, but always in sedans, on horseback, or in boats, and with numerous attendants following them. With a few honorable exceptions, all the missionaries live in this manner; and thus, as they never mix with the people, they make but few converts. The diffusion of our holy religion in these parts has been almost entirely owing to the catechists who are in their service, to other Christians, or to the distribution of Christian books in the Chinese language. Thus there is scarcely a single missionary who can boast of hav-

ing made a convert by his own preaching, for they merely baptize those who have been already converted by others."—*Page* 43. But this missionary himself afterwards assigns a much better reason for their not preaching, when he adds, that up to his time in 1714, "none of the missionaries had been able to surmount the language so as to make himself understood by the people at large." There had been about 500 missionaries sent from Europe between 1580 and 1724, which was not on an average four individuals per annum during a century and a half.

When the intentions of the new emperor were known, there would not long be wanting occasions to harass the Christians. In 1747, a persecution extended over all the provinces, and bishop Sanz and five Dominican priests in Fuhkien lost their lives; all the foreign priests who could be found elsewhere were sent away—a mark of leniency the more striking, when it was supposed by the Chinese that some of them had already once returned from banishment. The missions in Sz'chuen and Shansí suffered most, but through the zeal of their pastors maintained themselves better than elsewhere; their bishops, Mullener, and after him Pottier, contrived to remain in the country most of the time between 1712 and 1792. The missions in Yunnan and Kweichau were not so flourishing as that in Sz'chuen, with which they are connected. During a severe search after foreign priests in 1767, M. Gleyo was apprehended in Sz'chuen, and endured much suffering and torture for the faith he came to preach; he remained in prison ten years, when he was liberated through the efforts of a Jesuit in the employ of government. For several years after this they enjoyed comparative quiet, but in 1784 greater efforts than ever were made to discover and apprehend all foreign priests and their abettors, owing to the detection of four Europeans in Hukwang, while they were going to their mission. M. de la Tour, the procureur of the mission at Canton, through whose instrumentality they were sent through the country, was apprehended and carried to Peking; and the hong-merchant who had been his security was glad to purchase his own safety by the sacrifice of 120.000 taels of silver.

Didier Saint-Martin, who was then in Sz'chuen, gives a long account of his own capture, trial, and imprisonment, and many particulars of the sufferings of his fellow missionaries. He says that eighteen Europeans were taken away from the missions by

it, but none of them were actually executed; twelve were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, six having died, but for some reason, the emperor revoked the decree soon after it was made, and gave them all the choice to enter his service or leave the country; nine of the twelve preferred to depart, the other three joining the priests at the capital. This search was so close that few of the foreigners escaped. Pottier was not taken, though he was obliged at one time to conceal himself for a month in a small house, and in so confined a place, that he hardly dared either to cough or to spit, for fear of being discovered. St. Martin and Dufresse retired to Manila, where they were received with great honors, and were enabled to return after a time to Sz'chuen. The former died in 1801 in peace, but Dufresse was executed in 1814 by beheading, and in 1816, M. Triora was strangled in Hupeh, and M. Clet, three years after. These three are the only recorded executions of foreigners during the present century, but no data are available to show the number of native priests and converts who suffered death, torture, imprisonment, and banishment in these storms. Probably the number may reasonably be estimated by hundreds.

The condition and number of the Romish missions in China since their first establishment, cannot be very satisfactorily learned from their own reports. Vague estimates of hundreds of churches, hundreds of thousands of converts, scores of missionaries and numerous catechists, are all the data given even in the flourishing days of Verbiest and Grimaldi; and since then their accessible publications seldom contain a satisfactory account of the labors performed by the missionaries, or the number of converts, churches, schools, &c. Sir A. Ljungstedt gives a table obtained from Marchini in 1820, wherein he states that there were then six bishops and two coadjutors, twenty-three foreign missionaries, eighty native priests, and 215,000 converts, including seven thousand at Macao and vicinity. The Annales de la Foi for June, 1839, states the amount then at eight bishops, fifty-seven foreigners, 114 native priests, and 303,000 converts.

The whole country is divided into the bishopries of Peking, Nanking, and Macao, and the apostolic vicariates of Sz'chuen, Yunnan, Chehkiang, Hukwang, Shantung, Shansi, Fuhkien, and three extra provincial ones of Mongolia, Liautung, and Corea. The first bishopric is under the care of Lazarists, whose principal

station is Siwan beyond the Great Wall, where is a college. The bishopric of Nanking includes three provinces; and the third, those of Kwangtung and Kwangsí; all of them committed to the administration of the Portuguese. The vicariates of Sz'chuen, Yunnan, Chehkiang, and the three extra-provincial ones, are under the care of the French society, most of whose missionaries are Jesuits; those of Shantung, Hukwang, and Shansí are served by Italians sent out by the Propaganda; and that of Fuhkien is under the care of Spanish Dominicans, whose bishop Carpena has superintended the mission for nearly fifty years. The summary for the year 1846 gives twelve bishops, seven or eight coadjutors, about eighty foreign missionaries, and ninety native priests. The number of converts in the whole is now not far from 400,000; the number of schools is not given; in Sz'chuen alone, there are 54 for boys, and 114 for girls. There are six colleges for educating native priests, including that at Naples; but we cannot learn the total number of pupils. The amount of funds received from Europe for them all in 1846 was about $59,000.*

The valuable and clever works which have been written by the Romish missionaries from time to time, together form a small library, and many of their details relate to the missions. Among these authors, Trigault, Martinez, Semedo, Magaillans, Ripa, Avril, Le Comte, Du Halde, Amiot, Mailla, Grosier, and others, besides the official reports of letters in missionary serial works, all afford minute details on every point.

It is noticeable at the outset, and worthy of much consideration, "that the constant experience of the Romish missionaries has shown that, however numerous and zealous their converts, the presence of European pastors and overseers is indispensable to their spiritual prosperity." Whether this is owing to the character of the Chinese mind, or to the little Christian principle these converts really have, cannot easily be decided; but it can hardly be expected that pagans should perceive much difference between their old superstitions and the ceremonies of the new faith, when too the foreign priest regarded their reception of the rites of the church, as baptism, communion, and confession, as sufficient evidences of their fitness for heaven, and left all further instruction to native catechists.

* Chinese Repository, Vol. XIV., 298.

When a new missionary arrives, he is lodged with his bre hren, until a trusty guide comes from the country to conduct him to his appointed place. He adopts the Chinese garb, and with little or no knowledge of the language, commits himself to the care of the courier. "Sometimes on foot, sometimes in boats, sometimes like a rich man in his sedan, and sometimes under the guise of an officer in his chariot, he pursues his course. If suspected, which is often the case, from the blue color of his eyes, the length or turn of his nose, or the fairness of his skin, he turns his face to the wall; if addressed with impertinent questions, he either feigns deafness, or professes not to understand the dialect of the questioner. If the case become an extreme one, and his conductor cannot browbeat or evade the challenger, he declares him an idiot, whom he is conducting to his friends in another part of the empire; or the party seek safety in sudden flight, and come together again under cover of darkness." When they reach their field of labor, the new missionaries are placed under the direction of their associates, spending some of their time in learning the language, and in hearing confessions with the aid of a manual prepared for that purpose. As they advance in knowledge of the language and of their charge, they go from one *christianity* (as the separate circles of converts are called) to another, hearing confessions and masses, administering baptism and extreme unction, and performing the various duties belonging to a pastor's office. They are constantly changing their residence, which both diminishes the chances of their detection, and tends to the preservation of their health.

In former times they had few schools, and such as they had were, apparently, not much thought of; since greater toleration has been allowed, they have multiplied the schools both male and female. The institutions for training young men for the ministry, of which there are four in China and one at Penang, each receive the constant care of one or more of the missionaries; the one at Penang receives students from Siam and Cochinchina as well as China. There was one established at Loyang kiu in Yunnan in 1780, before which time none appear to have been started, which was destroyed by the Chinese officers in 1814, so suddenly that M. Florens, the bishop of Zela, barely had time to escape to Tungking; but it has been revived, and another one established in Shensi, which was for many years under the charge

of M. Imbert. The procureur has the oversight of one at Macao, and the Portuguese priests educate about fifteen in the college of St. Joseph in that city. The number of students in these institutions at any one time seldom exceeds ten or fifteen, and of these only a small portion actually enter the ministry. M. Hamel, who spent more than thirty years as principal of the seminary at Leyang, educated only 27 for the sacred office; and during twenty years, while the converts were numbered in Sz'chuen by thousands, the missionaries found but nine whom they were willing to consecrate, and their principal dependence for native assistants at this period was from this source. That there should not be more persons deemed fit for ministers will not much surprise those who are acquainted with the native mind, and know the necessity of early education in science and religion, in order to infuse more self-dependence and fibre than can be done by a few years' tuition in Latin and religious ceremonies. What degree of instruction is given these pupils in general science, geography, history, astronomy, mechanics, &c., does not appear, but it probably is not very deep.

Common schools for children of both sexes taught by experienced converts, have usually formed a part of their system of labors when the times were sufficiently quiet to allow them to be gathered, but it is to be presumed that the instruction given by such teachers seldom extended further than the catechism. In 1839, "there were fifty schools for boys and eighty for girls, and about 500 persons had devoted themselves to a life of celibacy and prayer;" this was in the Sz'chuen mission. Books are printed for the edification of converts and instruction of the children, but this branch of labor has not received nearly so much attention as among Protestants. The efforts of the foreign priests are principally directed to the converts, and those of the catechists and native priests are turned towards the pagans, to whom in general assemblies the missionary seldom shows himself or attempts to instruct them. The catechumens and inquirers are collected by their countrymen, and after they are sufficiently instructed, are brought to the bishop or missionary to be confirmed.

The baptism of children and adults has ever been a very important work with the Roman Catholic missionaries, and especially (if its frequent mention is an evidence) the baptism of *mori-*

bunds, or dying children of heathens. The agents in this work are usually elderly women, says Verolles, "who have experience in the treatment of infantile diseases. Furnished with innocent pills and a bottle of holy water whose virtues they extol, they introduce themselves into the houses where there are sick infants, and discover whether they are in danger of death; in this case, they inform the parents, and tell them that before administering other remedies, they must wash their hands with the purifying waters of their bottle. The parents, not suspecting this *pieuse ruse*, readily consent, and by these innocent frauds we procure in our mission the baptism of seven or eight thousand infants every year." Another missionary, Dufresse, one of the most distinguished of late years, says, "the women who baptize the infants of heathen parents announce themselves as consecrated to the healing of infants, and to give remedies gratis that they may satisfy the vow of their father who has commanded this as an act of charity." The number of baptized children thus saved from perdition, is carefully detailed in the annual reports, and calculations are made by the missionaries for the consideration of their patrons in France and elsewhere as to the expense incurred for this branch of labor, and the cost of each soul thus saved; and appeals for aid in sending out these female baptists are based upon the tabular reports. It may, however, be a question, even with a candid Romanist, who believes that unbaptized infants perish eternally, whether baptism performed by women and unconsecrated laymen is valid; and still more so, whether it is ritual when done by stealth and under false pretences. The number thus annually baptized in all the missions cannot be placed much under fifty thousand, and some years it exceeds a hundred thousand. No attention seems to be given to the child in ordinary cases if it happen to live after this surreptitious baptism.

The degree of instruction given to their converts is trifling, partly owing to the great extent of a single diocese, and the care the missionary must take not to attract the notice of the officers by publicly collecting audiences, and partly to his imperfect knowledge of the language. The vexations constantly experienced by the adherents of the proscribed faith from one cause and another, urge them to be cautious; and truly, if a missionary believes that baptism, confirmation, confession, and absolution, are all the evidences of faith that are required in a convert to entitle

him to salvation, it cannot be supposed he will deem it advisable to run much risk in giving them further instruction. The causes which usually bring upon the converts the persecuting or troublesome notice of enemies and magistrates are thus summed up in the life of the bishop of Caradre.

1st. Christians are frequently confounded with the members of the Triad society, or of the White Lily sect, both by their enemies and by persons belonging to those associations. 2d. The Christians refuse to contribute to the erection or repair of temples, or subscribe to idolatrous feasts and superstitious rites; though, according to the Annales, they sometimes defray the charges of the theatrical exhibitions which follow, in order to avoid the malice of their adversaries. 3d. "Espousals are almost indissoluble in China, and whenever the Christians refuse to ratify them by proceeding to a marriage already commenced, they are regarded as law-breakers, and treated as such." This is the most common source of trouble, especially when the parents of the girl have become converts since the betrothment, and the other party is anxious to fulfil the contract. These engagements are sometimes broken in a sufficiently unscrupulous manner, and nothing draws so much odium upon Christians as their refusal to adhere to these contracts. On one occasion this bishop assisted in breaking up such an engagement, when the parents, on the death of a sister of the girl, asserted that the deceased was the one who had been betrothed. He adds, "I think the faith of the parents, and the purity of their motives, will readily excuse them before God for the sin of lying." On other occasions the missionaries endeavor to dissolve these engagements by exhorting the believing party to take vows of celibacy.

4th. All communication with Europeans being interdicted, the magistrates seek diligently for every evidence of their existence in the country, by searching for the objects used in worship, as crosses, breviaries, &c. 5th. The little respect the converts have for their ancestors, is always an offence in the eyes of the pagans, and leads to recrimination and vexatious annoyances. 6th. As the converts are obliged to take down the ancestral tablets in order to put up those of their own religion, they are seldom forgiven in this change, and occasion is taken therefrom to persecute. 7th. The indiscreet zeal of the neophytes leading them to break the idols, or insult the objects of public worship,

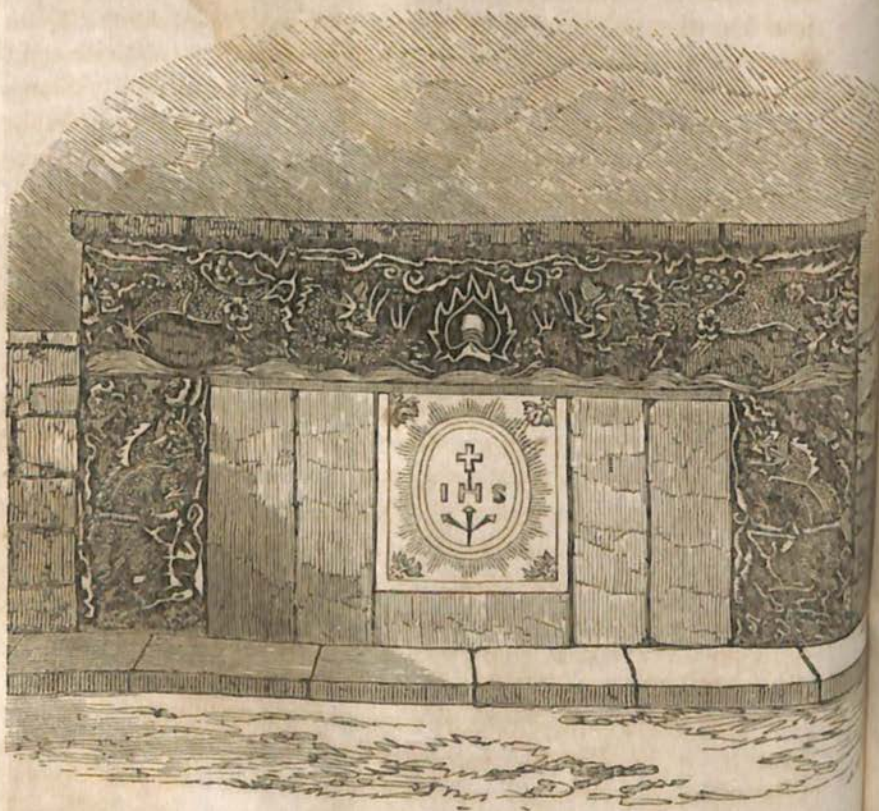
is one of the most common causes of persecution. 8th. The disputes between the missionaries themselves, regarding the ceremonies, have frequently excited troubles.

To these causes, may be added the refusal of Christians to have their deceased friends buried with the idolatrous ceremonies required by their relatives, upon which the latter occasionally carry the matter before the officers, or resort to petty annoyances. On one occasion, the Christians threatened to carry the corpse into the house of the pagan relatives for them to do as they pleased with it, which silenced them, as it is deemed very unlucky to have a dead body brought into the house. The transportation of crucifixes, medals, and other religious images, wine for communion, books and pontifical garments, through the country, when detected, brought trouble upon the bearers. These were needed in the missions, and the bishop of Caradre often mentions his desire to his brother for a piece of the true cross, and his gratitude at its reception. These things keep up the spirit of devotion among the neophytes, and "God wrought several miracles among them to authorize the practice." These articles, in the estimation of both priest and people, probably have no little influence over the demons which vex and harass the pagans, but which never trouble the Christians. St. Martin, writing to his father from Chingtu fu, the capital of Sz'chuen, in 1774, says: "The most sensible proof for the pagans, and one always in force, is the power the Christians have over demons. It is astonishing how these poor infidels are tormented, and they can find remedy only in the prayers of Christians, by whose help they are delivered and then converted. Seven or eight leagues from this spot is a house which has been infested with demons for a month; they maltreat all who come near them, and have set the dwelling on fire at different times. They have had recourse to all kinds of superstitious ceremonies, calling in the native priests, but all to no effect; and the master of the family where I am staying has now gone to assist them. He is a man of lively faith, and has already performed many miraculous cures."*

M. Gleyo, writing from the same region, speaks in the same strain. "It is but four months since a man was converted in

* Life of Didier St Martin, p. 35.

this neighborhood. He declared in presence of an assembly of Christians weeping with joy and gratitude on his behalf, that when he was on the point of giving himself to God, seven devils appeared in his chamber to intimidate him, and made many reproaches and menaces for his hardihood in wishing to abandon their services. Remembering the sign of the cross he made it. Immediately the devils fled away, and with so much precipitation that they broke down the door of the house in their haste to escape." When persons educated in a country like France allow their converts to entertain such ideas, even if they do not favor them themselves, and countenance their endeavors to exorcise the possessed, we cannot look for a very high degree of knowledge or piety. If they are brought out of pagan darkness, it is but little if any better than into light hardly bright enough to enable them even to distinguish trees from men.



Roman Catholic Altar near Shanghai.

The points of similarity between Budhism and Romanism have already been noticed, and the converts from one to the other see but little more change than they do when going from Budhism to the metaphysical speculations of the learned *ju kiau*. If Romish priests have allowed their converts to worship before pagan images, provided a cross is put into the candles, it would not be difficult for the latter to put the names of their departed parents behind the "tablets of religion," and worship them together. Similar to such a permission is the combination of the cross and dragon carved on a Romish altar near Shanghai, given on the opposite page, and at which both pagans and Christians could alike worship.

Agnuses, crosses, &c., are easily substituted for coins and charms, and it does not surely require much faith to believe the former as effectual as the latter. The neophyte takes away the tablet in his house or shop having *shin*, æon or spirit, written on it, and puts up another, on which is written *shin, chin chu, tsau tien tí jin-wuh*, or "God, true Lord, Creator of heaven, earth, man, and all things," and burns the same incense before this as before that. Chinese demigods are changed for foreign saints, with this difference, that now they worship they know not what, while before they knew something of the name and character of the ancient hero from popular accounts and historical legends. They cease indeed to venerate the queen of Heaven, holy mother Ma tsupo, but what advance in true religion has been made by falling down before the Queen of Heaven, holy mother Mary? The people call the Budhist idols and the Romish images by the same name, and apply much the same terms to their ceremonies. Such converts can easily be numbered by thousands; and it is a wonder, indeed, when one considers the nature of the case, that the whole population of China has not long since become "devout confessors" of this faith. Conversions depend, in such cases, on almost every other kind of influence than that of the Holy Spirit blessing his own word in an intelligent mind and a quickened conscience. The missionaries write, "that being forced in three or four months after their arrival to preach when they do not know the language sufficiently either to be understood, or to understand themselves, they have seen their auditors immediately embrace Christianity."

We pass no decision upon these converts, except what is given or drawn from the writings of their teachers. Human nature is everywhere the same in its great lineaments, and the effect of living godly lives in Christ Jesus will everywhere excite opposition, calumny, persecution, and death, according to the liberty granted the enemies of the truth. That there may have been true converts among the myriads of adherents to Romanism is probable; but what salutary effects has this large body of Christians wrought in the vast population of China during the 250 years since Ricci established himself at Nanking? None, absolutely none, that attract attention. The five or six thousand native Romanists at Macao are as a whole less enterprising and industrious than their pagan countrymen; and they are no more charitable or cleanly. What they are in the interior is not known except by hearsay from a few natives. The letters of some of the missionaries written to their own friends, breathe a spirit of pious ardor and true Christian principle worthy of all imitation. Among the best letters contained in the Annales is one from Dufresse to his pupils then at Penang. It is a long epistle, and contains nothing, with one exception, which the most scrupulous Protestant would not approve. The same may be said of most of the letters contained in the same collection written in prison by Gagelin, a missionary, who was strangled in Annam in 1833. It is hardly possible to doubt, when reading the letters of these two men (Dufresse and Gagelin), both of whom were martyred for the faith they preached, that they sincerely loved and trusted in the Savior they proclaimed. Many of their converts also exhibit the greatest constancy in their profession, suffering persecution, torture, imprisonment, banishment, and death, rather than deny their faith, though every inducement of prevarication and mental reservation was held out to them by the magistrates in order to avoid the necessity of proceeding to extreme measures. If suffering the loss of all things is an evidence of piety, many of them have proved their title to it in many ways. But until there shall be a complete separation from idolatry and superstition; until the confessional shall be abolished, and the worship of the Virgin, wearing crosses and rosaries, and reliance on ceremonies and penances, be stopped; until the entire Scriptures and Decalogue be given to the converts; and until, in short, the great doctrine of justification by faith be substituted for the many

forms of justification by works, the mass of converts to Romanism in China can hardly be considered as much better than baptized pagans. Their works and influence upon their pagan countrymen show how little leaven of godliness there has been in the lump, and both priest and people cannot well refuse to be judged by evidence furnished by themselves.

Turn we now to a brief survey of the efforts of Protestants among the Chinese, and the results which have attended their labors, although their number has been too few, and their missions too recent, to lead any one acquainted with such labors to expect great results. The details furnished by Dr. Medhurst in his work upon China of missionary efforts at Canton, Batavia, Malacca, and elsewhere, are so ample and minute as to obviate the necessity of repeating them in this shorter sketch, seeing too that his book is easily procured. The first Protestant missionary to China was the Rev. Robert Morrison, of Morpeth, England, who was appointed by the London Missionary Society in 1807, and proceeded to Canton by way of New York, for the East India Company refused all missionaries passages in their ships either to China or India. He arrived at Macao in September, 1807, and proceeded to Canton almost immediately; here he lived in a quiet and unobtrusive manner, in a room in the factory of Messrs. Milner and Bull of New York, mixed but little either with foreigners or natives, adopted the Chinese costume, and endeavored to make the acquaintance of the people. His time was mostly occupied in study, and his confinement to his room and diligence in acquiring the language erelong began seriously to affect his health; but better judgment induced him soon to resume his own dress, and associate with his countrymen and other foreigners in China more than he had done. He early made the acquaintance of Sir George T. Staunton, whose friendship he retained till his death; Mr. Robarts, the chief of the British factory in China, also furthered his views, and advised him to avow his intention to the Chinese of translating the Scriptures into their language, on the ground that it was a divine book which Christians highly esteemed, and which the Chinese should have the opportunity of examining. In consequence of difficulties connected with the trade, he was obliged to leave Canton in 1808 with all British subjects, and repair to Macao, where he deemed it prudent to maintain a careful retirement in order not to attract undue notice

from the Portuguese priests. His associate Dr. Milne afterwards observed, with reference to these traits in his character, that "the patience that refuses to be conquered, the diligence that never tires, the caution that always trembles, and the studious habit that spontaneously seeks retirement, were best adapted for the first Protestant missionary to China."

He was married in February, 1809, to Miss Mary Morton, and the same day accepted the appointment of translator under the East India Company, in whose service he continued until its dissolution in 1834. His position was now a well understood one, and his official connexion obtained for him all necessary security, so that he could prosecute his work with diligence and confidence. He maintained the esteem of the Directors, and through his life gave satisfaction to his employers; his salary, also, was sufficient to provide for his family, and enabled him to carry on his studies without much expense to the Society. He no doubt did wisely in the circumstances in which he was placed, for his dictionary could hardly have been printed, or his translation of the Scriptures and other works been so successfully carried on, without the countenance and assistance of that powerful and wealthy body. In 1810, the Acts of the Apostles were printed, and the gospel of Luke in 1812, on each of which occasions, the Bible Society granted £500 to assist in the prosecution of the work. The entire New Testament was published in 1814, about half of it having been translated entirely by Morrison, the remainder he revised from a manuscript which he found in the British Museum.

An associate, the Rev. W. Milne, arrived in July, 1813, but the Romish clergy ordered him to quit Macao immediately, whereupon he took up his residence at Canton, leaving his wife at Macao, and remained there till winter engaged in study. In 1814, he took passage in a ship for the Indian Archipelago, provided with about 17,000 copies of Testaments and tracts, for distribution among the Chinese settlers in the islands. He stopped at Banca on his route, where many of the Chinese were engaged in the tin mines, and then proceeded to Java, where he was kindly received by the governor, Sir Stamford Raffles, a man far in advance of the times in his support and patronage of missions. Through his liberality, Mr. Milne was enabled to travel over the island, and visit all the principal settlements, and distribute such

books as he had, for his limited knowledge of their languages did not permit him to hold much oral intercourse with either Chinese, Malays, or Javanese. From Java, he went to Malacca, then a Dutch settlement, and returned to Canton in September, where he remained unknown to and consequently undisturbed by the Chinese, though a severe persecution in which Dufresse lost his life, was raging against the Christians throughout the empire. Mr. Milne, finding it very difficult to prosecute his labors in China, for the East India Company's Committee would not countenance him in any way, turned his attention to the Archipelago, and embarked for Malacca with his family in 1815, accompanied by a teacher and workmen for printing Chinese books, where he resided the remainder of his life.

The leading objects in sending Mr. Morrison to Canton, namely, the translation of the Bible, preparation of a dictionary, together with such additional labors in preaching, teaching, and writing of tracts as leisure allowed, occupied the greater portion of his time. As soon as he had acquired a moderate command of the language, he commenced a private Sabbath service with his domestics and acquaintances in his own apartments, which he never relinquished, though it did not expand into a regular public congregation during his lifetime. He always considered this as one of the most important parts of his work, and was much encouraged when in 1814 one of his audience, Tsai Ako, made a profession of his faith and was baptized. He was the first convert, and it is reasonably to be hoped, judging from his after life, that he sincerely believed to salvation. The circumstances of his death in 1818 were such, however, as to prevent his teacher from visiting him during his illness, and ascertaining his feelings on the approach of death; but a generally consistent life afforded evidence of the reality of his profession.

The compilation of the dictionary progressed so well, that in 1814, a few members of the Company's establishment in China, among whom Mr. Elphinstone and Sir George Staunton were prominent, interested themselves in getting it printed. The Court of Directors in London, sensible of the good results of such an undertaking, responded to the application on the most liberal scale, and sent out a printer and a printing office. Considerable delay was experienced in commencing the printing of the work, yet the first volume of nine hundred and thirty pages, was issued

in 1817, and the whole was completed in six quarto volumes, in 1823, at an expense of about £12,000. It consisted of three parts, viz. the characters arranged according to the radicals, according to their pronunciation, and an English and Chinese part. This work has contributed much to the advancement of a knowledge of Chinese literature, while its aid in missions has been manifold greater. The syllabic part still remains the best dictionary of the language, though if the author had devoted more attention to this portion, and to the English and Chinese part, and not added the arrangement according to the radicals, the work would have been more available and less expensive; the plan was rather too comprehensive for one man to fill up, and also involved considerable repetition.

While the dictionary was going through the press, the translation of the Old Testament was progressing by the joint labors of Dr. Morrison and Mr. Milne, and in Nov., 1818, the entire Bible was published. Another version had been carrying on simultaneously with this by Dr. Marshman at Serampore, which was completed and printed with movable types in 1822. A second edition of the Baptist version has never been struck off, and comparatively few copies have ever been circulated among the Chinese, its foreign costume rendering it a suspicious book in their estimation. The expenses of printing these two versions were to a great degree defrayed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, the total grants to the Independent missionaries being £6600, and to the Baptists, several thousands of pounds. Both these versions are such that a sincere inquirer after the truth cannot fail to learn it; though both of them are open to criticisms, and contain mistakes, incident to first translations, which subsequent acquaintance with the language has corrected. The principles which guided Dr. Morrison and his colleague in this work, were fidelity, perspicuity, and simplicity, and the earnest endeavor to render the sacred text into idiomatic Chinese, intelligible to common readers.*

During the years he was engaged upon the dictionary and translation, Dr. Morrison published some other works, both in Chinese and English. A tract on Redemption, a translation of the Assembly's Catechism, and liturgy of the church of England

* Medhurst's China, p. 217. Chinese Repository, Vol. IV., p. 249.

a synopsis of Old Testament history, a hymn book, a Tour of the World, and a few miscellaneous essays on religious subjects; of all these several publications, nearly thirty thousand copies were printed and distributed. He early prepared a Chinese grammar on the model of a common English grammar, which was printed at Serampore in 1815; and also completed a small volume of dialogues in English and Chinese, and a volume of miscellaneous information in 1817, on the chronology, festivals, geography, and other subjects relating to China, under the title of View of China for Philological purposes. The principal part of the edition of the former work was lost in H. B. M. frigate Alceste on her return to England; the entire expense of printing both of them was defrayed by the E. I. Company. Mr. Morrison accompanied Lord Amherst to Peking in 1816 as interpreter to the embassy, and the return journey through the country afforded opportunity of collecting some information respecting the dialects and inhabitants of the different provinces through which the route lay.

In 1821, Mrs. Morrison died, and about eight months after, the Dictionary having been published, he visited Malacca and Singapore, where he was much encouraged by what he saw. The Anglo-Chinese college was then under the care of Mr. Collie, and this visit from its founder encouraged both principal and students. In 1824, Dr. Morrison returned to England, and was honorably received by the great and good in that Christian land, being presented to his majesty George IV., and received the approbation of all who took an interest in the promotion of religion and learning. While in England, he endeavored to form a Language Institution for assisting missionaries in learning the languages of the countries where they were to labor, but the scheme was found to be expensive and impracticable, and the projected institution did not long continue. He published a volume of sermons, and a miscellany called Horæ Sinicæ while in England; and having formed a second matrimonial connexion, left his native land the second time in May, 1826, under different circumstances from the first. During his absence, the mission at Canton was not left altogether destitute, for before his departure he had ordained a native convert, Liang Afah, to the work of an evangelist, who still continues steadfast in his profession and love for preaching the Gospel, notwithstanding his sufferings for the faith. On his re-

turn in 1826, Dr. Morrison immediately revived the Sabbath services, in which he was assisted by this evangelist.

During the years which elapsed between his return and death, he was principally occupied by his duties as translator to the Company, and in literary labors. In 1828, he published a Vocabulary of the Canton Dialect in two volumes, for the use of the foreign residents and seamen in their intercourse with the Chinese. Three or four works were written in Chinese, among which a miscellany in four volumes of useful information on the plan of Chinese compends, called the Family Instructor, was the largest. A selection of Scripture Lessons on the same plan as that of the Tract Society, and a second edition of the Psalter and Liturgy, and a volume of hymns and prayers, were also issued. His last years were cheered by the arrival of five fellow-laborers from the United States, the first who had come to his assistance since Milne left him in 1814. The health of Mrs. Morrison being impaired, and her children requiring better opportunities for education than the country afforded, she left for England in December, 1833, with six children, Dr. Morrison and his eldest son remaining in China. On the dissolution of the East India Company's establishment, in April, 1834, he was appointed interpreter to the new commission, but almost before he had entered on the duties of his office, he was called away to higher service by death, August 1st, at the age of fifty-two, having spent almost twenty-seven years in the missionary work in China, and most of that time alone.

Perhaps no two persons were ever less alike than the founders of the Romish and Protestant missions to China, but no plans of operations could be more dissimilar than those adopted by Ricci and Morrison. The former desired to build up a sect, and therefore did all he could to attract the notice and win the favor of the powerful, the learned, and the rich; he made the entrance to his church easy for all, but endeavored to attract those ranks of society to come in, and bring as many of the poor as they could. When he died, thirty years after his arrival, churches of such converts were established in most of the capitals and large cities in the eastern provinces, and converts were numbered by thousands. When Morrison was sent out, the directors thus expressed their views of his labors, "We trust that no objection will be made to your continuing in Canton, till you have accomplished your great

object of acquiring the language; when this is done, you may probably soon afterwards begin to turn this attainment into a direction which may be of extensive use to the world: perhaps you may have the honor of forming a Chinese dictionary, more comprehensive and correct than any preceding one; or the still greater honor of translating the sacred Scriptures into a language spoken by a third part of the human race." The enterprise thus committed to the hands of a single individual was only part of a system, which neither the projectors nor their collaborator supposed would end there. They knew that the great work of evangelizing and elevating a mass of mind like that using the Chinese language, required large preparatory labors, of which those here mentioned were among the most important. Moreover, China was a sealed country when Morrison landed on its shores, and he could not have forced his way into it if he had tried, with any prospect of ultimate success, even by adopting the same plans which Ricci did. It is doubtful if he could have lived there at all if it had not been for the protection of the East India Company. After all his toil, and faith, and prayer, he only saw three or four converts, no churches, schools, or congregations publicly assembled; but his last letter breathes the same desires as when he first went out. "I wait patiently the events to be developed in the course of Divine Providence. The Lord reigneth. If the kingdom of God our Savior prosper in China, all will be well: other matters are comparatively of small importance." These events have begun to be rapidly developed since his death, and his labors and influence in the furtherance of this kingdom by no means ceased with his death.

Protestant missions among the Chinese emigrants in Malacca, Penang, Singapore, Rhio, Borneo, and Batavia, have never taken much hold upon them, and they are at present all suspended or abandoned. The first was established at Malacca, in 1815, by Mr. Milne, and was conducted with the most efficiency and for the longest period, though the labors at the other points have been carried on with zeal and a degree of success, but the number of converts is not definitely known. The comparatively small results which have attended all these missions may be ascribed to two or three reasons, which have been found to operate with more or less effect in all of them. The Chinese residing in these settlements consist chiefly of emigrants who have fled or left their

native countries, in all cases without their families, to avoid the justice or oppression of their rulers, or to gain a livelihood they cannot find at home. Consequently they lead a roving life; few of them marry or settle down in the countries where they stop and become valuable citizens; and fewer still are sufficiently educated to relish or care for instruction or books. These communities are much troubled by branches of the Triad Society, and the unsettled habits of the Malays are congenial to most of the emigrants who come among them. The Chinese, coming as they do from different parts of their own land, speak different dialects, and soon learn the Malay language as a lingua franca; their children also learn it still more thoroughly from their mothers, notwithstanding the education their fathers give them in Chinese. The great want of fixedness in the Chinese population in these settlements, therefore, partly accounts for the little permanent impression made on it by missionary efforts.

Great preparations were made at Malacca for printing books and teaching schools; the printing office was well supplied with type and block-cutters, and large editions of Bibles and tracts issued from it during most of the years it was in operation. A school was commenced immediately on Mr. Milne's settlement, and every branch of labor rendered as efficient as his means enabled him. A higher institution, called the Anglo-Chinese College, was founded in 1818 by Dr. Morrison, assisted by other friends of religion, the objects of which were to afford Europeans the means of acquiring the Chinese language, and enable Chinese to become acquainted with the religion and science of the west. Dr. Morrison gave in all more than £2,000 to this enterprise from his own resources, and the East India Company's factory in China assisted it with an annual grant of $1,000 for many years; the English authorities on the spot gave the land, and all those in the region who felt an interest in the progress of missions assisted. Dr. Milne was the first principal, and after his death was succeeded by Rev. David Collie, on whose death in 1827, Mr. Kidd took charge of the institution, until his return to England in 1832. Mr. Tomlin then conducted it until Mr. Evans arrived in 1833; and he dying of cholera in 1841, was succeeded by James Legge, D. D., under whose superintendence both it and the mission were removed to China in 1844, and the buildings sold. The Anglo-Chinese College was productive of

good during its existence, and about seventy persons were baptized in Malacca while the mission remained there, most of whom gave good evidence of a change of heart; and about fifty students finished their education, part of whom were sincere Christians, and all of them respectable members of society. Three or four of the converts have become preachers. It may be questioned, however, whether the name and array of a college was not too far in advance of the people among whom it was situated, and whether the efforts made in it would not have been better expended in establishing common schools among the people, in which Christianity and knowledge went hand in hand. It is far better among an ignorant pagan people that a hundred persons should know one thing, than that one man should know a hundred; the widest diffusion of the first elements of religion and science is most desirable. The mission at Malacca was not, however, large enough at any one time for its members to superintend many common schools. Among the books issued from the press there, besides Bibles and tracts, were a periodical, called the Indo-Chinese Gleaner, edited by Dr. Milne, a translation of the Four Books by Mr. Collie, an edition of Prémare's Notitia Linguæ Sinicæ, a life of Milne, and a volume of sermons by Dr. Morrison. The number of volumes printed in Chinese was about half a million.

The mission at Georgetown in the island of Penang, like that at Malacca, was under the care of the London Missionary Society during the whole of its existence. It was established in 1819 by Mr. Medhurst, but he did little more than distribute tracts and preach for a short time, and make some arrangements for the establishment of schools, while Messrs. Beighton and Ince, who arrived in the same year to reinforce the Malay and Chinese missions, made a beginning. The mission continued from that time till 1843 to be supplied with missionaries, at which time it was suspended. Two or three Chinese, and six Malay schools were kept up during most of this period, some of which were assisted by the English government. In 1836, the number of baptized Malays and Chinese amounted to thirteen.

The mission among the Chinese at Singapore was commenced in 1819 by Mr. Milton; the colonial government granted a lot, and a chapel and other buildings were erected in the course of a few years. Messrs. Smith and Tomlin came to the settlement in

1827, but did not remain long, the former retiring to England on account of ill health, and Mr. Tomlin taking charge of the college at Malacca, left vacant by the departure of Mr. Kidd. Mr. Gutzlaff came over from the Dutch settlement at Rhio, but did not remain long enough to effect anything; nor did Mr. Abeel, who came from China in 1831, and left soon after for Siam. The German missionary at this station, Mr. Thomsen, when about to leave in 1834, sold his printing apparatus to the American mission newly established there by Mr. Tracy. The prospects in China appearing unpromising at this time, it was designed by the directors of the American society to establish a large mission, to consist of a well regulated school for both Chinese and Malays, which was by degrees to become a seminary, and as many primary schools as there were means to support; besides the usual labors in preaching and visiting, a type-foundry and printing-office for manufacturing books in Chinese, Malay, Bugís, and Siamese, were also contemplated. In December, 1834, Mr. Tracy was joined by the Rev. P. Parker, M. D., who opened a hospital in the Chinese part of the town for the gratuitous distribution of medicine and medical aid; books were also given to the patients, and explanations of their meaning as far as the time permitted. In 1835, Mr. Wolfe arrived from England, and two years afterward, Rev. Messrs. Dickinson, Hope, and Travelli, and Mr. North from the United States, to take charge of the schools and printing-office. The school established by the American mission was carried on with encouraging success by various members until 1844, when the mission was removed to China, and the Malay portion of it given up.

The English mission, after the death of Mr. Wolfe in 1837, was under the care of Messrs. Dyer and Stronach, the former of whom had removed there from Penang and Malacca. Mr. Dyer had been for many years engaged in preparing steel punches for a font of movable Chinese type, and his patient labors had already overcome the principal difficulties in the way, when the work was arrested by his death in 1843. He had, however, finished matrices for so many characters that the font has gone into partial operation, and the experiment has fully proved the cheapness and superiority of metallic type over blocks or lithography. Mr. Dyer labored nearly seventeen years in the cause of Christ among the Chinese with a consecration of energy and singleness of pur-

pose seldom exceeded, and won the affectionate respect of the natives wherever he lived. The mission was continued by Rev. A. Stronach in the Chinese department, and B. P. Keeseberry in the Malay, until 1845, when the former was suspended, and the printing and type-founding establishment removed to China.

The American mission among the Chinese in Borneo has been subject to so many opposing obstacles, both external and internal, that it can hardly be said to have been established at all so far as to exert any effects upon the people. The Chinese on Borneo are engaged for the most part in mining, and being superior in industry to the Malays and Dayaks around them, though by no means patterns of thrift and good order themselves, are the object of suspicion and dread, and live in small communities subject to their own rulers, scattered over the mining districts in the interior. Messrs. Doty and Pohlman went to Pontianak in 1838 to labor among the Chinese, accompanied by three or four fellow-laborers for the Dayaks, but in consequence of the greater demands of the field at Amoy, they gave up their part of the mission in 1844, and removed to China.

The mission to the Chinese in Java was commenced by Mr. Slater in 1819, and reinforced in 1822 by Mr. Medhurst, who continued in charge of it, with some interruptions, while travelling in the Archipelago and on the coast of China, and a visit to England, until 1843, when he left the island and removed to China. The account of the various efforts made by him to diffuse a knowledge of the gospel among the Chinese and Malays, as given in his work on China, exhibits a series of endeavors to interest the heathen in the great truths of Christianity that leaves them without excuse. The mission was not confined to Batavia, and, during his residence in the island, he took several tours, for the purpose of distributing books, and teaching gospel truth as he had opportunity.

Mr. Medhurst mentions one village near Batavia, called Depok, inhabited by native Christians, whose origin deserves to be again mentioned, it is so praiseworthy and so rare. "More than a century ago, a Dutch gentleman, named Chasterling, having an estate about six miles long by two wide, cultivated entirely by slaves, proposed to liberate them and make them a present of the land if they would consent to be instructed, and on a profession of their faith, baptized. In compliance with this part of the pro-

position, he made over the whole of his estate to his former bondmen, built a church for them, placed a schoolmaster over them, subject to the pastoral oversight of the Dutch clergy, and left them and their families free. In 1800, the inhabitants of Depok amounted to about two hundred souls. Never was there a quieter village, or a more inoffensive people; and though the majority may be attached by interest or education to Christianity, a few appear to be lovers of the Savior, and some have already found their way to the haven of rest; there are now about seventy members of the church, and upwards of fifty children in the school." *

Writing suitable tracts, and distributing them among the people, accompanying them with explanations and exhortation, preaching to the people in the market-place and shops, by the way and in the house, as well as the more regular services of the Sabbath, in English, Malay, and Chinese, teaching children in schools, and preparing works in English to illustrate the languages spoken in Eastern Asia, filled up the routine of his labors. A number were baptized, few of whom were Chinese, while one, more zealous than his countrymen, replied to the tracts against the national feasts. The English residents in Batavia assisted in erecting a neat place of worship; and in 1833, an orphan asylum was established by foreigners, under Mr. Medhurst's superintendence, for the support and education of the destitute children of Europeans. In 1833, the American Board sent two missionaries to the Archipelago, Messrs. Munson and Lyman, who landed at Batavia; these two brethren were cut off the next year by the Battaks, when exploring in Sumatra. In 1835, the American Episcopal Board sent two missionaries to the Chinese, Messrs. Lockwood and Hanson, who settled in Batavia at the request of Mr. Medhurst, but ill health compelled them both to return to their native land before the mission was well established, though not before Mr. Boone arrived to assist in and continue their work. Four other American laborers also came to Batavia in the same year, destined for the Archipelago, but the fears or suspicions of the Dutch government were aroused, and they were forbidden to proselyte among the natives in their colonial possessions, except in Borneo; and moreover were obliged to reside a year at Batavia before they could repair to their field of labor. Few acts of

* China; Its State and Prospects, p. 269.

modern Christian governments can compare with the proceedings of the Dutch colonial authorities in the Indian Archipelago in relation to this matter, and all their ordinances were either sanctioned or suggested by their superiors at home. It would be an instructive subject for investigation, to examine the many ways that Protestant governments have opposed the progress of the Gospel and freedom of conscience, in various ages and parts of the world, and especially to describe the many precautions they have taken, lest the diffusion of Christian truth should undermine and weaken their power over the natives. The English and Dutch East India Companies, their agents in the West and East Indies, the colonial authorities in Guiana, Cape Colony, and the Indian Archipelago, have all of them, at one time or another, done much to prevent the natives receiving the truths and instructions which formed the basis of all the blessings they themselves enjoyed, because "the natives must not be disturbed in their religion."

The endeavors which have been made to evangelize the Chinese out of their own country, have not failed of accomplishing lasting good. The following summary of labors at the stations was given by Medhurst in 1837, who refers in it almost exclusively to the English missionaries, as the American missions had at that time only recently commenced operations. "Protestant missionaries, considering themselves excluded from the interior of the empire of China, and finding a host of emigrants in the various countries in the Malayan Archipelago, aimed first to enlighten these, with the hope, that if properly instructed and influenced, they would, on their return to their native land, carry with them the gospel they had learned, and spread it among their countrymen. With this view, they established themselves in the various colonies around China, studied the language, set up schools and seminaries, wrote and printed books, conversed extensively with the people, and tried to collect congregations to whom they might preach the word of life. Since the commencement of their missions, they have translated the Holy Scriptures, and printed two thousand complete Bibles in two sizes, ten thousand Testaments, and thirty thousand separate books, and upwards of half a million of tracts in Chinese; besides four thousand Testaments, and one hundred and fifty thousand tracts in the languages of the Malayan Archipelago, making about twenty

millions of printed pages. About ten thousand children have passed through the mission schools; nearly one hundred persons have been baptized, and several native preachers raised up, one of whom has proclaimed the gospel to his countrymen, and endured persecution for Jesus' sake."

Since this was written, the number of pages printed and circulated has been more than doubled, the number of scholars taught been increased to 12,000, and preaching proportionably attended to; while a few more have professed the gospel by baptism and a generally consistent life. All these missions, so far as the Chinese are concerned, are now suspended, and unless the Dutch resume them, are not likely to be soon revived. The greater openings in China itself for disseminating Christian truth, and the small number of qualified missionaries ready to avail of them, have invited all the laborers away from the outskirts and colonies to the borders, and into the mother country itself. The idea entertained, that the colonists would react upon their countrymen at home, has proved illusive; for the converts, when they returned to dwell among their heathen countrymen, away from their teachers, are far more likely to adopt or sanction some of the customs around them, than to live up to the truths of the gospel, and endure persecution for its sake. One reason why missions have produced no more permanent effect among the Chinese emigrants has already been stated, in their ignorance and unsettled habits. A second reason of still greater force, is the very small number of missionaries who have learned the language sufficiently well to preach acceptably in it, and who remained long enough in one spot to establish an influence. The rapid succession of laborers at a station, forbids the perpetuation of that kind of influence which is desirable, and this has been remarkably the case at Singapore, Malacca, and Penang, where few out of those laboring remained long enough to learn the language. Besides this, they had the care of schools and printing offices, wrote books, held religious services, opened hospitals for dispensing medical aid, and distributed books and tracts at the same time. When they attempted so many things, it is not wonderful that ill health obliged many to leave their work.

The account of Protestant missions in China was brought down to the death of Dr. Morrison, in 1834. He believed in the final evangelization of the country, but the prospect at his death was

nearly as dark as when he landed; only three assistants had come to his help in China itself during that time, for there were few encouragements for them to stay; the openings were more promising in Siam, Malacca, and elsewhere. Mr. Bridgman, the first missionary from the American churches to China, sailed in October, 1829, in company with the Rev. D. Abeel, seamen's chaplain at Whampoa; they arrived in February, 1830, and were both cordially welcomed by Dr. Morrison. Mr. Abeel remained in Canton nearly a year, when he went to Singapore, and subsequently to Siam, in the service of the American Board. These two brethren were received in Canton by the house of Olyphant & Co., in whose establishment one or both were maintained during the first three years of the mission, and whose partners, both in China and America, have ever remained the friends and supporters of all efforts for the evangelization of the Chinese. Preaching in English had always been kept up by Dr. Morrison in Canton and Macao, for the benefit of foreigners residing there, and Mr. Bridgman assisted in this exercise while pursuing the study of the language, and making the acquaintance of the people. He also took four or five boys as scholars, but his limited accommodations in the factories prevented the enlargement of the school as much as was desirable; and in 1834, in consequence of the troubles ensuent upon Lord Napier's proceedings, it was disbanded by the departure of its pupils.

The circulation of the Scriptures and religious books has been carried on since 1812; but this branch of labor has received more attention since 1832. During the summer of that year, Liang Afah distributed a large number of books in and about Canton, and exhibited great zeal in this business, which well suited his inclinations; he had distributed many thousands of volumes, a large portion of them to the students assembled at the literary examinations, when the officers interfered to prevent him. A few weeks after, the authorities ordered a search for those natives who had "traitorously" assisted Lord Napier in publishing an appeal to the Chinese, and Liang Afah and his assistants were immediately suspected. Two assistants were seized, one of whom was beaten with forty blows upon his face, for refusing to divulge; the other made a full disclosure, and the police next day repaired to his shop, and seized three printers, with four hundred volumes and blocks; the men were subsequently released by paying about

$800. Liang Afah had already fled to Kiangmun, a large town west of Macao, when a body of police arrived at his native village to arrest him, but not finding him or his family, they seized three of his kindred, and sealed up his house. He finally made his way to Macao, and not long after sailed to Singapore.

Few books were distributed after this at Canton until the close of the war, but they have been extensively circulated on the coast from Macao to Tientsin, occasionally attended with oral instruction and explanation of the object of their distribution, but for the most part accompanied with merely a few general observations. The first of these voyages, and in many respects the most interesting, was made by Mr. Gutzlaff in 1831 in the native costume on board a junk proceeding from Bangkok to Tientsin, in which the sociable character of the Chinese, and their readiness to receive and entertain foreigners when they could do so without fear of their rulers, was plainly seen; it also enabled the traveller to become acquainted, in a measure, with their ability to read, and their general information, and ascertain what likelihood there was of establishing a permanent mission on the coast. After his arrival at Macao, Dec. 13th, Mr. Gutzlaff was engaged by the enlightened chief of the English factory, Charles Marjoribanks, as interpreter to accompany Mr. Lindsay on an experimental commercial voyage along the coast in the ship Lord Amherst, which occupied about eight months, and presented still further opportunities for learning the feelings of the Chinese officers regarding foreign intercourse. Many books were distributed on both these voyages; among them was one giving a general account of the English nation, which was eagerly received by all classes. A third voyage was undertaken by Mr. Gutzlaff in 1832, in the Sylph, an opium vessel in the employ of a leading English firm at Canton, during which he visited many ports on the coast; an account of it, together with those of the two previous ones, was published, and excited an increased interest abroad in the evangelization of China. Contributions were sent to him from England and America, encouraging him to proceed, and grants were made by benevolent societies to aid him in printing Bibles and tracts. On his return to Canton he remained a month or two, and then embarked again in another opium vessel for the coast, where he remained during most of the year 1834, having opportunities for disseminating religious books, but none for hold-

ing regular services, on shore. In 1835, Mr. Gutzlaff took the office of interpreter to the English commission on a salary of £800 and has since continued in the employ of that government, though he has not altogether given up his former labors.

In 1835, Mr. Medhurst visited China, and assisted by the house of Olyphant & Co., who gave him the use of the vessel, engaged the brig Huron at a cheap rate, in which he embarked in August, 1835, accompanied by Mr. Stevens of the American mission, and furnished with a supply of books. During the three months of the voyage, they "went through various parts of four provinces and many villages, giving away about eighteen thousand volumes, of which six thousand were portions of the Scriptures, amongst a cheerful and willing people, without meeting with the least aggression or injury; having been always received by the people with a cheerful smile, and most generally by the officers with politeness and respect." It is unnecessary to enter into details respecting this voyage, as the account of it in the work of Mr. Medhurst has already made it well known.

The most expensive enterprise for this object was set on foot in 1836, and few efforts to advance the cause of religion among the Chinese have been planned on a scale of greater liberality. The brig Himmaleh was purchased in New York by the firm of Talbot, Olyphant & Co., principally for the purpose of aiding missionaries in circulating religious books on the coasts of China and the neighboring countries, and arrived at Lintin in August, 1836. Mr. Gutzlaff, who was then engaged as interpreter to the English authorities, declined going in her, because in that case he must resign his commission, and there was no other missionary in China acquainted with the dialects spoken on the coast. The brig remained in the Chinese waters, therefore, unemployed, until December, when she was dispatched on a cruise among the islands of the Archipelago under the direction of Mr. Stevens, accompanied by Mr. Lay, agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, recently arrived. This decision of Mr. Gutzlaff, who had again and again urged such a measure, and had himself ceased his voyages on the coast because of his implied connexion thereby with the opium trade, was quite unexpected; while, too, the death of Mr. Stevens in January, 1837, before the vessel had left Singapore, threw the chief responsibility and direction of the mission upon Capt. Frazer, who seems to have been poorly qualified for

any other than the maritime part. Rev. Messrs. Dickinson and Wolfe sailed in her from Singapore in Mr. Stevens' place, but none of these gentlemen understood the Malayan language, and consequently less direct intercourse was had with the people at the various places where she stopped than was anticipated. The Himmaleh returned to China in July, 1837, and as there was no one qualified to go in her, she was loaded and sent back to the United States. An account of the voyage was written by Mr. Lay, and published in New York, in connexion with that of the ship Morrison to Japan in August, 1837, by Mr. C. W. King of the firm of Olyphant & Co., under whose direction it was taken for the purpose of restoring seven shipwrecked Japanese to their native land. Mr. Gutzlaff accompanied this vessel as interpreter, for three of the men were under the orders of the English superintendent; the expedition failed in its object, and the men were brought back. This is the last special effort made to distribute books upon the coast, with the exception of a short trip to the westward of Macao in a small native vessel by Mr. Shuck, in 1837; no books were, however, distributed in this trip, nor did he land. In October, 1837, Mr. Gutzlaff was sent to the province of Fuhkien, by the British superintendent, to ascertain the fate of certain British subjects shipwrecked on that coast, and distributed several hundred volumes. It is almost impossible to make any calculation of the number of volumes distributed in all these voyages, and by persons engaged in the coast trade. Probably fifty thousand books were scattered on the coast, and more than double that number about Canton, Macao, and their vicinity. Since the opening of the five ports, increased numbers have been put in circulation at those points; and with few exceptions, they have been eagerly received by the people, and by the officers of government when they could do so without observation or suspicion.

This promiscuous distribution of books has been criticized by some as injudicious, and little calculated to advance the objects of a Christian mission. The funds expended in printing and circulating books could have been, it is said, much better employed in establishing schools, than in scattering books broadcast among a people whose ability to read them was not ascertained, and under circumstances which prevented any explanation of the design in giving them, or inquiries as to the effects produced.

Without entering into a discussion of the propriety of a course, whose good or bad effects at least could not be ascertained till it had been tried, it is enough to observe that prior to the treaty of Nanking, this was the only means of approaching the people of the country. The emperor forbade foreigners residing in his borders except at Canton, and consequently the good produced by the books, or whether the people understood them at all, could not be ascertained. No one, acquainted with the Chinese or any heathen people, supposes that their desire to receive books is to be taken as an index of their ability to understand them, or love of the doctrines contained in them. If the plan offered a reasonable probability of effecting some good, it certainly could do almost no harm, for the general respect for printed books assures us that they would not be wantonly destroyed, but rather in most cases carefully preserved. The business of tract distribution and colportage may, however, be carried too far in advance of other parts of missionary work. It is much easier to write, print, and give away religious treatises, than it is to sit down with the people and explain the leading truths of the Bible; but the two go well together among those who can read, and perhaps in no nation is it more desirable that they should be combined. If the books be given away without explanation, the people do not fully understand the object, and feel too little interest in them to take the trouble to find out; if the preacher deliver an intelligible discourse, his audience will probably remember its general purport; but on the one hand they will be likely to read the book with more attention, and on the other understand the sermon better, when the two are combined, and the voice explains the book, and the book recalls the ideas and teachings of the preacher.

So far as is known, hardly an instance has occurred of a Chinese coming to a missionary to have any passage explained, nor any person converted who has attributed his interest in religion to the unassisted reading of books. Their fate cannot be traced, but if, on the one hand, they have been seen on the counters of shops in Macao, cut in two for wrapping up medicines and fruit; which the shopman would not do with the worst of his own books; a few have also been met in situations which showed that they had found their way into the hands of high officers, and bore marks of careful perusal. A copy of a gospel containing remarks, was found on board the admiral's junk at

Tinghai, when that town was taken by the English in 1840, which seemed to have been lately written. We can hope that all the books have not been lost or contemptuously destroyed, though perhaps most of them have been like seed sown by the wayside. In missions, as in other things, it is impossible to predict the result of several courses of action, before trying them; and if it was believed that many of those who receive books can read them, there was a strong inducement to press this branch of labor, when too it was the only one which could be brought to bear upon large portions of the people.

In 1832, the publication of the Chinese Repository was commenced by Mr. Bridgman, at a press sent out by a church in New York, called the Bruen Press. The Repository was encouraged by Dr. Morrison, who, with his son, continued to enrich it by valuable papers and translations, as long as they lived. The object of this periodical was to diffuse correct information concerning China, while it formed a convenient repertory of the essays, travels, translations, and papers of contributors. It has drawn but little on the time of any individual since the third or fourth year of its existence, and the number of collaborators at present is such as to devolve still less labor upon its editor.

The mission was increased in 1833, by the arrival of two laborers, one of whom, Mr. Tracy, left the next spring by the advice of his brethren to commence a mission at Singapore, while the other remained in China to superintend the press. In 1834, Doct. Parker arrived, and soon after went to Singapore to study the Fuhkien dialect; he returned to Canton in about a year, and opened a hospital in one of the rear factories for the gratuitous relief and cure of such diseases among the Chinese as his time and means would allow, devoting his attention chiefly to ophthalmic cases and surgical operations. This branch of Christian benevolence was already not unknown in China. Dr. Morrison in 1820 had, in connexion with Doct. Livingstone of the E. I. Co.'s factory, opened a dispensary at Macao, in which medical relief was afforded to many persons. In 1827, Doct. T. R. Colledge, also connected with the Company, opened a dispensary at his own expense at Macao, but finding the number of patients rapidly increasing, he rented two small houses for their accommodation, where in four years more than four thousand patients were cured or relieved. The benevolent design was encouraged

by the foreign community, and about $6500 were contributed, so that it was, after the first year, no other expense to the benevolent founder, than giving his time and strength. It was unavoidably closed in 1832, there being no physician so circumstanced that he could gratuitously attend to such a crowd of patients, few or none of whom could pay him in anything better than thanks, fruit, or fire-crackers, or written cards of gratitude. A philanthropic Swede living in Macao, Sir Andrew Ljungstedt, prepared a short account of this hospital in 1834, and inserted several letters written to Doct. Colledge by the patients, one of which is here quoted.

"To knock head and thank the great English doctor. Venerable gentleman.—May your groves of almond trees be abundant, and the orange trees make the water of your well fragrant; as heretofore, may you be made known to the world as illustrious and brilliant, and as a most profound and skilful doctor. I last year arrived in Macao, blind in both eyes; I have to thank you, venerable sir, for having, by your excellent methods, cured me perfectly. Your goodness is as lofty as a hill, your virtue deep as the sea; therefore all my family will express their gratitude for your new creating goodness. Now I am desirous of returning home; your profound kindness it is impossible for me to requite; I feel extremely ashamed of myself for it. I am grateful for your favors, and shall think of them without ceasing. Moreover, I am certain that since you have been a benefactor to the world, and your good government is spread abroad, heaven must surely grant you a long life, and you will enjoy every happiness. I return to my mean province. Your illustrious name, venerable Sir, will extend to all time; during a thousand ages it will not decay. I return thanks for your great kindness; impotent are my words to sound your fame, and to express my thanks. I wish you everlasting tranquillity. Presented to the great English doctor and noble gentleman in the 11th year of Taukwang, by Ho Shuh of the district of Chau-ngan in the department of Changchau in Fuhkien, who knocks head and presents thanks."

Another patient, in true Chinese style, returned thanks for the aid he had received in a poetical effusion.

"This I address to the English physician: condescend, Sir, to look upon it. Diseased in my eyes, I had almost lost my sight, when, happily, Sir, I met with you:—you gave me medicine, you applied the knife; and as when the clouds are swept away, now again I behold the azure heavens. My joys know no bounds. As a faint token of my feelings,

I have composed a stanza in heptameter, which, with a few trifling presents, I beg you will be pleased to accept. Then happy, happy shall I be!

"He lavishes his blessings, but seeks for no return;
Such medicine, such physician, since Tsin were never known:
The medicine—how many kinds most excellent has he!
The surgeon's knife—it pierced the eye, and spring once more I see.
If Tung has not been born again, to bless the present age,
Then sure, 't is Su reanimate again upon the stage:
Whenever called away from far, to see your native land,
A living monument I'll wait upon the ocean's strand."

Two benevolent men connected with the Dispensary at Canton, Doct. Bradford of Philadelphia and Doct. Cox of London, also gave gratuitous medical assistance to poor natives.

Doct. Parker's design, therefore, had already been tried, and when the scheme was made known to Howqua, the senior hong-merchant, he readily fell in with it, and moreover let his building at a very reasonable rate. It was opened for the admission of patients Nov. 4, 1835. The peculiar circumstances under which this hospital was rented and opened, imposed some caution on its superintendent, and the hong-merchants themselves seem to have had a lurking suspicion that so purely a benevolent object, involving so much expense of time, labor, and money, must have some latent object which it behooved them to watch. A linguist's clerk was in attendance much of the time, partly for this purpose, for three or four years, and made himself very useful in many ways. The ultimate objects of the hospital were to prove to the Chinese the practical benevolence of the Christian religion by healing their sick, while the opportunity was improved to preach and teach the assembled patients the doctrines of Christianity, and impress upon them that the great motive for thus relieving their bodily diseases was to exhibit the benevolence of the religion of Jesus, so freely offered for their acceptance. The latter and most important of these objects was not carried into full effect at Canton till recently, owing to the want of a qualified coadjutor, for it was beyond the strength of one man to attend to their ailments and preach too. It was deemed wise, moreover, to defer the distribution of tracts until the institution should become well known and somewhat appreciated among all classes of people, for if the lessor should suspect that he was likely to be impli-

cated or annoyed by the emissaries of government, it was almost certain that he would immediately refuse the lease, and make it impossible to procure another building, and thus shut up the prospect of doing good in this way; all the native assistants would also leave from the same fear. Conversation could have been profitably carried on with the patients on religious subjects as they were seated around the room, if there had been any person qualified to do it, but it was unwise to distribute books, since only a year before Liang Afah was obliged to flee for this reason.

The mode of conducting the hospital was to open the doors once a week, and give the patients small cards to carry away. They were seated around the room, the men and women apart; and with the exception of a little impatience to be treated soon, arising from oft repeated observation, that if they were not, the crowd was too large for all to be attended to on one day, no audience could behave better. The women were treated first, and whenever a person ignorant of the rules of the hospital pressed forward, urgent to be relieved, a simple explanation and request to wait for his turn, was usually sufficient. Cards were filled up for each patient containing his number, name, age, residence, disease, and date, and notes were taken of the symptoms and treatment as far as necessary, so that when he came again, the number of the card referred to the notes and list, and the case easily understood. Natives were soon instructed in giving out medicines, and performing simple operations of cleansing, dressing, and bandaging, while two or three pupils were taken for more regular instruction in medical science. About a hundred patients attended daily, of whom one-fifth were women, besides many servants and friends. Surgical operations were performed once a week, and the in-door patients visited daily, who numbered about forty, including servants and friends. The repeated instances of kind feeling between friends and relatives exhibited among the patients, tender solicitude of parents for the relief of their children, and contrariwise, the heartfelt gratitude for benefits received, and the fortitude with which the severest operations were borne, or faith shown in receiving unknown medicines, all tended to elevate the character of the Chinese in the opinion of every beholder.

The efforts made in the hospital immediately attracted the attention of the foreign community, and donations were sent in for

defraying its current expenses. The reports gave the requisite information as to its operations, and means were taken to place the whole system upon a surer footing by forming a society in China. Suggestions as to the propriety of establishing a society for this object were circulated in October, 1836, signed by Messrs. Colledge, Parker, and Bridgman, in which the motives for such a step, and the good effects likely to result from it, were thus explained :—

"We cannot close these suggestions without adverting to one idea, though this is not the place to enlarge upon it. It is affecting to contemplate this empire, embracing three hundred and sixty millions of souls, where almost all the light of true science is unknown, where Christianity has *scarcely* shed one genial ray, and where the theories concerning matter and mind, creation and providence, are wofully destitute of truth; it is deeply affecting to see the multitudes who are here suffering under maladies, from which the hand of charity is able to relieve them. Now we know, indeed, that it is the glorious gospel of the blessed God only that can set free the human mind, and that it is only when enlightened in the true knowledge of God that man is rendered capable of rising to his true intellectual elevation; but while we take care to give this truth the high place which it ought ever to hold, we should beware of depreciating other truth. In the vast conflict which is to revolutionize the intellectual and moral world, we may not underrate the value of any weapon. As a means, then, to waken the dormant mind of China, may we not place a high value upon medical truth, and seek its introduction with good hope of its becoming the handmaid of religious truth? If an inquiry after truth upon any subject is elicited, is there not a great point gained? And that inquiry after medical truth may be provoked, there is good reason to expect: for, exclusive as China is in all her systems, she cannot exclude disease, nor shut her people up from the desire of relief. Does not, then, the finger of Providence point clearly to one way that we should take with the people of China, directing us to seek the introduction of the remedies for sin itself, by the same door through which we convey those which are designed to mitigate or remove its evils? Although medical truths cannot restore the sick and afflicted to the favor of God, yet perchance, the spirit of inquiry about it once awakened, will not sleep till it inquires about the source of truth; and he who comes with the blessings of health may prove an angel of mercy to point to the Lamb of God. At any rate, this seems the only open door; let us enter it. A faith that worketh not may wait for other doors. None can deny that *this* is a way of charity that worketh no ill, and our duty to walk in it seems plain and imperative."*

* Chinese Repository, Vol. V., page 372; Vol. VII., pages 33–40

This paper was favorably received in China, and in February 1838, a public meeting was convened at Canton for the purpose of forming a society, "the object of which shall be to encourage gentlemen of the medical profession to come and practise gratuitously among the Chinese, by affording the usual aid of hospitals, medicines, and attendants; but that the support or remuneration of such medical gentlemen be not at present within its contemplation." Another resolution passed at this meeting was that "candidates for the patronage of the society must furnish satisfactory certificates of their medical education, approved of by the society sending them out;" which insured, as far as could be, that all its agents should be pious, discreet, and able physicians, and willing, as they had the strength, to attend to both the bodies and souls of their patients. A few rules for the internal regulation of the hospitals, such as keeping registers of all cases, and taking notes of such things as might be deemed useful, were adopted; but no directions were given by the framers of the society concerning the mode of imparting religious instruction, distributing tracts, or doing missionary work as they had opportunity. The signers of the original paper of suggestions also issued an address, further setting forth their views and expectations in this benevolent enterprise.

"To restore health, to ease pain, or in any way to diminish the sum of human misery, forms an object worthy of the philanthropist. But in the prosecution of our views we look forward to far higher results than the mere relief of human suffering. We hope that our endeavors will tend to break down the walls of prejudice and long cherished nationality of feeling, and to teach the Chinese that those whom they affect to despise are both able and willing to become their benefactors. They shut the door against the teachers of the Gospel; they find our books often written in idioms which they cannot readily understand; and they have laid such restrictions upon commerce that it does not awaken among them that love of science, that spirit of invention, and that love of thought, which it uniformly excites and fosters whenever it is allowed to take its own course without limit or interference. In the way of doing them good, our opportunities are few, but among these, that of practising medicine and surgery stands pre-eminent. Favorable results have hitherto followed it, and will still continue to do so. It is a department of benevolence peculiarly adapted to China. . . . . .

"In the department of benevolence to which our attention is now turned, purity and disinterestedness of motive are more clearly evinced

than in any other. They appear unmasked; they attract the gaze, and excite the admiration and gratitude of thousands. *Heal the sick* is our motto, constituting alike the injunction under which we act, and the object at which we aim; and which, with the blessing of God, we hope to accomplish by means of scientific practice, in the exercise of an unbought and untiring kindness. We have called ours a Missionary Society, because we trust it will advance the cause of missions, and because we want men to fill our institutions, who to requisite skill and experience add the self-denial and high moral qualities which are looked for in a missionary."

The address then goes on to enumerate some collateral advantages which are likely to accrue both to the Chinese and their benefactors, among which, teaching the theory and practice of medicine and surgery to natives, thereby introducing the benefits and stimulus of sound knowledge and skill in place of charlatanry and ignorance, ascertaining what remedies the Chinese used which might profitably be introduced into western pharmacopœias, and whether they had any modes of treating diseases, or preparing medicines, which could be advantageously adopted. The amount of funds contributed in China and its vicinity to this object, up to the date of the address, was about $9000, nearly half of which was employed in purchasing a building for a hospital at Macao, to be made the principal establishment of the Society for educating native students, when it should obtain more physicians. At the first annual meeting in November, 1838, a report was read of the operations of the hospital at Canton and Macao, in which it was stated that more than six thousand persons had, with few exceptions, received permanent relief from suffering, of which a large number had been restored from partial or total blindness to the blessings of sight, all of whom had been attended to by Doct. Parker since Nov., 1835. Doct. Colledge's medical library was purchased for the Society by a liberal English merchant in Canton, William Jardine, Esq., and some other books were presented by the members, together with a few instruments, so that nothing was wanting except competent medical missionaries to take charge of the hospitals. Some of the Chinese at Canton, who were made acquainted with the design of the institution, manifested unexpected interest in its prosperity, and members of the co-hong and others contributed to its support. Lamqua, a well known painter, freely proposed

to make drawings of such cases as were deemed worth preserving, observing, "that if Doct. Parker cured the patients for nothing, he could do no less than draw them as cheaply." His skill was frequently called for and freely rendered, and his paintings of remarkable operations have done something to advance and make known the objects of the Society.

In January, 1839, William Lockhart, M.R.C.S., arrived from England, and during the next year he was joined by Benjamin Hobson, M.B., both connected with the London Missionary Society; they were accepted by the Medical Missionary Society, as was also W. B. Diver, M.D., from the United States. Doct. Lockhart opened a hospital at Chusan in 1840, and relieved or cured 3052 patients in about five months. On the breaking out of the war in 1840, the hospital at Canton was closed, and Doct. Parker visited the United States; he was gone upwards of two years, and made the objects and success of this plan of benevolence extensively known in the United States and England, in both of which countries societies were formed and funds collected in aid of its operations,—an evidence of the decided approbation of those who had become acquainted with its character and ends.

The second report, published in 1841, stated that about 12,500 patients had been relieved, a large portion of whom could not have been preserved from blindness or deformity, or perhaps saved from speedy death resulting from their distempers, ulcers, tumors, luxations, or injuries, without the charity and aid furnished by the Society. The report closes with an expression of gratitude to "Him, whose creatures we all are, for opportunities afforded them of benefiting their fellow-men, while they look forward with confident expectation to continually enlarging fields of usefulness, and increasing opportunities of conveying to the *minds* of their patients the healing influences of moral care, and especially of the hopes that the Gospel alone offers." This last and great object of the formation of the Medical Missionary Society, had not received that degree of attention in the hospital at Canton which could be given it in those at Macao and Chusan, both from the inability of the medical officer to attend to it, the constant presence or surveillance of Chinese officers attending as patients, and the desirableness of doing nothing to lead the owner of the building to shut it. The same reasons did not exist at other stations, where books were distributed, and religious in-

struction imparted, as far as the knowledge of the language and the time of the physician permitted.

It was in Amoy, however, on the opening of a dispensary by W. H. Cumming, M. D., from Georgia, in 1842, that the good effects of medical missions were first seen. Rev. Messrs. Abeel and Boone had gone to Amoy in February of that year, and made the acquaintance of the people on Kulang su, who were much pleased to meet with those who could converse with them, and answer their inquiries. Doctor Cumming was able, by the assistance of these brethren, as soon as he opened his dispensary, to inform the people of his designs in so doing; and the missionaries, on their part, preached the Gospel to the assembled patients, and gave them suitable books. The experience already obtained elsewhere, showed that the people were so ready to accept the proffered relief that it was impossible for one man to do more than wait upon the blind, lame, diseased, and injured, who thronged his doors; the result of a few months at Amoy equally proved, that while the physician was attending to the patients in one room, the preacher could not ask for a better audience than those who were waiting in the adjoining one. An invitation to attend more formal services on the Sabbath was soon accepted by a few, whose curiosity led them to come and hear more of foreigners, and their teachings. The reputation of the hospital was seen when taking short excursions in the vicinity, for persons who had been relieved constantly came forward to express their gratitude. Persons thus treated were more likely to hearken to the instructions delivered, and read the books given them, than those who had no opportunity of learning the character of foreigners, and supposed them to be, as they had been taught to regard them, barbarians and demons. A hospital has also been established at Ningpo, by Messrs. McCarty and Macgowan, and another at Shanghai, by Doct. Lockhart, in both of which the same system of preaching and practice has been carried on, though the assistance of the missionary has not been so constant at the former as at the latter place. A native convert has assisted in the hospital at Hongkong, conducting daily services among the patients with considerable acceptance.

The proposition to educate Chinese youth as physicians and surgeons has not been carried out to much extent, only one or two assistants having yet gone through a course of medical edu-

cation, though several have become qualified to perform operations. It is not likely, however, that the Chinese generally will immediately discard their own mode of practice, and adopt another from their countrymen, so far as to support them in their new system. They have not enough knowledge of medicine to appreciate the difference between science and charlatanism; and a native physician himself might reasonably have fears of the legal or personal results of an unsuccessful or doubtful surgical case, among his ignorant patients, so far as often to prevent him trying it.

The experience of past years in China has conclusively shown, that where a physician and a preacher join their labors in a missionary hospital, both of them speaking the language, few plans are better adapted for removing prejudice, relieving disease and pain, otherwise irremediable, collecting audiences well fitted for patiently hearing the Gospel, and imparting a knowledge of its great truths to people rendered somewhat ready to lend a willing ear by a sense of suffering, and experience of the unbought kindness bestowed upon them. The Medical Missionary Society still exists, supported chiefly by benevolent foreigners in China, and has, since its formation in 1838, done a good work. There have been more than thirty thousand patients relieved through its instrumentality, some of them belonging to the imperial family, others acting as high commissioners, governors, and officers of various grades, all of whom, as well as the thousands of common people, have trusted themselves into the hands and direction of the foreigner, and thus been led, in some degree, to think better of him and his country.

Another benevolent society, whose name and object was the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China, was established prior to the Medical Missionary Society, in December, 1834. The designs of the association were, "by all means in its power, to prepare and publish, in a cheap form, plain and easy treatises in the Chinese language, on such branches of useful knowledge as are suited to the existing state and condition of the Chinese empire." The publication of a Chinese Magazine, edited jointly by the Chinese and English secretaries of the Society (Messrs. Morrison and Gutzlaff), was undertaken, and prosecuted at intervals for two or three years. Among the works which have been published by this Society may be mentioned a General View of Universal

History, in three volumes; a history of the United States; a history of the Jews; a translation of Esop's Fables; a history of England; and an Introduction to Geography. The Magazine was published in Singapore at too great a distance from China for it to be issued to the subscribers with any degree of regularity, and the fears of native booksellers lest they should somehow be implicated prevented them from undertaking the publication of works bearing such a decided foreign character. A greater obstacle, however, was the few persons qualified by their knowledge of Chinese, to write or translate suitable books. Since the restoration of peace, and the increase of students and writers in the Chinese language, it is to be hoped that the objects of the Useful Knowledge Society will be carried out, and works of general science written and circulated among the Chinese. The circulation of the Magazine was the most likely means of awakening attention, and sufficient was done to prove the adaptedness of such publications as newspapers and magazines, when suitably illustrated, to excite perusal and convey information. Mr. Gutzlaff was the principal author of the six volumes which were printed, and it is to be hoped that the work will be revived in some shape, and greater efforts made to render it attractive and insure its circulation. An attempt was made, in fact, by Mr. Morrison, a short time before his lamented death, to establish a similar periodical called the Telescope, but only one number was issued.

The usefulness of such works in a country like China, as aids and precursors of the introduction of the Gospel, is very great. Among a less intelligent population they are not so important until the people get a taste for knowledge in schools; but where the conceit of false learning, and pride of literary attainments, cause such a contempt for all other than their own books, as is the case in Chinese society, entertaining narratives and notices of other people and lands, got up in an attractive form, tend to disabuse them of these ideas (the offspring of arrogant ignorance rather than deliberate rejection), and incite them to learn and read more. The influence of newspapers and other periodical literature will probably be very great among the Chinese, when they begin to think for themselves on the great truths and principles which are now being introduced among them; and such auxiliaries are in some degree necessary to supply proper mental aliment for students. It may, by some, be considered as not the

business of a missionary to edit a newspaper or publish a penny magazine, but those who are acquainted with the debased inertness of heathen mind know that any means, which will convey truth and arouse the people, tends to advance religion, since it stirs up their powers. The influence of the Dnyanodya in Bombay, and other kindred publications in various places in India, is great and good; hundreds of the people read them and then talk about the subjects treated in them, who would neither attend religious meetings, look at the Scriptures, nor have a tract in their possession. The same will be the case in China, and it is not irrelevant to the work of a missionary to adopt such a mode of imparting religious and useful truths, if it be the most likely way of reaching the prejudiced, proud, and ignorant people around him. When the native religious community has begun to take form, this mode of instruction and disputation had, of course, better be left to its most intelligent members.

Besides the Medical Missionary Society, and Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the foreign community in China established a third association, which originated entirely with a few of its own leading members. In Jan., 1835, soon after the death of Dr. Morrison, a paper was circulated among the foreign residents containing suggestions for the formation of an association to be called the Morrison Education Society, intended both as a testimonial of the worth and labors of that excellent man, more enduring than marble or brass, and a means of continuing his efforts for the good of China. A provisional committee was formed from among the subscribers to this paper, consisting of Sir G. B. Robinson, bart., Messrs. W. Jardine, D. W. C. Olyphant, Lancelot Dent, J. R. Morrison, and Rev. E. C. Bridgman; and $5977 were immediately subscribed, and about 1500 volumes of books presented to its library. This liberal spirit for the welfare of the people among whom they sojourned reflected the highest credit on the gentlemen interested in it, and the whole foreign community; inasmuch as, with only four or five exceptions, none of them were united to the country by other than temporary business relations.

The main objects of the Morrison Education Society were compendiously set forth in the Address read at the first meeting, in Oct., 1836, as being "the establishment and improvement of schools, in which Chinese youth shall be taught to read and write

the English language in connexion with their own, by which means shall be brought within their reach all the instruction requisite for their becoming wise, industrious, sober, and virtuous members of society, fitted in their respective stations of life to discharge well the duties which they owe to themselves, their kindred, their country, and their God." The desirableness of forming a library available not only for the scholars and teachers of the Society, but also for the foreign community, was adverted to in the address; the necessity of procuring competent teachers from England and the United States to conduct the schools was mentioned; the propriety of making extensive investigations into the Chinese modes of education and their efficiency was suggested; and the way in which something might be done by supporting lads in such schools as were already established, pointed out in this programme of labors, whose comprehensiveness was equalled only by its philanthropy. Applications were made for suitable teachers both in England and America; from the former, an answer was received that there was no likelihood of obtaining one; a person was selected in the latter, the Rev. S. R. Brown, who with his wife arrived at Macao in Feb., 1839. In the interval between the formation of the Society, and the time when its operations assumed a definite shape in its own schools, something was done in collecting information concerning native education, and in supporting a few boys, or assisting Mrs. Gutzlaff's school at Macao. Mr. Brown applied himself for the first few months to the study of the language, and the school was not opened till Nov., 1839, with six scholars. It was carried on in Macao until 1842, when by the liberal benefaction of $3000 from its president, Lancelot Dent, a commodious school-house was erected in Hongkong, on a site granted for the purpose by his excellency Sir Henry Pottinger, and the school removed to it in November.

From the seventh Annual Report presented to the Society in September, 1845, by Mr. Brown, it appears that there were then thirty pupils in the school, which were as many as could be accommodated. When it was opened, the parents were, in many cases, apprehensive lest there was a sinister underhand motive in thus asking for their children, to freely support and educate them, and some obstinately removed their children, before they had been long enough under instruction to derive any permanent benefit from their studies. In this report it is mentioned as a gratifying

evidence of advance in confidence on their part, that no parent had asked to have his child leave during the year. "When the school was commenced," observes Mr. Brown, "few offered their sons as pupils, and even they, as some of them have since told me, did it with a good deal of apprehension as to the consequences. 'We could not understand,' says one who first brought a boy to the school, 'why a foreigner should wish to feed and instruct our children for nothing. We thought there must be some sinister motive at the bottom of it. Perhaps it was to entice them away from their parents and country, and transport them by and by to some foreign land.' At all events, it was a mystery. 'But now,' said the same father to me a few weeks go, 'I understand it. I have had my three sons in your school steadily since they entered it, and no harm has happened to them. The eldest has been qualified for service as an interpreter. The other two have learned nothing bad. The religion you have taught them, and of which I was so much afraid, has made them better. I myself believe its truth, though the customs of my country forbid my embracing it. I have no longer any fear; you labor for others' good, not your own. I understand it now.'"

It is not necessary to particularize the modes of conducting the school, for it is much the same as in similar institutions elsewhere, when placed under the supervision of teachers who wish to train minds for high usefulness and efficiency here, and show them the way of obtaining happiness hereafter. The Bible has always been taught; but no prominent effort has been made to show the pupils the folly or sin of idolatry, and none has been necessary; they have abandoned all outer observances of its rites almost of their own accord. The school has always had the appearance of a Christian school. The lads vary from ten to sixteen years of age, and are mostly from the middle walks of life; they study English and Chinese equally, but make much greater progress in the former than the latter, partly because of the greater facilities for reading and speaking it after a few months' study has enabled them to understand simple books and conversation in it, and partly because most of the school-books are entirely in English. The greater progress in knowledge made in the foreign language than in his own, also inclines a youth to take more pleasure in it, and some difficulty is found to bring him to *like* the thorough study of his national classics.

However, mention is made in this report of a lad, employed a year and a half in the service of the British consulate at Shanghai as interpreter and clerk, who had been in the school about four years, and had learned the two languages so well that he was able to translate to and from them both. Chinese boys are able to make as high attainments in knowledge and mental discipline as any Asiatics; indeed, Mr. Brown, who is well able to form an opinion, places them nearly on an equality with the common run of boys in Christian lands.

The attachment of the boys to their teacher has often been manifested. One instance is taken from the fourth Report. "Last spring, the father of one in the older class came to the house, and told his son that he could not let him remain here any longer, but that he must put him out to service and make him earn something. His father is a poor miserable man, besotted by the use of opium, and has sold his two daughters into slavery to raise money. The boy ran away to his instructor, and told him what his father had said, adding, 'I cannot go.' Willing to ascertain the sincerity of the boy, and the strength of his attachment to his friends, his teacher coolly replied, 'Perhaps it will be well for you to go, for probably you could be a table-boy in some gentleman's house, and so get $2 a month, which is two more than you get here, where only your food is given you.' The little fellow looked at him steadily while he made these remarks, as if amazed at the strange language he used, and when he had done, turned hastily about and burst into tears, exclaiming, 'I cannot go; if I go away from this school I shall be lost.' He did not leave, for his father did not wish to force him away."

Another case is cited from the seventh Report, to show the confidence of a parent, on occasion of the death of one of the pupils, his only child. "He heard of his son's illness too late to arrive before he died, and when he came it was to bury his remains. He was naturally overwhelmed with grief at the affliction that had come upon him, and his apprehensions of the effect of the tidings upon the boy's mother were gloomy enough. After the funeral was over, I conversed with him. To my surprise he made not the least complaint as to what had been done for the sick lad, either in the way of medical treatment or otherwise, but expressed many thanks for the kind and assiduous attentions that had been bestowed upon him. He said he had

entertained great hope of his son's future usefulness, and in order to promote it had placed him here at school. But now his family would end in himself. I showed him some specimens of his son's drawing, an amusement of which he was particularly fond. The tears gushed faster as his eyes rested on these evidences of his son's skill. 'Do not show them to me,' said he; 'it is too much. I cannot speak now. I know you have done well to my son. I pity *you*, for all your labor is lost.' I assured him I did not think so. He had been a very diligent and obedient learner, and had won the esteem of his teachers and companions. He had been taught concerning the true God and the way of salvation; and it might have done him everlasting good. As the old man was leaving me, he turned and asked if, in case he should adopt another boy, I would receive him as a pupil, to which I replied in the affirmative."

An assistant teacher, Mr. Wm. A. Macy, arrived from the United States in February, 1846, and is now engaged in the same useful, laborious work, which these reports so well describe. The design of the trustees is to enlarge the accommodations so that the number of pupils can be doubled, and it is to be hoped they will be sustained in their laudable intentions. It is likely, too, that other schools will soon be established by missionaries, in the various ports now open to Christian labors, both male and female, which will extend the work so well begun by the Morrison Education Society. Some have already been commenced, and bid fair to prove like blessings.

The efforts of Protestants for the evangelization of China were, for the most part, of a preparatory nature until the year 1842. Most of the laborers were stationed in the settlements out of China, and those in the empire itself were unable to pursue their designs without so many interruptions and embarrassments as to seriously impair the influence of their instructions. Mrs. Gutzlaff experienced so many obstacles in her endeavors to collect a school at Macao, partly from the fears of the parents and the harassing inquiries of the police, the latter of which naturally increased the former; and partly from the short period the parents were willing to allow their children to remain, that the attempt was given up. Preaching and distribution of tracts were carried on to some extent in and around Macao, but when the Chinese authorities had their attention directed to it, they

stopped their public operations by requiring the Portuguese authorities to prohibit all attempts to diffuse seditious doctrines within the settlement. The Portuguese clergy and government of Macao have done nothing themselves to impede Protestant missionaries in their labors in the colony since 1833, when the governor ordered the Albion press, belonging to Dr. Morrison's son, to be stopped, on account of his publishing a religious newspaper called the Miscellanea Sinicæ; and this he was encouraged to do, from knowing that the E. I. Company was opposed to its continuance. The governor intimated to one of the American missionaries in 1839, that no tracts must be distributed or public congregations gathered, but no objection would be made to audiences collected in his own house for instruction. No obstacle was, however, put in the way of printing, and the press that was interdicted in 1833 was carried back to Macao in 1835, under the direction of the American mission. Most of the Chinese printing for this mission was done at Singapore until 1842, it being considered unwise to again commence extensive operations of this sort where the workmen were liable to be seized or jeoparded, and the blocks and books lost.

The city of Canton is one of the most unpromising fields for missionary labors now open, arising in a degree from the turbulent populace; their inclination for riot and plunder is stirred up by demagogues, who make use of the opium traffic, the war with England, the supposed underhand designs of foreigners, and other similar causes, to excite their passions, and incite them to attack and plunder the factories or their inmates when opportunity offers. Long usage and example of their rulers have made the natives of that city accustomed to call foreigners by opprobrious epithets, and treat them contemptuously, not even deserving ordinary civility; they are disinclined, too, to have them erect houses, and live elsewhere than in the small circuit of the factories. Something has been done in the way of teaching them, and more is now attempting. Audiences are collected on the Sabbath and at other times, both at the Ophthalmic hospital and at the houses of the missionaries, and books are distributed in the streets and among the boats on the river, accompanied more or less with explanation and instruction. A Christian church was formed at Canton in 1835, the first Protestant one in China. Since Dr. Bridgman's arrival in 1830, this work has

been carried on, more or less, with the exception of about three years, and is now prosecuted with greater vigor by the agents of two or three missionary societies.

The following extract exhibits the freedom with which the hospital is now used as a means of making known the Gospel at Canton, where ten years before it was deemed inexpedient to distribute books or hold religious services, lest the whole establishment should be shut up. "The average attendance of Chinese has been over a hundred, and none have been more respectful and cordial in their attention than those in whom aneurism has been cured or sight restored, from whom the tumor has been extirpated, or the stone extracted. These services must be witnessed to understand fully their interest. Deep emotions have been awakened when contrasting the restrictions of the first years of Protestant missions in China with the present freedom. Then, not permitted to avow our missionary character and object lest it might eject us from the country; nor could a Chinese receive a Christian book but at the peril of his safety, or embrace that religion without hazarding his life. Now, he may receive and practise the doctrines of Christ, and transgress no law of the empire. Our interest may be more easily conceived than expressed, as we have declared the truths of the Gospel; or when looking upon the evangelist Liang Afah, and thought of him fleeing for his life, and long banished from his native land, and now returned to declare boldly the truths of the Gospel in the city from which he had fled. Well did he call upon his audience to worship and give thanks to the God of heaven and earth for what he had done for them. With happy effect he dwelt upon the Savior's life and example, and pointing to the paintings suspended on the walls of the room, informed his auditors that these were performed by his blessing, and in conformity to his precepts and example. Portions of the Scriptures and religious tracts are given to all the hearers on the Sabbath, and likewise to all the patients during the week, so that thousands of volumes have been sent forth from the hospital to scores of villages and to distant provinces."

The island of Hongkong, about 40 miles east of Macao, was occupied as a missionary station very soon after it was taken possession of in 1841, by Rev. I. J. Roberts of the Baptist mission. His coadjutor, Mr. Shuck, removed thither from Macao in the same year, and with the aid of the foreign community, which

has ever been ready to respond to calls of a benevolent character, erected a chapel and mission house in the settlement. The Morrison Education Society, and a hospital under the care of the Medical Missionary Society, with the school and mission of the London Missionary Society, are also at present located there. The latter has a fine chapel, where religious services are conducted in two languages. A native assistant, Tsin Shen, educated at Malacca, was recently licensed as a preacher. The population of Hongkong is still unsettled, and several dialects are spoken among them. A few converts have been baptized, and preaching is regularly conducted by both foreign and native preachers to orderly and attentive congregations of from fifty to a hundred and more people. Chinese audiences are usually decorous, and listen without interrupting the speaker, even when there is some reason to suppose they do not clearly understand what is said.

The mission at Amoy was commenced in 1842 by Rev. Messrs. Abeel and Boone under the most favorable auspices. The English expedition took that city in August, 1841, and on leaving it, stationed a small naval and military force on the island of Kulang su. The people of Amoy and its environs cared perhaps little for the merits of the war then raging, but they knew that they had suffered much from it, and no interpreters were available to carry on communication between the two parties. Both these gentlemen could converse in the local dialect, and were soon applied to by many desirous of learning something of the foreigners, or who had business with them. The Chinese authorities in Amoy were much pleased to obtain the aid of competent interpreters, and although these duties have long since devolved upon others, the good opinion of these dignitaries has continued, and exercised considerable influence in inducing the people to attend upon the ministrations of the missionaries and receive their books without fear. Both officers and private gentlemen invited them to their residences, where they had opportunity to answer their reasonable inquiries concerning foreign lands and customs, and convey an outline of the Christian faith. The number of books given away was not great, but part of every day was spent in talking with the people; and when the hospital was opened by Doct. Cumming in July, still greater facilities were afforded for doing good. Mr. McBryde joined them for a while in 1842, Doct.

Hepburn in 1843, Rev. Messrs. Stronach, Young, Pohlman, and Doty in 1844; and several others since then. By all these brethren, part of whom have since left, the work of diffusing gospel truth has been carried on without interruption, both in the hospital and at the regular Sabbath services, and among the neighboring villages.

The mission at Amoy has been much afflicted with sickness and death among its members since its formation; Mrs. Boone died within three months after her arrival in 1842, and all the other members were sick more or less during that summer of the prevailing fever. Mr. and Mrs. McBryde left from ill health in January, 1843; and Dr. Abeel and Doct. and Mrs. Hepburn in 1845. Mrs. Pohlman and Mrs. Doty died at Amoy in that year, and Mrs. Stronach on her way to England, and Dr. Abeel in 1846. Still, laborers have been constantly on the spot, and the work so pleasantly begun in 1842 has been continued without interruption. Two persons were baptized in 1846; and the courtesy of the officers, and the general goodwill and attendance of the people, augur favorably. On a recent occasion, the governor-general of the provinces of Fuhkien and Chehkiang was at Amoy, and treated the missionaries with great attention in the presence of crowds of people assembled like them to see him.

Fuhchau fu has not been so much frequented by foreign shipping as the other ports, and consequently fewer opportunities have offered for visiting it. No Protestant missionary took up his residence there until 1846, but the Rev. George Smith spent several weeks in exploring the city in 1845; three societies have their agents there at present, whose knowledge of the language is still partial. Its position on the river Min, and its importance as the provincial capital, render it a desirable location for a missionary station. The Romanists have many converts in the part of the province lying between Fuhchau and Amoy, many of whom resorted to the hospitals and received religious books.

The first missionary efforts north of Canton of a permanent nature were made in 1840 by Doct. Lockhart, in the establishment of a hospital at Tinghai. They were resumed by Rev. Mr. Milne, in 1842, and while the island of Chusan was under the control of the British troops, efforts were made to instruct the people. Mr. Gutzlaff was appointed Chinese magistrate of Tinghai in 1842, and during the time he held that office endeavored

to hold meetings. Mr. Milne left Ningpo in June, 1843, and came to Hongkong overland through the provinces of Chehkiang, Kiangsí, and Kwangtung, dressed in a native costume. The journey was the first ever taken in this manner by a Protestant, and was performed without detection; it showed, however, that while short trips might be made without the aid of native converts and friends in the interior, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to establish a permanent mission. When missions at the five ports are fully supplied, and there are men to spare for these trips and experiments, it will be time to try whether a mission cannot be fixed among the people in the interior.

After Mr. Milne's departure from Ningpo, some time elapsed before his place was supplied. The journal of his residence indicates a great willingness on the part of people of all ranks to cultivate intercourse with such foreigners as could converse freely with them. Doctors Macgowan and McCarty went there in 1844 to open a hospital, and were followed during the next year by Rev. Messrs. Lowrie, Culbertson, and Loomis, and Mr. Cole with a printing-office of English and Chinese type, and a type-foundry. Mr. Loomis resided at Tinghai until it was re-occupied by the Chinese authorities, when he was compelled to remove to Ningpo. Religious services are held at the hospitals in that city, and Doct. Macgowan in his report says, "each patient is exhorted to renounce all idolatry and wickedness, and to embrace the religion of the Savior. They are admitted by tens into the prescribing room, and before being dismissed are addressed by the physician and the native Christian assistant on the subject of religion. Tracts are given to all who are able to read." The more such labors are carried on, the better will the prospect of peace and a profitable intercourse between China and western nations become; the more the people of that vast empire learn of the science and resources, the character and designs, and partake of the religion and benevolence, of western nations, the less chance will there be of collisions, and the more each party will respect the other. The fear is, however, that the disruptive and disorganizing influences will preponderate over the peaceful, and precipitate new outbreaks before these influences obtain much hold upon the Chinese.

The mission to Shanghai, like those at Amoy and Ningpo, was commenced favorably soon after the treaty of peace in 1842.

Doct. Lockhart early opened a hospital, and in the second report of its operations, from May, 1844, to June, 1845, he states, that 10,978 patients had been attended to in fourteen months. One effect of the opening of the institution at this city was, to incite the inhabitants to open a dispensary during four summer months, for the gratuitous relief of the sick. It was called Shí Í Kung-kiuh, or Public Establishment for Dispensing Healing. "It was attended by eight or nine native practitioners, who saw the patients once in five days; this attendance was gratuitous on the part of some of them, and was paid for in the case of others. The medicines are supplied from the different apothecary shops, one furnishing all that is wanted during one day, which is paid for by subscriptions to the dispensary. The patients vary from 300 to 500. The reason given for the recent establishment of this dispensary for relieving the sick is, that it has been done by a foreigner who came to reside at the place, and therefore some of the wealthy natives wished to show their benevolence in the same way." Such a spirit speaks well for the inhabitants of Shanghai, for nothing like competition in doing good has ever been started elsewhere, nor even a public acknowledgment made of the benefits conferred by the hospitals.

Rev. Dr. Medhurst joined Doct. Lockhart in 1844, bringing full machinery with him for the manufacture of books. During the voyage made by Messrs. Medhurst and Stevens, in 1835, in the Huron, they visited Shanghai, and the account of their adventures is detailed in their journals. An abstract of Mr. Medhurst's interview with the officers of the place, on that occasion, is taken from his journal. He had already been invited by them to enter a temple hard by the landing-place, to the end that they might learn the object of the visit, and was conversing with them.

"The party was now joined by another officer named Chin, a hearty, rough-looking man, with a keen eye, and a voluble tongue. He immediately took the lead in the conversation, and asked whether we had not been in Shantung, and had communication with some great officers there? He inquired after Messrs. Lindsay and Gutzlaff, and wished to know whither we intended to proceed. I told him these gentlemen were well; but we could hardly tell where we should go, quoting a Chinese proverb, 'We know not to-day what will take place to-morrow.' But, I continued, as your native conjurors are reckoned very clever, they may perhaps be able to tell you. 'I am conjuror enough for that,' said Chin, 'but what

is your profession?' I told him that I was a teacher of religion. . . After a little time, a great noise was heard outside, and the arrival of the chief magistrate of the city was announced, when several officers came in, and requested me to go and see his worship. He appeared to be a middle-aged man, but assumed a stern aspect as I entered, though I paid him the usual compliments, and took my seat in a chair placed opposite. This disconcerted him much, and as soon as he could recover himself from the surprise at seeing a barbarian seated in his presence, he ordered me to come near and stand before him; while all the officers called out, 'Rise! Rise!' I arose accordingly, and asked, whether I could not be allowed to sit at the conference, and as he refused, I bowed, and left the room. I was soon followed by Chin and Wang, who tried every effort to persuade me to return; this, however, I steadfastly refused to do, unless I could be allowed to sit, as others of my countrymen had done in like circumstances. . . . . .

"Having been joined by Mr. Stevens (who had been distributing books among the crowd without), we proceeded to converse more familiarly, and to deliver out books to the officers and their attendants, as well as to some strangers that were present, till they were all gone. A list of such provisions as were wanted had been given to Wang, whom we requested to purchase them for us, and we would pay for them. By this time the articles were brought in, which they offered to give us as a present, and seeing that there was no other way of settling the question, we resolved to accept of the articles, and send them something in return. The rain having moderated, we arose to take a walk, and proceeded towards the boat, where the sailors were busy eating their dinner. Wishing to enter the city, we turned off in that direction, but were stopped by the officers and their attendants, and reluctantly returned to the temple. After another hour's conversation, and partaking of refreshments with the officers, they departed. On the steps near the boat, we observed a basket nearly full of straw, and on the top about half a dozen books torn in pieces and about to be burnt. On inquiry, they told us that these were a few that had been torn in the scuffle, and in order to prevent their being trodden under foot they were about to burn them. Recollecting, however, that Chin had told his servant to do something with the books he had received, it now occurred to us that he had directed them to be burned in our presence. On the torch being applied, therefore, we took the presents which were lying by and threw them on the fire, which put it out. The policeman, taking off the articles, applied the torch again, whilst we repeated the former operation; to show them, that if they despised our presents, we also disregarded theirs. Finally, the basket was thrown into the river, and we left, much displeased at this insulting conduct."*

* China; Its State and Prospects, pp. 371—377; Chinese Repository Vol. IV., pp. 330, 331.

How great the contrast now! Doct. Lockhart says, in his report of the hospital for 1845, that "Mr. Medhurst has kindly attended three times a week, and addressed the patients on the leading doctrines of Christianity, and it is very pleasing to see the marked attention with which they listen to the exhortations made to them." He has also taken an excursion into the country in a hired boat, and returned after four months, without any molestation. In 1845, Bishop Boone, formerly stationed at Amoy, arrived from America, accompanied by several fellow laborers, of whom two female teachers have opened a girls' school. The London Missionary Society has also reinforced its missions at this important place; and Rev. Mr. McClatchie, of the Church Missionary Society, has recently settled there. Bishop Boone has baptized one convert, and the attendance on the public services of all the missionaries is highly encouraging. The courteous treatment they, and all foreigners generally, receive from the inhabitants, stands in strong contrast with the insults and restrictions experienced at Canton.

The consequences of the introduction of the Gospel into China are likely to be the same that they have been elsewhere, in stirring up private and public opposition to what is so opposed to the depravity of the human heart. There are some grounds for hoping, that there will not be much systematic opposition from the imperial government when once the chiefs of the nation learn the popular sentiments and will. The principal reasons for entertaining the hope that China is to be evangelized without the terrible convulsions which attended the Reformation, are found in the character of the people, who are not cruel, or disposed to take life for opinions, when those opinions are held by numbers of respectable and intelligent men. The fact, that the officers of government all spring from the body of the people, and that these dignitaries are neither governed nor influenced by any state hierarchy—by any body of priestly men, who, feeling that the progress of the new faith will cause the loss of their influence and position, are determined to use the power of the state to put it down, leads us to hope, that such officers as may adopt the new faith will not, on account of their profession, be banished or disgraced. Such was the case with Siu, who assisted and countenanced Ricci. The general character of the Chinese is irreli-
gious, and they care much more for money and power than they

do for religious ceremonies of any kind ; they would never lose a battle as the Egyptians did, because the Persians placed cats between the armies. There are no ceremonies which they consider so binding as to be willing to fight for them, and persecute others for omitting, except those pertaining to ancestral worship; and these are of so domestic a nature, that thousands of converts might discard them before much would be known or done by the people in relation to the matter. The conscientious Christian magistrate would be somewhat obnoxious to his master, and liable to be removed, for refusing to perform his functions at the *ching-hwang miau*, before the tutelar gods of the empire. These and other reasons, growing out of the character of the people, and the nature of their political and religious institutions, lead to the hope, that the leaven of truth will permeate the mass of society, and renovate, purify, and strengthen it, without weakening, disorganizing, or destroying the government. There are, also, some causes to fear that such will not be the case, arising from the ignorance of the people of the proper results of Christian doctrines; from a dread of the government respecting its own stability from foreign aggression ; from the natural consequences of the smuggling trade in opium, and the drainage of the precious metals ; and from the disturbing effects of the intercourse with unscrupulous foreigners and irritated natives often leading to riots and the interference of governmental authorities.

That the government at present is inclined to allow the introduction of Christianity, so far as they know its character, is evident from the following rescript to the memorial of Kiying.

"Kiying, imperial commissioner, minister of state, and governor-general of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, respectfully addresses the throne by memorial.

"On examination it appears, that the religion of the Lord of heaven is that professed by all the nations of the west; that its main object is to encourage the good and suppress the wicked; that, since its introduction to China during the Ming dynasty, it has never been interdicted; that subsequently, when Chinese, practising this religion, often made it a covert for wickedness, even to the seducing of wives and daughters, and to the deceitful extraction of the pupils from the eyes of the sick,* go-

* This is thus explained by a Chinese. "It is a custom with the priests who teach this religion, when a man is about to die, to take a handful of cotton, having concealed within it a sharp needle, and then, while rubbing

vernment made investigation and inflicted punishment, as is on record; and that in the reign of Kiaking, special clauses were first laid down for the punishment of the guilty. The prohibition, therefore, was directed against evil-doing under the covert of religion, and not against the religion professed by the western foreign nations.

"Now the request of the French ambassador, Lagrené, that those Chinese who, doing well, practise this religion, be exempt from criminality, seems feasible. It is right therefore to make the request, and earnestly to crave celestial favor, to grant that, henceforth, all natives and foreigners without distinction, who learn and practise the religion of the Lord of heaven, and do not excite trouble by improper conduct, be exempted from criminality. If there be any who seduce wives and daughters, or deceitfully take the pupils from the eyes of the sick, walking in their former paths, or are otherwise guilty of criminal acts, let them be dealt with according to the old laws. As to those of the French and other foreign nations, who practise the religion, let them only be permitted to build churches at the five ports opened for commercial intercourse. They must not presume to enter the country to propagate religion. Should any act in opposition, turn their backs upon the treaties, and rashly overstep the boundaries, the local officers will at once seize and deliver them to their respective consuls for restraint and correction. Capital punishment is not to be rashly inflicted, in order that the exercise of gentleness may be displayed. Thus, peradventure, the good and the profligate will not be blended, while the equity of mild laws will be exhibited.

"This request, that well-doers practising the religion may be exempt from criminality, I (the commissioner), in accordance with reason and bounden duty, respectfully lay before the throne, earnestly praying the august emperor graciously to grant that it may be carried into effect. A respectful memorial.

"Taukwang, 24th year, 11th month, 19th day (Dec. 28th, 1844), was received the vermilion reply: 'Let it be according to the counsel [of Kí-ying].' This is from the emperor."—*Chi. Rep.* Vol. XIV., p. 195.

This paper grants toleration to the Christians already in the country, known for two centuries by the term *Tien Chu kiau*, or religion of the Lord of heaven, and referring only to those persons who profess Catholicism. It was obtained at the instance of the French ambassador to China, M. de Lagrené, who deserves the thanks of all those interested in the progress of Christianity

the individual's eyes with the cotton, to introduce the needle into the eye and puncture the pupil with it; the humors of the pupil saturate the cotton and are afterwards used as a medicine." This foolish idea has its origin in the extreme unction administered by Catholic priests to the dying.

for having brought the matter before the imperial officers. Subsequently, H. E. the French minister was asked to state whether in making this request of the Chinese officers he intended to include Christians of all sects, as there had been some doubts on that point. He therefore brought the subject again before Kíying, who issued the following explanatory order. It appears in the form of a communication to the American consul at Canton, and seems to grant as extensive toleration to all Christian sects as the Chinese commissioner was able to do from his knowledge of the differences between them.

"Kíying, of the imperial house, governor-general of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, a director of the Board of War, a vice high chancellor, vice guardian of the heir apparent, minister and commissioner extraordinary of the empire, makes this communication:

"A dispatch has been received from the French commissioner Lagrené, in which the following appears: 'Formerly, in requesting that a memorial might be laid before the throne for removing the prohibitions against the religion of the Lord of heaven, it was my original design that all persons professing this religion and acting well, should alike share the imperial favor, and that the great western nations should all as one be held blameless in the practice thereof. The religious customs referred to on a previous occasion, were those of my own nation; yet if persons of other nations did not entirely conform to these, still there was to be no distinction, no obstruction,—thus showing great magnanimity.'

"Now I find that, in the first place, when the regulations for free trade were agreed upon, there was an article allowing the erection of churches at the five ports. This same privilege was to extend to all nations; there were to be no distinctions. Subsequently the commissioner Lagrené requested that the Chinese, who acting well practised this religion, should equally be held blameless. Accordingly, I made a representation of the case to the throne, by memorial, and received the imperial consent thereto. After this, however, local magistrates having made improper seizures, taking and destroying crosses, pictures, and images, further deliberations were held, and it was agreed that these [crosses, &c.] might be reverenced. Originally I did not know that there were, among the nations, these differences in their religious practices. Now with regard to the religion of the Lord of heaven—no matter whether the crosses, pictures, and images be reverenced or be not reverenced, all, who acting well, practise it, ought to be held blameless. All the great western nations being placed on an equal footing, only let them by acting well practise their religion, and China will in no way prohibit or impede their so doing. Whether their customs be alike or unlike, certainly it is right that there should be no distinction and no obstruction.

"As it behooves me, I make this communication. On its reaching the said consul, he will easily comprehend it."—*Dec. 22d*, 1845.

The sentence in this document which speaks of local magistrates making improper seizures probably refers to something which had occurred in the country. At Shanghai, the intendant of circuit issued a proclamation in Nov. 1845, based upon the emperor's rescript, in which he defines the *Tien Chu kiau* "to consist in periodically assembling for unitedly worshipping the Lord of heaven, in respecting and venerating the cross, with pictures and images, as well as in reading aloud the works of the said religion; these are customs of the said religion in question, and practices not in accordance with these cannot be considered as the religion of the Lord of heaven." The various associations and sects found throughout China, and which are an annoyance to the government and well disposed people, are referred to and excepted against in this proclamation, for it cannot be supposed that the emperor or his statesmen have any accurate knowledge of the nature of true Christianity, and have not consequently forbidden what they were mainly ignorant of. The whole body of officers are suspicious of combinations, and they will probably take action against Christianity first on account of its bringing people together in assemblies, and making them familiar with united power and action.

The last act of the imperial government thus far is contained in a decree received by Kíying at Canton, Feb. 20th, 1846, relating to the restoration of the houses belonging to Romanists.

"On a former occasion Kíying and others laid before Us a memorial, requesting immunity from punishment for those who doing well profess the religion of heaven's Lord; and that those who erect churches, assemble together for worship, venerate the cross and pictures and images, read and explain sacred books, be not prohibited from so doing. This was granted. The religion of the Lord of heaven, instructing and guiding men in well-doing, differs widely from the heterodox and illicit sects; and the toleration thereof has already been allowed. That which has been requested on a subsequent occasion, it is right in like manner to grant.

"Let all the ancient houses throughout the provinces, which were built in the reign of Kanghí, and have been preserved to the present time, and which, on personal examination by proper authorities, are clearly found to be their *bona fide* possessions, be restored to the professors of

this religion in their respective places, excepting only those churches which have been converted into temples and dwelling-houses for the people.

"If, after the promulgation of this decree throughout the provinces, the local officers irregularly prosecute and seize any of the professors of the religion of the Lord of heaven, who are not bandits, upon all such the just penalties of the law shall be meted out.

"If any, under a profession of this religion, do evil, or congregate people from distant towns, seducing and binding them together; or if any other sect or bandits, borrowing the name of the religion of the Lord of heaven, create disturbances, transgress the laws, or excite rebellion, they shall be punished according to their respective crimes, each being dealt with as the existing statutes of the empire direct.

"Also, in order to make apparent the proper distinctions, foreigners of every nation are, in accordance with existing regulations, prohibited from going into the country to propagate religion.

"For these purposes this decree is given. Cause it to be made known. From the emperor."*

The last sentence shows that the Chinese government has not intended, by these concessions to its own subjects, to allow foreigners to enter to teach them and form communities; but it is also quite well aware of the impossibility of preventing them doing so, and has perhaps added this with some reference to the future probability there might be of deporting them. In any point of view, however, these concessions are remarkable, and the favor of God should be acknowledged in them. Although the existence of a distinct community of persons, professing to obey only the requirements of the Bible, who worship no images or tablets, and have merely a simple ceremonial, is not known in China to any extent, still these papers permit enough to enable the native Protestant to appeal to them in defence of his faith. They will aid not a little, moreover, in removing the apprehensions of the people in regard to attending meetings and receiving books. The feelings of all the Romish missionaries, at the removal of the many disabilities under which they had long lived, were expressed by the bishop of Shantung in an encyclical letter to his people, in which he exhorts them to "maintain and diligently learn the holy religion. . . . Let them also pray that the holy religion may be greatly promoted, remembering that the kind considera-

* Chinese Repository, Vol. XV., p. 155, where the original is given.

tion of the emperor towards our holy religion springs entirely from the favor of the Lord of heaven. After the reception of this order, let thanks be offered up to God for his mercies in the churches, for three Lord's days in succession. While the faithful rejoice in this extraordinary favor, let Ave Marias be recited to display grateful feelings."

The subject of the thorough revision of the Chinese Bible had long occupied the thoughts of those best acquainted with the need of such a work; and at the meeting of the English missionaries at Hongkong in 1843, a general conference of all Protestant missionaries was called to take measures for the preparation of so desirable a work. The version of Morrison and Milne was acknowledged by themselves to be imperfect, and Dr. Morrison had begun some corrections in it before his death. Messrs. Medhurst, Gutzlaff, Bridgman, and Morrison, had united their labors in 1835, in revising the New Testament, aud published it in 1836; but it did not altogether suit the brethren in Malacca, and some hesitation was naturally felt by the Bible societies in England and America in granting funds for a version which had not received the approbation of all parties. Mr. Gutzlaff has since issued a second edition containing some corrections of his own.

The greatest harmony existed at this meeting, and the books of the New Testament were distributed in various portions among the missionaries at the several stations without regard to denomination. The only point on which any discussion arose was the best word for *baptism;* and after considerable friendly discussion, it was agreed that the version should be made and then accepted by all parties at a subsequent general meeting, and the Baptists afterwards use what word they pleased in their version, while the two should be in other respects alike. The term *sí lí*, which had been in use to denote this rite since the days of Ricci, by Romanists of all opinions, had been taken by Morrison and Medhurst, and by those associated with them. Marshman preferred another word, *tsan*, which was so unusual that it would almost always require explanation; and in fact, could only be fully explained by the ceremony itself. Some of the American Baptist missionaries have taken Marshman's term, and others have proposed a third one, *yuh*. The adjustment of this question on the plan agreed upon in 1843 cannot fail to satisfy all, while the greater point of having a uniform text for the Chinese is nearly or quite

attained; for whatever word or term is used, its explanation will be given in its practice by all parties. The Baptist Bible Society in the United States has, however, refused to coöperate in this arrangement, and requires its funds to be devoted to a separate version. It is expected that some parts of the new version will soon be agreed upon by those engaged in it, and before many years all the Bible be given to the Chinese as the only guide of their faith and practice.

The following list of all Protestants known to have been, or who are now engaged in the work of missions among the Chinese, is compiled from the best sources within reach. About three-fourths of them have been married. The influence and labors of female missionaries in China is, from the constitution of society in that country, likely to be the only, or principal means of reaching their sex for a long time to come, and it is desirable, therefore, that they should engage in the work by learning the language, and making the acquaintance of the families around them. No nation can be elevated, or Christian institutions placed upon a permanent basis, until females are taught their rightful place as the companions of men, and can teach their children the duties they owe to their God, themselves, and their country. Female schools are the necessary complement of boys', and a heathen wife soon carries a man back to idolatry, if he is only intellectually convinced of the truths of Christianity. The comparatively high estimation the Chinese place upon female education is an encouragement to multiply girls' schools.

The total number of names in the list is 112, in addition to which are four Germans from the Rhenish Missionary Society, whose names we have been unable to obtain. Of the entire number, 35 are from England, 73 from the United States, and 8 from Germany; one of them, W. H. Cumming, M. D., is not connected with any society, and two of them, under the patronage of the Morrison Education Society, are supported in China. Fourteen of the whole have died, three of them by accidents, the average of whose missionary lives was about seven years. The average length of labor of those who returned is $4\frac{2}{3}$ years; the number engaged at present is 68 men, of whom 55 are clergymen and 13 physicians, printers, and teachers; and about 35 females, four or five of whom are unmarried.

LIST OF MISSIONARIES SENT TO THE CHINESE BY PROTESTANT SOCIETIES.

NAMES.	ARRIVED.	RETIRED.	DIED.	NAME OF THE SOCIETY.	STATION.
Robert Morrison, D.D.,	1807		1834	Lon. M. S.	Canton.
William Milne, D.D.,	1813		1821	"	Principal of college, Malacca.
Walter H. Medhurst, D.D.,	1817			"	Batavia, Shanghai.
Rev. John Slater,	1817	1823		"	Batavia.
Rev. John Ince,	1818		1825	"	Penang; drowned.
Rev. Samuel Milton,	1818	1825		"	Singapore.
Rev. Robert Fleming,	1820	1823		"	Malacca.
Rev. James Humphreys,	1822	1830		"	Principal of college, Malacca.
Rev. David Collie,	1822		1828	"	Principal of college, Malacca.
Rev. Samuel Kidd,	1824	1832		"	Malacca.
Rev. John Smith,	1826	1829		"	Malacca.
Rev. Jacob Tomlin,	1826	1836		"	Singapore.
Rev. Samuel Dyer,	1827		1843	"	Penang, Singapore.
Rev. Charles Gutzlaff,	1827	1834		Neth. M. S.	Siam, China.
E. C. Bridgman, D.D.,	1829			A. B. C. F. M.	Canton.
David Abeel, D.D.,	1830		1846	"	Siam, Amoy.
Rev. Herman Rötger,	1832	1845		Rhen. M. S.	Rhio, near Singapore.
Rev. John Evans,	1833		1841	Lon. M. S.	Principal of college, Malacca.
Rev. Ira Tracy,	1833	1841		A. B. C. F. M.	Singapore.
S. Wells Williams,	1833			"	Canton, Macao.
Rev. Stephen Johnson,	1833			"	Bangkok, Fuhchau.
Rev. Samuel Munson,	1833		1834	"	Indian Archipelago; killed.
Rev. Peter Parker, M.D.,	1834	1847		"	Canton.
Rev. William Dean,	1834			A. B. B. F. M.	Bangkok, Hongkong.
Rev. Edwin Stevens,	1835		1837	A. B. C. F. M.	Canton; died at Singapore.
Rev. Henry Lockwood,	1835	1838		A. E. B. F. M.	Batavia.
Rev. Francis R. Hanson,	1835	1837		"	Batavia.
Rev. —— Wurth,	1835	1842		Rhen. M. S.	Malacca.
Rev. Evan Davies,	1835	1839		Lon. M. S.	Penang. [ga.
Rev. Samuel Wolfe,	1835		1837	"	Singapore; died at Zamboan-
Rev. J. L. Shuck,	1836			A. B. B. F. M.	Macao, Shanghai.
Rev. Alanson Reed,	1836		1837	"	Bangkok.
Rev. I. J. Roberts,	1836			"	Macao, Canton.
Rev. James T. Dickinson,	1837	1840		A. B. C. F. M.	Singapore.
Rev. M. B. Hope, M.D.,	1837	1838		"	Singapore.
Stephen Tracy, M.D.,	1837	1839		"	Singapore, Bangkok.
Rev. Elihu Doty,	1837			"	Borneo, Amoy.
Rev. Elbert Nevius,	1837	1841		"	Borneo, Batavia.
Rt. Rev. W. J. Boone, D.D.,	1837			A. E. B. F. M.	Batavia, Shanghai.
Rev. —— Baker,	1837	1842		Rhen. M. S.	Malacca.
Rev. Alexander Stronach,	1837			Lon. M. S.	Penang, Singapore, Amoy
Rev. John Stronach,	1837			"	Singapore, Amoy.
Edward B. Squire,	1838	1840		C. M. S.	Singapore, Macao.
William Young,	1838			Lon. M. S.	Batavia, Amoy.
Rev. W. J. Pohlman,	1838			A. B. C. F. M.	Borneo, Amoy.
Rev. Dyer Ball, M.D.,	1838			"	Singapore, Canton.
Rev. George W. Wood,	1838	1840		"	Singapore.
Will. Lockhart, M. R. C. S.,	1838			Lon. M. S.	Macao, Shanghai.
Rev. Robert W. Orr,	1838	1841		B. F. M. P. C.	Singapore.
Rev. John A. Mitchell,	1838		1838	"	Singapore.
Rev. S. R. Brown,	1839			Mor. Ed. S.	Hongkong.
Rev. Josiah Goddard,	1839			A. B. B. F. M.	Bangkok. [Meinam.
Rev. Nathan S. Benham,	1839		1840	A. B. C. F. M.	Bangkok; drowned in the
Rev. Lyman B. Peet,	1839			"	Bangkok, Fuhchau.
William B. Diver, M.D.,	1839	1841		"	Singapore.
James Legge, D.D.,	1839			Lon. M. S.	Malacca, Hongkong.
Rev. William C. Milne,	1839			"	Ningpo, Shanghai.
Benjamin Hobson, M.B.,	1839			"	Hongkong.
Rev. Thos. L. McBryde,	1840	1843		B. F. M. P. C.	Singapore, Amoy.
James C. Hepburn, M.D.,	1841	1845		"	Singapore, Amoy.
Will. H. Cumming, M.D.,	1842			——	Amoy.
Rev. W. M. Lowrie,	1842			B. F. M. P. C.	Ningpo.
Daniel J. Macgowan, M.D.,	1843			A. B. B. F. M.	Ningpo.

LIST OF MISSIONARIES—*Continued.*

NAMES.	AR'D.	RE'D.	DIED.	SOCIETY.	STATION.
Rev. Richard Q. Way,	1843			B. F. M. P. C.	Ningpo.
D. Bethune McCarty, M.D.,	1844			"	Ningpo.
Richard Cole,	1844			"	Ningpo; sup't of press.
Rev. James G. Bridgman,	1844			A. B. C. F. M.	Canton.
Rev. T. T. Devan, M.D.,	1844			A. B. B. F. M.	Hongkong, Canton.
Rev. A. W. Loomis,	1844			B. F. M. P. C.	Chusan, Ningpo.
Rev. M. S. Culbertson,	1844			"	Ningpo.
Rev. John Lloyd,	1844			"	Amoy.
Rev. And. P. Happer, M.D.,	1844			"	Macao.
Rev. William Gillespie,	1844			Lon. M. S.	Hongkong.
Rev. George Smith,	1844	1846		C. M. S.	China; sent to explore.
Rev. T. McClatchie,	1844			"	Shanghai.
Rev. H. W. Woods,	1845	1846		A. E. B. F. M.	Shanghai.
Rev. R. Graham,	1845	1847		"	Shanghai.
Rev. William Fairbrother,	1845	1846		Lon. M. S.	Shanghai.
Samuel W. Bonney,	1845			A. B. C. F. M.	Canton.
Rev. Hugh A. Brown,	1845			B. F. M. P. C.	Amoy.
Rev. J. Syle,	1845			A. E. B. F. M.	Shanghai.
Rev. T. H. Hudson,	1845			Eng. B. M. S.	Ningpo.
Rev. William Jarrom,	1845			"	Ningpo.
William A. Macy,	1846			Mor. Ed. S.	Hongkong.
Rev. William Speer,	1846			B. F. M. P. C.	Macao.
Rev. J. W. Quaterman,	1846			"	Ningpo.
Rev. John B. French, M.D.,	1846			"	Macao, Canton.
Rev. Erasmus N. Jencks,	1846			A. B. M. U.	Hongkong.
Rev. George Pearcy,	1846			South. B. C.	Canton.
Rev. Samuel C. Clopton,	1846		1847	"	Canton.
Rev. John F. Cleland,	1846			Lon. M. S.	Hongkong.
Rev. S. Carpenter,	1847			S. D. B. M. S.	Shanghai.
Rev. N. Wardner,	1847			"	Shanghai.
Rev. Edward C. Lord,	1847			A. B. M. U.	Ningpo.
Rev. J. Van Ess Talmage,	1847			A. B. C. F. M.	Amoy.
Rev. Francis Johnson,	1847			South. B. C.	Canton.
Rev. Phineas D. Spaulding,	1847			A. E. B. F. M.	Shanghai.
Rev. Moses C. White,	1847			M. S. M. E. C.	Fuhchau.
Rev. Judson D. Collins,	1847			"	Fuhchau.
Rev. Henry Hickok,	1847			"	Fuhchau.
Rev. Charles Maclay,	1847			"	Fuhchau.
—— Isaschberg M.B.,	1847			Lon. M. S.	Hongkong.
Rev. Wm. Muirhead,	1847			"	Shanghai.
Rev. B. Southwell,	1847			"	Shanghai.
A. Wylie,	1847			"	Shanghai; sup't of press.
Rev. Seneca Cummings,	1847			A. B. C. F. M.	Fuhchau.
Rev. Caleb C. Baldwin,	1847			"	Fuhchau.
Rev. William L. Richards,	1847			"	Fuhchau.
Rev. John Johnson,	1847			A. B. M. U.	Hongkong.
Rev. M. T. Yates,	1847			South. B. C.	Shanghai.
J. Sexton James, M.D.,	1847			"	Shanghai.
Rev. T. U. Tobey.	1847			"	Shanghai.

No. sent by each.	CONTRACTIONS AND EXPLANATIONS.
30	Lon. M. S., or London Missionary Society.
3	C. M. S., or Church Missionary Society.
2	Eng. B. M. S., or English Baptist Missionary Society.
25	A. B. C. F. M., or American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
16	A. B. B. F. M., or American Board of Baptist Foreign Missions, divided into A. B. M. U., or American Baptist Missionary Union; and South. B. C., or Southern Baptist Convention.
16	B. F. M. P. C., or Board of Foreign Missions of the Presb'terian Church.
7	A. E. B. F. M., or American Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions.
4	M. S. M. E. C., or Missionary Society of Methodist Episcopal Church.
2	S. D. B. M. S., or Seventh Day Baptist Missionary Society.
3	Rhen. M. S., or Rhenish Missionary Society.
1	Neth. M. S., Netherlands Missionary Society.
2	Mor. Ed. S., or Morrison Educatio Society.

The worth and labors of some of those mentioned in this list have long been known to the Christian public, and those who have deceased saw only the commencement of a great work. Dr. Morrison was much encouraged at the prospects of more laborers, a short time before his death. Dr. Milne and Mr. Collie ardently longed and labored diligently for the coming and extension of the kingdom of Christ in China; and Mr. Stevens had laid himself out to assist in perfecting the version of the Scriptures, for which he was eminently qualified: but these all died without seeing much to promise the speedy diffusion of the gospel. Few men in the missionary corps have exceeded Edwin Stevens in sound judgment, steady pursuit of a well-formed purpose, and willingness to take any place which Providence pointed out to him in the work he was engaged in. He was employed nearly three years as seamen's chaplain at Canton and Whampoa, before entering the service among the Chinese, and his labors in that department were highly acceptable to those who frequented the port. He took two voyages up the coast in 1835, and had embarked in the Himmaleh, when he died at Singapore, January, 1837, just as he was ready to sail.

The warm-hearted, humble piety, and singleness of purpose of Mr. Dyer, were also well known to every one engaged with him. His long and assiduous labors to complete a fount of Chinese metallic type, amid many obstacles and hindrances, were prompted by his sense of the importance of the enterprise, and the hope that when once finished, books could be printed with more elegance, cheapness, and rapidity than in any other way. He lived to see it brought into partial use, and to satisfy himself concerning the feasibility of this plan. The Rev. Alanson Reed, of Bangkok, and Rev. Samuel Wolfe, of Singapore, lived too short a time to accomplish much, for they had hardly learned the language, but their lives and labors, hopes and prayers, were devoted to the same great object of doing good to China. If the impulses of private friendship, and the esteem generally entertained for Dr. Abeel, should prompt a notice of his character and labors, it would soon extend to many pages; they are well worthy the fuller notice which it is to be hoped will be given in his memoir. Female missionaries have also done much, and will do more, in this work, which requires minds and labors in large variety. Mrs. Mary Morrison, Mrs. Boone, Mrs. Dean, Mrs.

Ball, Mrs. Shuck, Mrs. Doty, and Mrs. Pohlman, have all died in China; and others equally zealous, as Mrs. John Stronach, Mrs. Hobson, and Mrs. Fairbrother, have deceased in the missions out of China, or on the voyage home for the recovery of their health. Let not these casualties deter other Christian ladies from assisting in the good cause, or be laid to the climate of China. Hardly any two of them died of the same disease, and none of them from any which could be called tropical, though it may be that the climate had weakened their ability to resist disease.

Before closing this brief sketch of Christian missions among the Chinese, it may be well to mention some of the peculiar facilities and difficulties which attend the work. The business of demolishing heathen society, and reconstructing it on Christian principles, is a great and protracted undertaking, and is to be commenced in all communities by working on individuals. The opposition of the unregenerate heart can of course only be overcome by the transforming influences of the Spirit, but the intellect must be enlightened, and the moral sense instructed by a system of means, before the truths of the Bible can be intelligently received or rejected. This opposition is not peculiar to China, but it will probably assume a more polemic and argumentative cast there than in some other countries. The proud literati of China are not disposed to abase Confucius below the Savior, but rather inclined to despise the reiteration of his name and atonement, as a seesaw about "one Jesus who was dead, whom we affirm to be alive." In the account given by Mr. Medhurst of his labors, is a notice of a tract written against him by a Chinese, in which he argues, "that it was monstrous in barbarians to attempt to improve the inhabitants of the celestial empire when they were so miserably deficient themselves. Thus, introducing among the Chinese a poisonous drug, for their own benefit to the injury of others, they were deficient in benevolence; sending their fleets and armies to rob other nations of their possessions, they could make no pretensions to rectitude; allowing men and women to mix in society and walk arm in arm through the streets, they showed that they had not the least sense of propriety; and in rejecting the doctrines of the ancient kings they were far from displaying wisdom: indeed, truth was the only good quality to which they could lay the least claim. Deficient, therefore, in four out of the five cardinal virtues, how

could they expect to renovate others? Then, while foreigners lavished money in circulating books for the renovation of the age, they made no scruple of trampling printed paper under foot, by which they showed their disrespect for the inventors of letters. Further, these would-be exhorters of the world were themselves deficient in filial piety, forgetting their parents as soon as dead, putting them off with deal coffins only an inch thick, and never so much as once sacrificing to their manes, or burning the smallest trifle of gilt paper for their support in the future world. Lastly, they allowed the rich and noble to enter office without passing through any literary examinations, and did not throw open the road to advancement to the poorest and meanest in the land. From all these, it appeared that foreigners were inferior to Chinese, and therefore most unfit to instruct them."

To these arguments, which commend themselves to a Chinese with a force that can hardly be understood by a foreigner, they often add the intemperate lives and reckless cupidity of professed Christians who visit their shores, and ask what good it will do them to change their long tried precepts for the new fangled teachings of the Bible? The pride of learning is a great obstacle to the reception of the humiliating truths of the Gospel everywhere, but perhaps especially in China where letters are so highly honored and patronized. The language is another difficulty in the way of the diffusion of the Gospel, both on the part of the native and the missionary. The mode of education among the Chinese is admirably fitted for the ends they propose, viz. of forming the mind to implicit belief and reverence for the precepts of Confucius, and obedience to the government, which makes those precepts the outlines of its actions, but it stunts and almost incapacitates the intellect for independent thought on other subjects. The language itself is an unwieldy vehicle for imparting new truths, either in writing or speaking, not so much because it is not copious enough for all these purposes, but because of the additional burden every new character or term imposes upon the memory. The immense number, however, who read and speak this language, reconciles one to some extra labor and patience to become familiar with its forms of speech, and ascertain the best modes of conveying truth by books and preaching.

Besides the difficulties mentioned in the preceding extract, and those growing out of the language and literary notions of the

Chinese, there are few peculiar obstacles now in the way. The five ports afford free access to two or three millions of people, and their environs to more than twice that number, all of whom, except those about Canton and Macao, are tolerably well disposed to foreigners, when they understand what is said to them. Congregations are now collected, and truth explained to them with a good degree of acceptance every Sabbath, and all that is wanted to get more congregations is more preachers; and long before missionary labors are accomplished in all the ports, the whole land will afford every choice of climate and position. God, too, has wondrously opened the way for the extension of intercourse, and his promises are surety for the accomplishment of the work thus begun. Facilities for learning the language are constantly increasing. Dictionaries, vocabularies, phrase books, grammars, and chrestomathies in all the dialects, will soon be prepared; and the list now is not small. They have all, with few exceptions, been made and printed by Protestant missionaries.

Churches have increased since the first one was formed in Canton in 1835, and some of them are served by native evangelists, two of whom, Liang Afah and Tsin Shen, are acceptable, educated, earnest preachers of the gospel. The number of persons baptized by all the missionaries is not definitely known, but they form even now a nucleus for a regular congregation. The future is full of promise, and the efforts of the church with regard to China will not cease until every son and daughter of the race of Han has been taught the truths of the Bible, and has had them fairly propounded for reception or rejection. They will progress until all the cities, towns, villages, and hamlets of that vast empire, have the teacher and professor of religion living in them; until their children are educated, their civil liberties understood, and political rights guaranteed; their poor cared for, their literature purified, their condition bettered in this world, and the knowledge of another made known to them. The work of missions will go on until the government is modified, and religious and civil liberty granted to all, and China takes her rank among the Christian nations of the earth, reciprocating all the courtesies due from people professing the same faith.

CHAPTER XX.

Commerce of the Chinese.

It is probable that the applications made in remote times to the rulers of China for liberty to trade with their subjects, partook in their opinion very much of the nature of an acknowledgment of their power, and the presents accompanying the request were regarded as tribute; the traders themselves probably also looked upon the intercourse in somewhat the same light. The commerce then consisted mainly of the silks and porcelain of China, in exchange for the medicines, gems, precious metals, and furs of the people on the west and south. The records of the origin and early course of this trade are lost to a great extent, but the Chinese annals furnish proof of its existence, and their own trafficking spirit would develope it as much as possible. The restrictions and charges upon this trade were of small amount at this early period; as it extended, the cupidity of local officers led them to burden it with numerous illegal fees, which gradually reduced its value, and finally, in some instances, drove it away altogether. The succeeding chapter contains a brief detail of the various changes attending this traffic, down to the time when it was entirely remodelled according to the stipulations of the treaty of Nanking, and placed upon a better understood basis than ever before, so that the manner in which it was carried on before that time, now possesses less interest to the general reader than formerly. Its principal items of export and import have not materially changed during the last century; the splendid fabrics of the Chinese looms, their tea, their lacquered ware, and the produce of their kilns, being still bartered for the cottons, metals, furs, and gems of the west. A succinct description of such articles as possess peculiar interest, and have not been already described, together with a few notices respecting the present extent and mode of conducting the trade, will suffice to explain its general features. The history of

the tea trade has been often written, and the story told of Lady Pumphraston, who, receiving a small sample, complained she "could not make these foreign greens soft, either by frying or stewing them;" and its history is instructive too, as it shows how Providence brings nations together by ties and impulses of mutual advantage and desires, and makes them better acquainted when otherwise they would, perhaps, have quarrelled with or despised each other.

The first thing which attracts attention in the table of trade with China, is the opium traffic, whose growth and momentous consequences require a detailed account. The use of opium as a medicine has not long been known to Chinese doctors, though, from the way the poppy is mentioned in the Chinese Herbal, there is reason to suppose it to be indigenous; the drug is called *apien*, in imitation of the word *opium:* other names given to it are, "smoking dirt," "foreign poison," "black commodity," and "black earth," while the plant is called *afuyung*, a foreign name said by the Chinese to signify "our hibiscus." The compiler of the Herbal, who wrote two centuries ago, speaks of both the plant and its inspissated juice, saying both were formerly but little known; and then concisely describes the mode of collecting it, which almost leads to the inference that it was then used in medicine. None was imported coastwise for scores of years after that date, but as the natives of Assam and the adjoining region have used opium for a long period, it is not unlikely that it was made known to the Chinese from that quarter. The poppy is now grown in the eastern and southern provinces, and memorials to the emperor, requesting him to prohibit the cultivation, were presented from the governors of all these provinces. One censor, in 1830, says that it is produced over one half of Chehkiang; but he gives no statement as to the amount. The juice is collected and prepared, judging from his account, in much the same manner as in India, and by the people themselves for their own consumption. He observes, that "within less than ten years, the evil had spread over a large part of that province, not only bringing injury on the good, but greatly retarding the work of the husbandmen." It is not improbable that the native cultivation of the plant was in a good degree stopped in the eastern provinces, for no mention is made of it in subsequent memorials; but in Kweichau, Yunnan, and contiguous parts, it is still grown and prepared,—Chu Tsun,

in a memorial written in 1836, says to the extent of several thousand chests in Yunnan alone.

Barrow refers to the prevalent use of the drug by officials and others in the upper ranks of society, but neither the gentlemen of the last Dutch, nor of the two English ambassies, mention having seen the poppy growing; though this is not surprising, inasmuch as their route mostly lay along the Grand canal and rivers, the banks of which are not favorable to its cultivation.

The mode of raising the poppy in the Patna district in India, is thus described: "The ryot or cultivator having selected a piece of ground, always preferring (*cæteris paribus*) that which is nearest his house, fences it in. He then, by repeated ploughings, makes it completely fine, and removes all the weeds and grass. Next, he divides the field into two or more beds by small dikes of mould, running lengthwise and crosswise according to the slope and nature of the ground, and again into smaller squares by other dikes leading from the principal ones. A tank is dug about ten feet deep at one end of the field, from which by a leathern bucket, water is raised into one of the principal dikes and carried to every part as required; this irrigation is necessary because the cultivation is carried on in the dry weather. The seed is sown in November, and the juice collected in February and March, during a period, usually, of about six weeks; weeding and watering commence as soon as the plants spring up, and are continued till the poppies come to maturity. Cuts are then made in the rind of the seed vessel, with a small shell; from them the juice exudes during the night, and is scraped off in the morning; when the heads are exhausted, they become whitish.

The cultivator is assisted by his family, and must deliver a certain quantity at such a price to the collector, the amount being fixed by a survey of the field when in bloom; he receives about $1,65 for a seer (1 *lb.* 13 *oz.*) of the poppy juice, which must be of a certain consistence. The ryot has, in most cases, already received the advance money for the opium, and if he sell it to any other than the collector, or if he fail to deliver the estimated quantity, and there is reason for supposing he has embezzled it, he is liable to punishment. In all the territories belonging to the Company, the cultivation of the poppy, the preparation of the drug, and the traffic in it until it is sold at auction for exportation, are under a strict monopoly. Should an individual undertake the

cultivation without having entered into engagements with the government to deliver the produce at the fixed rate, his property would be immediately attached, and he compelled either to destroy the poppies, or give security for the faithful delivery of the product. The cultivation of the plant is compulsory, for if the ryot refuse the advance for the year's crop, the simple plan of throwing the rupees into his house is adopted; should he attempt to abscond, the agents seize him, tie the advance up in his clothes, and push him into his house. There being then no remedy, he applies himself as he may to the fulfilment of his contract. Vast tracts of the very best land in Benares, Bahar, and elsewhere in the northern and central parts of India, are now covered with poppies; and other plants used for food or clothing, grown from time immemorial, have nearly been driven out. In Turkey, Persia, India and China, many myriads of acres and millions of people are employed in the cultivation of poppies."*

The preparation of the opium for the Chinese market is superintended by examiners appointed by the government, and is a business of some difficulty from the many substances put into the juice by the ryots to adulterate or increase its weight. Wetting it so that the mass shall be more fluid than it naturally is, mixing sand, soft clayey mud, sugar, coarse molasses, cow-dung, pounded poppy-seeds, and the juice of stramony, quinces, and other plants, are all resorted to, although with the almost certain result of detection and loss. When taken from the cultivator and native collector, the crude mass undergoes careful examination, and is rolled into small balls with a covering of *léwa* or opium paste mixed with the petals of the poppy. When the juice gathered from the plant has been dried properly in a cool shade, to about 70 per cent. spissitude, it appears coppery brown in the mass, and when spread thin on a white plate, shows considerable translucency, with a gallstone yellow color and a slightly granular texture. When cut with a knife it exhibits sharp edges without drawing out into threads; and is tremulous like strawberry-jam, to which it has been aptly compared. It has considerable adhesiveness, a handful of it not dropping from the inverted hand for some seconds.

All the opium grown in the Company's territories is brought to

* Chinese Repository, Vol. V., page 472.

Calcutta and stored in government warehouses, until it is exposed for sale at auction, in lots of five chests each, at an upset price, graduated according to the market price in China. It is supposed not to cost much more than 700 rupees a chest, and is sold at 1000 rupees and upwards, yielding a net annual revenue of over two millions sterling. Care is taken to suit the taste of the Chinese; and on one occasion, the Company refunded part of the price on a lot which had been differently prepared, to try whether that people would prefer it. There are four sorts of opium: Turkey, which sells cheapest in China, and is brought chiefly from Smyrna; Patna and Benares, which are grown in the Company's territories, and sold at Calcutta; and Malwa, which is cultivated out of their jurisdiction, but pays them a revenue of about 200 rupees each chest for its transit to Bombay, where it is shipped. The Portuguese also export a small quantity from their settlement in Damaun. The drug is rolled in balls, and then packed in strong boxes, weighing from 116 *lbs.* for Patna, to 134 *lbs.* or 140 *lbs.* for Malwa. The Malwa opium is grown and prepared entirely by natives, and is often so extensively adulterated as to be worthless. There are between 400 and 500 cakes in a chest of Malwa, and the cultivator there receives double the wages of the ryot in Bengal.

The chests of Patna and Benares are made of mango wood, and consist of two stories or parts, in each of which there are twenty partitions; the forty balls to fill these partitions are carefully rolled in dried poppy leaves. The chest is covered with hides or gunny bags, and the seams closed so as to render it as impervious to the air as possible, but considerable allowance is made for dryage. After the drug is sold at Calcutta, it is shipped in small fast-sailing vessels for China, more than half of the export from that and other ports in India being sent off in these clippers.

The use of opium among the Chinese two centuries ago must have been very little, or the writings of the Romish missionaries, from 1580 down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, would certainly have contained some account of it. It was not till the year 1767, that the importation reached a thousand chests, and continued at that rate for some years, most of the trade being in the hands of the Portuguese. The East India Company made a small adventure in 1773; and seven years after, a dépôt of two small vessels was established by the English in Lark's bay, south

of Macao; the price was then about $550 a chest. In 1781, the Company freighted a vessel to Canton with it, but were obliged to sell the lot of 1600 chests at $200 a chest, to Sinqua, one of the hong-merchants, who, not being able to dispose of it to advantage, reshipped it to the Archipelago. The price in 1791 was about $370 a chest, and was imported under the head of medicine at a duty of about $7 a cwt., including charges. The authorities at Canton began to complain of the two ships in Lark's bay in 1793, and their owners being much annoyed by the pirates and revenue boats, and inconvenienced by the distance from Canton, loaded the opium on board a single vessel, and brought her to Whampoa, where she lay unmolested for more than a year. She was then loaded and sent out of the river, and the drug introduced in *another ship; this practice continued* until 1820, when the governor-general and collector of customs issued an edict, forbidding any vessel to enter the port in which opium was stored, and making the pilots and hong-merchants responsible for its being on board. The Portuguese were also forbidden to introduce it into Macao, and every officer in the Chinese custom-house there was likewise made responsible for preventing it, under the heaviest penalties. "Be careful," says his excellency in conclusion, "and do not view this document as mere matter of form, and so tread within the net of the law, for you will find your escape as impracticable as it is for a man to bite his own navel." The importation of this pernicious drug had been prohibited by the emperor, in 1800, under heavy penalties, on account of its wasting the time and destroying the property of the people of the Inner Land, and exchanging their silver and commodities for the "vile dirt" of foreign countries. The supercargoes of the Company therefore recommended the Directors to prohibit its shipment to China from England and India, but this could not be done; and they therefore forbade their own ships bringing it to China. The hong-merchants were required to give bonds, in 1809, that no ship which discharged her cargo at Whampoa had opium on board; but they contrived to evade it. The traffic was carried on at Whampoa and Macao by the connivance of local officers, some of whom watched the delivery of every chest, and received a fee; while their superiors, remote from the scene of smuggling, pocketed an annual bribe for overlooking the violation of the imperial orders.

The system of bribery and overlooking malpractices, so common in China, is well illustrated by a case which occurred in connexion with this business. In September, 1821, a Chinese inhabitant of Macao, who had been the medium of receiving from the Portuguese, and paying to the Chinese officers the several bribes annually given for the introduction of opium, was seized by government for hiring banditti to assault an opponent of his, which they did; and having got the man in their power, poured quicksilver into his ears, to injure his head without killing him; and having shaved the short hairs from his head, they mixed them with tea, and forced him to drink the potion. The vile wretch who originated this cruel idea and paid the perpetrators of it, was a pettifogging notary, who brought gain to the officials by oppressing and intimidating the people, until he was the pest and terror of the neighborhood. An official enemy at last laid his character and doings before the governor, who had him seized and thrown into prison, when he turned his wrath on his former employers, and confessed that he held the place of bribe-collector, and that all the authorities received so much per chest, even up to the admiral of the station. The governor, though doubtless aware of these practices, was now obliged to notice them; but instead of punishing those who were directly guilty, he accused the senior hong-merchant, a rich man, nicknamed the "timid young lady," and charged him with neglecting his suretyship in not pointing out every foreign ship which contained opium. It was in vain for him to plead that he had never dealt in opium, nor had any connexion with those who did deal in it; nor could he search the ships to ascertain what was in them, or control the authorities who encouraged and protected the smuggling of opium: notwithstanding all his pleas, the governor was determined to hold him responsible. He was accordingly disgraced, and a paper, combining admonition with exhortation and intreaty, was addressed by his excellency to the foreigners, Portuguese, English, and Americans. The gods, he said, would conduct the fair dealers in safety over the ocean, but over the contraband smugglers of a pernicious poison, the terrors of the royal law on earth, and the wrath of the infernal gods in hades were suspended. The Americans brought opium, he observed, "because they had no king to rule them." The opium ships thus being driven from Whampoa, and the Portuguese unwilling or afraid to admit it into

Macao unless at a high duty, the merchants established a floating dépôt of receiving ships at Lintin, an island between Macao and the Bogue. In summer, the ships moved to Kumsing moon, Kapshui moon, Hongkong, and other anchorages off the river, to be more secure against the tyfoons; remaining near Lintin during the north-east monsoon, until 1839.*

The mode of introducing the opium into the country, when the fleet was stationed "outside" at Lintin, was by means of brokers resident in Canton. These men went to the foreign merchants, and purchased the opium at the market price, paying for it in specie, and receiving an order on the captain for the amount purchased. The boxes were opened and the drug carefully examined before it was shipped on board native wherries, vulgarly called *fast-crabs* and *scrambling-dragons*, which paid a regular fee to the custom-house and military posts, but resisted other official boats; fighting desperately when attacked, for if taken, the men generally lost both life and property. The opium, when carried ashore to the purchasers, was retailed in balls as crude opium, or prepared by themselves, for retail or more convenient transportation further inland.

The utensils used in preparing the opium for smoking, consist chiefly of three hemispherical brass pans, two bamboo filters, two portable furnaces, earthen pots, ladles, straining-cloths, and sprinklers. The ball being cut in two, the interior is taken out, and the opium adhering to or contained in the leafy covering is previously simmered three several times, each time using a pint of spring water, and straining it into an earthen pot; some cold water is poured over the dregs after the third boiling, and from half a cake (weighing at first about 28 *lbs.*, and with which this process is supposed to be conducted), there will be about five pints of liquid. The interior of the cake is then boiled with this liquid for about an hour, until all is reduced to a paste, which is spread out with a spatula in two pans, and exposed to to the fire for two or three minutes at a time, till the water is all driven off: during this operation, it is often broken up and re-spread, and at the last drying cut across with a knife. It is all then spread out in one cake, and covered with six pints of water, and allowed to remain several hours or over night for digestion. When suf-

* Chinese Repository, Vol V., pp. 546—553.

ficiently soaked, a rag filter is placed on the edge of the pan, and the whole of the valuable part drips slowly through the rag into a basket lined with coarse bamboo paper, from which it falls into the other brass pan, about as much liquid going through as there was water poured over the cake. The dregs are again soaked and immediately filtered till found to be nearly tasteless; this weaker part usually makes about six pints of liquid.

The first six pints are then briskly boiled, being sprinkled with cold water to allay the heat so as not to boil over, and removing the scum, by a feather, into a separate vessel. After boiling twenty minutes, five pints of the weak liquid are poured in and boiled with it, until the whole is evaporated to about three pints, when it is strained through paper into another pan, and the remaining pint thrown into the pan just emptied, to wash away any portion that may remain in it, and also boiled a little while, when it is also strained into the three pints. The whole is then placed over a slow fire in the small furnace, and boiled down to a proper consistency for smoking; while it is evaporating, a ring forms around the edge, and the pan is taken off the fire at intervals to prolong the process, the mass being the while rapidly stirred with sticks and fanned, until it becomes like thick treacle, when it is taken out and put into small pots for smoking. The boxes in which it is retailed are made of buffalo's horn, of such a size as easily to be carried about the person. The dregs containing the vegetable residuum, together with the scum and washings of the pans, are lastly strained and boiled with water, producing about six pints of thin brownish liquid, which is evaporated to a proper consistence for selling to the poor. The process of seething the crude opium is exceedingly unpleasant to those unaccustomed to it, from the overpowering narcotic fumes which arise, and this odor marks every shop where it is prepared, and every person who smokes it. The loss in weight by this mode of preparation is about one-half. The Malays prepare it in much the same manner. The custom in Penang is to reduce the dry cake made on the first evaporation to a powder; and when it is digested and again strained and evaporated, reducing it to a consistence resembling shoemaker's wax.

The opium pipe consists of a tube of heavy wood, furnished at the head with a cup, which serves to collect the residuum or ashes left after combustion; this cup is usually a small cavity in the end of the pipe, and serves to elevate the bowl to a level with the

lamp. The bowl of the pipe is made of earthenware, of an ellipsoid shape, and sets down upon the hole, itself having a small rimmed orifice on the flat side. The opium-smoker always lies down; and the singular picture given by Davis, of a "Mandarin smoking an opium-pipe," dressed in his official robes and sitting up at a table, was probably made to order by some artist who had never seen anybody use it. Lying along the couch, he holds the pipe, aptly called *yen tsiang*, i. e. smoking-pistol, by the Chinese, so near the lamp that the bowl can be brought up to it without stirring himself. A little opium of the size of a pea, being taken on the end of a spoon-headed needle, is put upon the hole of the bowl, and set on fire at the lamp, and inhaled at one whiff, so that none of the smoke shall be lost. Old smokers will retain the breath a long time, filling the lungs, and exhaling the fumes through the nose. The taste of the half-fluid extract is sweetish and oily, somewhat like rich cream, but the smell of the burning drug is rather sickening. When the pipe has burned out, the smoker lies listless for a moment while the fumes are dissipating, and then repeats the process until he has spent all his purchase, or taken his prescribed dose. When the smoking commences, the man becomes loquacious, and breaks out into boisterous, silly merriment, which gradually changes to a vacant paleness and shrinking of the features, as the quantity increases and the narcotic acts. A deep sleep supervenes from half an hour to three or four hours' duration, during which the pulse becomes slower, softer, and smaller than before the debauch. No refreshment is felt from this sleep, when the person has become a victim to the habit, but a universal sinking of the powers of the body and mind is experienced, and complete recklessness, so be it that the appetite for more be gratified.

A novice is content with one or two whiffs, which produce vertigo, nausea, and headache, though practice enables him to gradually increase the quantity; "temperate smokers," warned by the sad example of the numerous victims around them, endeavor to keep within bounds, and walk as near the precipice as they can without falling over into hopeless ruin. In order to do this, they limit themselves to a certain quantity daily, and take it at, or soon after meals, so that the stomach may not be so much weakened. A "temperate smoker" (though this term is like that of a *temperate* robber, who only takes shillings from his

employer's till, or a *temperate* blood-letter, who only takes a spoonful daily from his veins) can seldom exceed a mace weight, or about as much of prepared opium as will balance a pistareen or a franc piece; this quantity will fill twelve pipes. Two mace weight taken daily is considered an immoderate dose, which few can bear for any length of time; and those who are afraid of the effects of the drug upon themselves endeavor not to exceed a mace. Some persons, who have strong constitutions, and stronger resolution, continue the use of the drug within these limits, for many years, without disastrous effects upon their health and spirits; though most of even these moderate smokers are so much the slaves of the habit, that they feel too wretched, nerveless, and imbecile, to go on with their business without the stimulus.

The testimony regarding the evil effects of the use of this pernicious drug, which deserves better to be called an "article of destruction" than an "article of luxury," are so unanimous, that few can be found to stand up strongly in its favor. Dr. Smith, a physician in charge of the hospital at Penang, says, "The baneful effects of this habit on the human constitution are particularly displayed by stupor, forgetfulness, general deterioration of all the mental faculties, emaciation, debility, sallow complexion, lividness of lips and eyelids, languor and lack-lustre of eye, and appetite either destroyed or depraved, sweetmeats or sugar being the articles that are most relished." These symptoms appear when the habit has weakened the physical powers, but the unhappy man soon begins to feel the power of the drug in a general languor and sinking, which disables him mentally more than bodily, from carrying on his ordinary pursuits. A dose of opium does not produce the intoxication of ardent spirits, and so far as the community and his family are concerned, the smoker is less troublesome than the drunkard; the former never throws the chairs and tables about the room, or drives his wife out of doors in his furious rage; he never goes reeling through the streets, or takes lodgings in the gutter; but contrariwise, he is quiet or pleasant, and fretful only when the effects of the pipe are gone. It is in the insupportable languor throughout the whole frame, the gnawing at the stomach, pulling at the shoulders, and failing of the spirits, that the tremendous power of this vice lies, compelling the "victimized" slave "to seek it yet again." There has not yet been opportunity to make those minute investigations

respecting the extent opium is used among the Chinese, what classes of people use it, their daily dose, the proportion of reprobate smokers, and many other points which have been narrowly examined into, in regard to the use of alcohol; so that it is impossible to decide the question as to which of the two is the most dreadful habit. These statistics have, heretofore, been impossible to obtain in China, and it will be very difficult to obtain them, even when a person, who may have the leisure and abilities, shall undertake the task.

Various means have been tried by benevolent natives to dissuade their countrymen from using it, such as distributing tracts showing its ruinous effects, compounding medicines for the smoker to take, to aid him in breaking off the habit, and denouncing the smoking-shops to government. A painter at Canton made a series of admonitory pictures, showing the several steps in the downward course of the opium-smoker, until beggary and death ended the scene; one of them, showing the young debauchee at his revels, is here introduced.

Manner of Smoking Opium.

A Chinese scholar thus sums up the bad effects of opium, which he says is taken at first to raise the animal spirits and

prevent lassitude. "It exhausts the animal spirits, impedes the regular performance of business, wastes the flesh and blood, dissipates every kind of property, renders the person ill-favored, promotes obscenity, discloses secrets, violates the laws, attacks the vitals, and destroys life." Under each of these heads, he lucidly shows the mode of the process, or gives examples to uphold his assertions. "In comparison with arsenic, I pronounce it tenfold the greater poison; one swallows arsenic, because he has lost his reputation, and is so involved that he cannot extricate himself. Thus driven to desperation, he takes the dose and is destroyed at once; but those who smoke the drug are injured in many ways. It may be compared to raising the wick of a lamp, which, while it increases the blaze, hastens the exhaustion of the oil and the extinction of the light. Hence, the youth who smoke will shorten their own days, and cut off all hopes of posterity, leaving their parents and wives without any one on whom to depend. From the robust who smoke, the flesh is gradually consumed and worn away, and the skin hangs like a bag. Their faces become cadaverous and black, and their bones naked as billets of wood. The habitual smokers doze for days over their pipes, without appetite; when the desire for opium comes on, they cannot resist its impulse. Mucus flows from their nostrils, and tears from their eyes; their very bodies are rotten and putrid. From careless observers, the sight of such objects is enough to excite loud peals of laughter. The poor smoker, who has pawned every article in his possession, still remains idle; and when the periodical thirst comes on, will even pawn his wives and sell his daughters. In the province of Nganhwui, I once saw a man named Chin, who being childless, purchased a concubine, and got her with child; afterwards, when his money was expended and other means all failed him, being unable to resist the desire for the pipe, he sold her in her pregnancy for several tens of dollars. This money being expended, he went and hung himself. Alas, how painful was his end!"*

The thirst and burning sensation in the throat, which the wretched sufferer feels, only to be removed by a repetition of the dose, proves one of the strongest links in the chain which drags him to his ruin. At this stage of the habit, his case is al-

* Chinese Repository, Vol. VII., page 108.

most hopeless; if the pipe be delayed too long, vertigo, complete prostration, and discharge of water from the eyes, ensue; if entirely withheld, coldness and aching pains are felt over the body, an obstinate diarrhœa supervenes, and death closes the scene. The disastrous effects of the drug upon the constitution seem to be somewhat delayed or modified by the quantity of nourishing food the person can procure, and consequently it is among the poor, who can least afford the pipe, and still less the injury done to their energies, that the destruction of life is the greatest. The evils suffered and crimes committed by the desperate victims of the opium pipe are dreadful and multiplied. Theft, arson, murder and suicide, are perpetrated in order to obtain it or escape its effects. Some try to break off the fatal habit, by taking a tincture of the opium dirt in spirits, gradually diminishing its strength until it is left off entirely; others mix opium with tobacco, and smoke the compound in a less and less proportion, until tobacco alone remains. The general belief is that the vice can be overcome without fatal results, if the person firmly resolve to forsake it, and keep away from sight and smell of the pipe, laboring as much as his strength will allow in the open air, until he recovers his spirits, and no longer feels a longing for it. Few, very few, however, ever emancipate themselves from the tyrannous habit which enslaves them; they are able to resist its insidious effects until the habit has become strong, and the resolution to break it off is generally delayed until their chains are forged, and deliverance felt to be hopeless. The resolution in their case has, alas, none of the awful motives to enforce its observance, which a knowledge of the Bible would give it; the heathen dieth in his ignorance.

Opium is often employed to commit suicide, by swallowing it in spite, when displeased with others, or to escape from death, oppression, or other evils. The missionary physicians are often called upon to rescue persons who have taken a dose, and been found before life is gone, and the number of these applications painfully show how lightly the Chinese esteem life. A comparison is sometimes drawn between the opium-smoker and drunkard, and the former averred to be less injured by the habit; but the balance is struck between two terrible evils, both of which end in the loss of health, property, mind, influence, and life. Opium imparts no benefit to the smoker, impairs his bodily vigor,

beclouds his mind, and unfits him for his station in society; he is miserable without it, and at last dies by what he lives upon. The manufacture is beyond the country, so that every cent paid for the drug is carried abroad, and misery in every shape of poverty, disease, and dementation left in its stead, attended with mere transitory pleasure while the pipe is in the mouth. Fully one hundred millions of dollars have "oozed" out of China within the last fifty years for this article alone, and its productive capital decreased fully twice that sum.

Towards the close of the East India Company's charter in 1834, the contraband trade in opium off the Bogue, and along the coast eastward, had assumed a regular character. The fees paid for connivance at Canton were understood, and the highest persons in the province were not ashamed to participate in the profits of the trade. The attempts to sell it along the eastern coast had been mostly successful, and almost nothing else could be sold. In a trip undertaken in 1823, by Mr. James Matheson, he proceeded no further than Tsiuenchau fu or Chinchew, in Fuhkien, and on the whole made a losing voyage. The next year, a ship remained at Namoh, but the sales were suspended there for a time, in consequence of the opposition displayed by the authorities; vessels were also sent to Amoy and Formosa, and met with varied success, sometimes selling most of the cargo, at others returning with it. In 1831, the Jamesina, with Mr. James Innes, went up the Min to Fuhchau fu, besides visiting other places, in the course of the voyage making sales of opium to the amount of $330,000. One reason, probably, why the people at these ports were disinclined to buy cloths, was, that the stamp placed upon every piece imported at Canton, virtually advertised such as had it not to have been smuggled. The luck of the Jamesina induced Mr. Marjoribanks, in 1832, to send the Lord Amherst on a more extensive voyage to all the large ports along the coast; but the experiment proved a complete failure, and the loss over five thousand pounds. Considerable information was obtained, charts of the harbors and months of the rivers made, and the officers with whom Mr. Gutzlaff conversed made acquainted with their designs in the voyage.

Soon after this, the Sylph, a fast-sailing vessel, chiefly loaded with opium, was sent northward and reached Kinchau in Liau-tung. The vessel was ashore for some hours on this bleak coast

but happily floated at high water, and returned leisurely down the coast, stopping at Shanghai, Chapu, Pihkwan, Tsiuenchau Namoh, and lastly, Lintin, after an absence of six months, everywhere finding a sale for her cargo. The increasing demand at Namoh and Chinchew, led to the frequent dispatch of small vessels, one taking the place of another, and finally to stationing receiving-ships there, to afford a constant supply. The local authorities, finding their paper edicts quite powerless to drive them away, followed the practice of their fellow-officers at Canton, and winked at the trade for a consideration. The opium was brought ashore in chests and seethed before sending it into the country, their income being too great to make them very earnest in carrying out the imperial orders to put down the traffic by seizing the natives engaged in it. It is not, however, right to say, as some do, that the venality and weakness of these officers invalidated the authenticity of the commands they received from court; however flagitious their conduct, in rendering the orders of none effect, it did not prove the insincerity of the emperor and his ministers in issuing them. By the year 1834, the efforts of the local authorities to suppress the trade, resulted in a periodical issue of vain prohibitions and empty threats of punishment, which did not more plainly exhibit their own weakness in the eyes of the people, than the strength of the appetite in the smokers.

Deferring the examination of the results of the opium trade and its connexion with the war, a general survey of the native and foreign commerce with China will exhibit the extent and variety of the resources of the empire. The Chinese trade with foreign ports in native vessels is at present less extensive than formerly, chiefly in consequence of the increase of foreign shipping and facilities of insurance, enabling the native trader to send and receive commodities with less risk and more speed than by junks. The facilities and security of commerce in a country are among the best indices of its government being administered, on the whole, in a tolerably just manner, and on those principles which give the mechanic, farmer, and merchant a good prospect of reaping the fruits of their industry. This security is afforded in China to a considerable degree, and is one of the most satisfactory proofs, amidst all the corruptions, extortions, injustice, and depravity seen in their courts and in society at large, that the people on the whole receive and enjoy the rewards of industry.

Tranquillity may often be owing to the strong arm of power, but trade, manufactures, voyages, and large commercial enterprises must remunerate those who undertake them, or they cease. The Chinese are eminently a trading people; their merchants are acute, methodical, sagacious, and enterprising; not over-scrupulous as to their mercantile honesty in small transactions, but in large dealings exhibiting that regard for character in the fulfilment of their obligations, which extensive commercial engagements usually produce. The roguery and injustice which an officer of government may commit without disgrace would blast a merchant's reputation, and he enters into the largest transactions with confidence, being guarantied in his engagements by a system of mercantile security and responsibility, which is more effectual than legal sanctions.

The coasting trade is disproportionately small compared with the inland commerce, owing chiefly to the pirates and the dangers of the navigation. The large junks cross the seas, but those which navigate along the coast, averaging less than 150 tons, measurement, proceed cautiously from one headland to another, and sail chiefly by day. Their cargoes consist of provisions, as rice, stockfish, and vegetables; also lumber, coal, stones, and other bulky articles. Between Kinchau and Kai chau in Liau tung, and Tangchau fu, Tientsin, Kishan so, and other ports on the coast, all the trade is conducted in coasting vessels.

The foreign ports now visited by Chinese junks, are Singapore, Bruni, Pontianak, Sambas and other places in Borneo, Bangkok, Manila, some of the islands in the Sulu sea, Banca, Lewchew, Corea, and Nagasaki in Japan. The prohibition of the Dutch against the Chinese settling in Batavia has thrown most of their trade to that island into foreign bottoms. The articles carried to these places comprise most of the manufactures of China—coarse crockery, cottons, cheap silks, and metallic articles of great variety, constituting most of the cargo; the junks are however usually so crowded with emigrants that there is little room for cargo. During the war, large amounts of tea, silk, camphor, and other valuable commodities were imported from China into Singapore for foreign markets. Foreign articles are not introduced into the empire to any great amount by junks, but the variety of articles of food or domestic use, and raw materials for manufactures, known under the general denomination of *Straits Produce* is large.

Rice is the chief import from Bangkok and Manila; rattans, pepper and betel nut from Singapore and Borneo; biche-de-mer from the Sulu sea; and copper and lacquered-ware from Japan. Of the amount of capital embarked in this commerce, the number of vessels, the mode in which it is carried on, and the degree of risk attending it, little is known. It is likely to gradually decrease until it is quite transferred to foreign bottoms; for the junks do not sail upon the wind, and are liable to be wrecked where ships are not jeoparded, so that the time is unnecessarily protracted before returns can be received, and the lives and cargo exposed to great risks—both of which are strong inducements to employ ships.

The natural facilities for inland navigation in China are unusually great, and have been moreover improved by art for travel and transportation. The assertion, that there is a greater amount of tonnage belonging to the Chinese than to all other nations combined, does not appear overcharged to those who have seen the swarms of boats on their rivers, though it might not be found strictly true. The foreign commerce, supposed to be worth about a hundred millions of dollars annually, bears but a small proportion to the inland trade. The sugar, oil, and rice of the southern provinces, the tea, silk, cotton, and crockery of the eastern, the furs, grain and medicines of the northern, and the metals and minerals of the western, are constantly going to and fro and demand myriads of boats; add thereto the immense number of governmental boats required for the transportation of salt and the taxes paid in kind, the passage-boats plying in great numbers between contiguous towns, the pleasure and official barges and revenue-cutters, and lastly, the far greater number used for family residences; and the total of the inland shipping, it will be seen, must be enormous. It is, however, impossible to state the amount in any satisfactory manner, or give an idea of the proportion between the different kinds of boats. The transit duties levied on the produce carried in these vessels partake of the nature of an excise duty, and afford a very considerable revenue to the government, the greatest so, probably, next to the land tax. It has been estimated that the additional charges for transit duty and transportation on only those teas brought to Canton for exportation, amounted to about a million of dollars; much of this will now be lost to the country by the opening of other ports. When-

ever a boat loaded with produce passes the custom-house, the supercargo presents his manifest, stating his name and residence, the name of the boat and its crew, and the description of the cargo, and when the charges are paid, proceeds on his voyage. The tariff on goods at these places is light, but their number in a journey of any length, and the liability to unforeseen detention and exaction by the tidewaiters, greatly increase the expense and delay which a system of permits would obviate.

The mode of conducting the foreign trade with China now presents few of those peculiarities which formerly distinguished it, for the monopoly of the hong-merchants and of the East India Company both being abolished, native and foreign traders are free to choose with whom they will deal. The articles of trade are likely to increase in variety and amount, and a brief account of the principal ones, taken from the Chinese Commercial Guide, may be interesting to those unacquainted with the character of this trade.

The foreign export and import trade divides itself into two branches, that between India and the Archipelago and China, and that beyond the Cape of Good Hope, the former of which comprises the greatest variety, but its total value is much less. *Alum* of an inferior quality is sent to India to use in dyeing and purifying water. *Aniseed stars*, seeds of the *Amomum verum*, *cubebs*, *musk seed*, or the fruit of the *Hibiscus abelmoschus*, and *turmeric*, are all sought after for their aromatic properties. The first is the small five-rayed pod of the *Illicium anisatum*; the pods and seeds are both prized for their aromatic qualities, and a volatile oil, used in perfumery and medicine in Europe, is obtained from them; the Asiatics employ them in cooking. The fruit of the Amomum is shaped like a grape, divided into three cells, and containing a number of blackish seeds; it is a trifling article of commerce, as are also the musk seeds, used by the Arabians to flavor coffee. *Cubebs* are the produce of a pepper vine (*Piper cubeba*), and are externally distinguished from black pepper chiefly by their lighter color, and a short process where the seed is attached to the stalk; the pericarp is also more wrinkled. The taste is warm or pungent, and slightly bitter, with a pleasant aromatic smell; the Chinese article goes to India, the consumption of Europe being supplied from Java. Turmeric is the root of the *Curcuma longa*, and is used over all the Archipelago and India

for its coloring and aromatic properties, and for food. The roots are uneven and knotty, of a yellowish-saffron color; the smell resembles ginger, with a bitterish taste; and the two are usually combined in the composition of curry-powders. Its color is too fugacious for a dye, no mordant having yet been found to set it.

Besides these aromatic articles, *cassia* and *cassia oil* are sent abroad in amounts far exceeding the whole of them, and the *cassia buds*, or the fleshy receptacles of the seeds of the tree, also form an article of commerce, 500 peculs being annually shipped to Europe and India for the same uses as cassia. Cassia oil is used for confectionary and perfumery, and the demand is usually much greater than the supply. *Arsenic* is exported to India for medicinal purposes, and the native sulphuret or orpiment, is also shipped under the name of *hartall*, for use as a yellow coloring drug. The wrist and ankle rings, or *bangles* worn by the Hindus, are also sent in large quantities; the Chinese imitate jade and chalcedony in their manufacture, in which the Hindus do not succeed so well. The universal use and brittle nature of these ornaments render their consumption enormous in Eastern Asia. *Brass leaf* is extensively used in China, and exported to India for making ornamental offerings in worship, and *tin-foil* to a small amount. *Bones* and *horns* are manufactured into buttons, opium-boxes, hair-pins, &c., some of which go abroad. Bamboos, fishing-rods, and canes, form an article of commerce under the designation of *whangees*; the former are procured for umbrella handles, the latter sell according to taste or fashion. The same may be said of the great assortment of articles comprised under the head of *curiosities*, more or less of which are purchased by every trader visiting the country. Vases, pots, jars, cups, images, boxes, plates, screens, statuettes, &c., made of copper, iron, bronze, porcelain, stone, wood, clay, or lacquered ware, of almost every shape, size, and degree of workmanship, constitute the articles sent abroad under this designation.

Capoor cutchery is the root of a plant sent to India and Persia for medicinal purposes and for perfumery, and to preserve clothes from insects. It is about half an inch in diameter, and cut up when brought to market; it has a pungent, bitterish taste, and slightly aromatic smell. *Galangal* is another root sent to India; there are two sorts, the greater and the smaller, obtained from different plants, the best of which is the smaller, pro-

cured from the *Maranta galanga*. This is of a reddish color, about two inches long, of a firm texture though light, and possesses an acrid, peppery taste, and a slight aromatic smell. The larger is from a different plant (*Kæmpferia galanga*), and inferior in every respect. Both are used as spicery, and to some degree in Europe as well as India. *China root* is exported solely for medicine; the roots are jointed and knobbed; when cut, the surface is smooth and close-grained, and of a reddish color.

Chinaware, or porcelain, once so extensively exported, is now almost confined to the commonest descriptions of stone-ware, by far the greatest portion of which goes to India. The patterns made by the Chinese seldom change, while the foreign manufacturers can both consult and lead the taste and fancy of their customers, and it is owing to this, in some degree, that the demand for the Chinese fine ware has ceased, though the Mongols, Siamese, Hindus, and islanders in the Archipelago are still chiefly supplied from China. *Copper-ware* and tutenague utensils, with *coral* and *glass beads*, all form a small portion of the trade to India; the Chinese seldom use glass beads as ornaments. *False pearls* are sent to the same regions for ornaments, as well as employed by the Chinese. *Glue* of a tolerably good quality, made from ox-hides by themselves, supplies the Chinese, and furnishes an article for export to India. *Isinglass*, or fish-glue, is made from the sounds and noses of some sorts of fish, as the bynni carp, or *Polynemus*; it is much used in cookery, and the manufacture of false pearls.

A kind of umbrella, or parasol, made of oiled paper, or cheap oiled silk, called *kittysol*, is largely exported to India; the article is durable, considering its material, and its cheapness induces a large consumption. *Tobacco* is sent to the Indian islands in considerable quantity, but entirely for use among the natives. Ware made from ivory, tortoise-shell, mother-o'-pearl, and gold and silver, constitutes altogether a considerable item in the trade, for the beautiful carving of the Chinese always commands a market. The workmen easily execute orders, and imitate new patterns for boxes, combs, and buttons of mother-o'-pearl or tortoise-shell, while the cheapness and beauty with which silver table furniture is made, cause a large demand. *Lacquered-ware* is not so much sent abroad now as formerly, the foreign imitations of the trays and tables having nearly superseded the demand for the

Chinese ware. *Marble slabs* and tiles for floors, are sent to India, Sydney, and elsewhere; they are about a foot square, and form a durable pavement for courts and basements, in a warm climate.

Mats made of rattan for table-furniture, and of grass for floors, are largely exported. The latter is manufactured of different widths and patterns, and though the amount annually sent to the United States and elsewhere is calculated to exceed half a million yards, it forms a very small proportion to the home consumption. Floor matting is put up in rolls containing fifty mats, or forty yards. Rattans are manufactured into chairs, baskets, and other articles, but their bulk interferes with their exportation. *Musk*, though still an article constantly in demand for its odor, is often and much adulterated, or its quality impaired by disease. It comes to Canton in the bags found on the animals, which are about as large as a walnut; when good, it is of a dark purplish color, dry and light, and generally in concrete, smooth, and unctuous grains; its taste is bitter and smell strong; when rubbed on paper, the trace is of a bright yellow color, and the feel free from grittiness. A brown unctuous earth is sometimes mixed with it, and the bags are frequently artificial; the price is about forty-five dollars a pound for the best quality.

Nankeens were formerly sent abroad in considerable quantities, but instead of exporting their own fabrics, the Chinese now purchase cottons from their former customers to a large amount. There are few fabrics more durable than the nankeen, and it forms the principal material for cheap garments among the people, and is more or less exported every year to England, Sydney, and South America. *Silk goods* go mostly to the United States, and raw silk to England. The supply is not equal to the demand, and only about ten thousand bales are now exported, while upwards of twenty thousand were sent off, mostly to England, in 1836, some of which rated as high as $500 a pecul. The refuse raw silk goes to India. The exportation to the United States for making silk thread is trifling. Silk goods are shipped to the United States, Mexico and South America, and elsewhere, to the annual value of about a million of dollars; they consist chiefly of pongees, handkerchiefs, crape-shawls, scarfs, sarsnet, sonshaws, levantines and satins; ribbons, sewing-thread, and organzine, or thrown silk, are not much shipped. The silk trade is more likely to increase than any other branch of the commerce, after tea, and

the Chinese can furnish almost any amount of raw and manufactured silks according to the demand for them. The best *Soy* is made by boiling beans soft, adding an equal quantity of wheat or barley, and leaving the mass to ferment; a portion of salt, and three times as much water as beans, are afterwards put in, and the whole compound left for two or three months, when the liquid is pressed and strained. The flavor and ingredients of soy vary considerably, even among the people who make it, and much of that exported is supposed to be more or less adulterated. *Sugar* was formerly largely exported to India, especially the common brown sugar; that article is now in a measure undersold by the sugars of Manila and Siam, and only the *ping fa sugar*, and *sugar candy* are sent abroad. The customs of the Chinese and Hindus in their domestic and social habits are so unlike, and they produce so few things that each other require, that the trade between the two countries was probably never very great, considering the extent of their territories and amount of population.

Besides the articles abovementioned, there are many others which singly form very trifling items in the trade, but their total exportation annually amounts to many lacs of dollars. Among them, fire-crackers is one of the largest in amount, chiefly to the United States; in 1845, more than 65,000 boxes were shipped to that country, while some went to India and South America. Among other sundries which are sent abroad, vermilion, gold leaf, sea-shells, preserved insects, fans of paper and silk, ginger, sweetmeats and jellies, rhubarb, gamboge, camphor, grass-cloth, split rattans, fishing-lines, joss-sticks for lighting segars, spangles, window-blinds, vegetable tallow, and pictures, are the most deserving of mention. Some of them may perhaps become important articles of commerce, and all of them, except vermilion, gamboge, and rattans, are the produce of the country, and can be furnished to any extent.

The imports into China make a much longer list than the exports, for almost everything that had, should, or might sell there, is from time to time offered in the market; and if the Chinese at Canton had had any inclination or curiosity to obtain the productions or manufactures of other lands, they have had no want of specimens. It will, of course, in describing the articles of import, only be necessary to mention those whose names are not of themselves a sufficient description. Opium, rice, raw cotton,

longcloths, domestics and sheetings among manufactured cottons, ginseng, tin, lead, iron in the form of bars, rods, and hoop, and woolen goods, constitute the great bulk of the import trade. The rice is brought from Java, Bali, Lombok, and Manila, and the government has shown the greatest desire to increase the importation, by allowing all ships laden with no other cargo, to enter the port free of all tonnage dues. So early as 1832, the governor of Canton reduced the duties upon all rice-laden ships about three thousand dollars, a privilege which was largely availed of to bring vessels into port, whose cargoes had been transhipped at Lintin for the purpose of taking in rice. The importation of rice during the year 1834 was upwards of fifty millions of pounds.

The importations from the Indian Archipelago comprise a large variety of articles, though their total amount and value are not very great. *Agar-agar* is one of the list of eatables from this region; it is a tenacious vegetable glue made from seaweed, and when boiled with sugar forms a sweetish jelly, somewhat resembling calf's-foot. *Betel-nut* forms a more important import; it is the fruit of the areca palm, and is called *betel-nut* because it is chewed with the leaf of the betel pepper as a masticatory. The nut is the only part brought to China, the leaf being raised along the whole southern coast; it resembles a nutmeg in shape, color, and internal structure, but is a little larger; the whole of the nut is chewed. The nuts are boiled or eaten raw, the former being cut into slices and boiled with a small quantity of cutch and then dried. Those brought to China are simply deprived of the husk and dried. When chewed, a slice of the nut is wrapped in the fresh leaf smeared with a mixture of gambier colored red with cinnabar, and the whole masticated to a pulp before spitting it out. The teeth become dark red from using it, but the Chinese are careful to remove this stain, which the Malays regard as beautiful. The taste of the fresh pepper leaf is herbaceous and aromatic with a little pungency, and those who chew it become so fond of it that it is seldom out of their mouths.

Biche-de-mer, i. e. slug of the sea, or tripang, is an important article of trade. It is a marine animal, resembling the common garden slug, but much larger, being sometimes over a foot long, and two or three inches through; the common size is a span in length and two inches in girth. It inhabits the reefs and shallow waters around the islands of the Pacific and Indian Archipelago,

and is obtained by the natives by diving or spearing, and prepared by cleansing and smoking it. In the market, it appears hard and rigid externally, of a dirty brown color, and when soaked in water resembles pork-rind, and is like that in taste when stewed. It is cooked by itself, or mixed with other ingredients and dishes, and is extensively consumed from a belief that it possesses peculiar strengthening, aphrodisiac qualities. The Chinese distinguish nearly thirty sorts of *hai sâng*, i. e. sea ginseng, or tripang, and it is not unlikely that several species of Holothurion are captured and sold for food under the name; in commerce, however, all sorts are known as white or black, the prices ranging from $1,50 up to $80 a pecul. *Birdsnests*, *sharks' fins*, and *fish-maws* are three articles of food brought to China from the Archipelago, but not in such quantities as tripang. The art or skill of man has no power to increase the supply of the first of these three, although its high price leads him to run desperate risks to get it, but the supply of the two latter nearly equals the demand. The taste of the Chinese for the gelatinous fins of the shark has one good effect in clearing the seas of that ferocious fish, and to a European palate the soup or stew made from them is not at all unpalatable. It is not known what fish supplies the maws brought to Canton, but the gelatinous nature of the dish suggests a species of Polynemus. The total annual importation of the four substances here mentioned into Canton, in foreign bottoms, is not far from 25,000 peculs of betel-nut, 500 peculs of biche-de-mer, 1,500 peculs of fishmaws, and between five and six of birds' nests; their combined value is estimated at about $200,000. Crawfurd, in his work on the Indian Archipelago, written about twenty-five years ago, estimated the amount of birdsnests alone produced in the islands, at 243,000 pounds, worth about $1,250,000, but the supply is not now so abundant. It is nearly impossible, however, to ascertain the total amount of these articles introduced into China, for so large a portion of the trade is in the hands of the natives, that any notion of their consumption derived from the insufficient data of foreign importations would be exceedingly inaccurate.

Ambergris is a substance secreted in the intestines of the spermaceti whale, and brought from the Archipelago in small quantities for medicinal purposes, the Chinese having the not uncommon idea that the value of a thing depends somewhat on its rarity

and cost. It is a solid, opaque, ash-colored or marbled, fatty, inflammable substance, with little black spots inside resembling wax, and gives off an agreeable odor when heated. *Amber* is found on various eastern shores, from Africa to Japan, and is much sought after by the Chinese, to make court beads and other ornaments; false amber is also brought from India, and sold at prices almost as great as the genuine article, and which, from their resemblance to it, are equally good for such purposes. *Beeswax*, though largely produced in China, is imported from Timor and Timorlaut, in Portuguese ships, to incase thin tallow or lard candles.

Many drugs and medicines are brought to Canton from the south, some of which are of considerable importance. *Assafœtida* is one of them, ranking high in the materia medica, and said to be sometimes used for curing persons of opium-smoking, by mixing the two,—a befitting remedy, and one which ought to cure that destructive habit if anything nauseous and vile could do it. *Cow bezoar*, and bezoars from all ruminating animals, always find a ready market in China, where the doctors lay it up as a rare medicine, and are not unfrequently deceived by an artificial preparation of pipe-clay and ox-gall mixed with a little hair. *Cutch*, or Terra Japonica is a gummy resin, obtained from a species of Acacia, and was for a long time supposed to be a sort of earth found in Japan; it is called *cutch* from the Runn of Cutch, near which the tree grows. The best is friable between the fingers, and of a reddish brown color; the cakes resemble chocolate in appearance, and a piece melts in the mouth with a sweetish, astringent taste, leaving no grittiness, the presence of which is a test of impurity or bad preparation. The Chinese use it as a red dye, but the Indian islanders chew it with betel-nut. *Rose-maloes* is a scented gummous oil of the consistence of tar brought from Persia to China for medicinal purposes.

The Chinese depend upon their southern neighbors for many gum-resins, the majority of which come from the Archipelago. *Benzoin*, or *benjamin*, is the most highly esteemed; it is the concrete juice of a small tree cultivated in Borneo and Sumatra, collected from the bark by incisions in much the same manner as opium, until the plant withers and dies. It comes to market in cakes, which in some parts of those islands formerly served as standards of value. Good benzoin is full of clear light-colored

spots, marbled on the broken surface, and giving off an agreeable odor when heated or rubbed; it is the frankincense of the far East, and has been employed by many nations in their religious ceremonies; for what was so acceptable to the worshippers was soon inferred to be equally grateful to the gods, and sought after by all devotees as a delightful perfume. The quantity of benzoin produced is, however, small, and the Arabian frankincense or *olibanum*, is more commonly seen in the market, and is employed for the same purposes. This gum-resin exudes spontaneously from a large tree growing in Arabia and India; the drops have a pale, reddish color, a strong and somewhat unpleasant smell, a pungent and bitterish taste, and when chewed, give the saliva a milky color; it burns with a pleasant fragrance and slight residuum. *Myrrh* and *bdellium* are brought to China from India and Persia, both being employed in medicine and fumigation; bdellium is semi-pellucid, of a yellowish brown color, unctuous, bitter and brittle. *Dragon's blood* is the concrete juice of the rattan palm, and comes to market in large lumps formed of the tears agglutinated together; when powdered, it shows a bright crimson, and if pure burns entirely away. The Chinese employ it as a medicine, varnish, and paint, and consume it to a larger extent than any other nation. Besides these five gums, small quantities of gum-arabic, copal and gum animi are found. *Dammar* is another article of the same class as the preceding, being a kind of indurated pitch flowing spontaneously from pines growing in the Archipelago, in such quantities as to supply the natives with an excellent material for paying the seams of their boats; only a little is brought to China, for in their *chunam* the Chinese have a good material for such purposes. Small quantities of coir, obtained from Borneo and other islands, are also brought by native vessels. *Cudbear* is imported from England in small quantities, *gamboge* from Siam and Cochinchina to a large amount, and *cochineal* from Mexico. Prussian blue and indigo, made by the Chinese themselves, furnish the largest part of their dyes, though the annual importation of the three articles abovementioned, is probably not less than $50,000.

Cloves are consumed but little by the Chinese, their average importation not exceeding 400 parcels. Mother cloves is a name given to a larger and inferior description brought from the straits of Malacca, and used for scents. *Pepper* is much more used

than cloves, the tea being considered highly beneficial in fevers; the good effects of it as a febrifuge, seem, however, to be doubted lately, for the importation is not one half now what it was fifteen years ago. *Camphor*, although largely produced in China is still imported from Borneo, the people supposing that the drops and lumps found in the fissures of the camphor tree in that island, are far more valuable and powerful than their own gum; the proportion between the two, both in price and quantity, is about eighteen to one. *Cardamoms*, *nutmegs*, and *mace*, are little used by the Chinese in cookery; the first named are the capsules of a small shrub growing in Malabar; they have a sweet aromatic flavor, and a grateful warmth when chewed.

Gambier forms a part of cargoes from Singapore; it is obtained from the gambier vine by boiling the leaves, and inspissating the decoction; a soapy substance of a brownish yellow color, remains, which is a good and cheap material for tanning and dyeing. *Putchuck* is a fragrant root brought from Scinde, resembling rhubarb in color and smell, and affording an agreeable perfume when burned; the powder is employed in making incense sticks, and the importation, principally for this purpose, is about 2000 peculs. *Sandal-wood* is brought for the same object from India, and the islands lying east of it; but the best pieces are selected for carving and making fancy articles, as fans, card-cases, &c.

Cornelians, agates, and other stones of greater or less value are purchased by the Chinese for manufacturing into official insignia, rings, beads, and other articles of ornament; they are brought chiefly from India or Central Asia. *Pearls*, to the amount of $300,000, are annually brought to Canton; and *coral* is also a part of cargoes from the Archipelago. *Mother-o'-pearl* shells and *tortoise-shell* are brought from the same region and the islands of the Pacific, a large part of which is re-exported in the shape of buttons, combs, and other productions of Chinese skill. *Ivory* comes principally from Cochinchina and Africa, viâ Bombay, and always finds a ready sale at Canton; the largest and best tusks weigh from 16 to 25 pounds each, decreasing to five or six pounds. The cuttings and fragments also form an article of trade, as the workmen can employ the smallest pieces. *Bones* and *horns*, especially the long horns of buffaloes, are worked into handles, buttons, &c. Rhinoceros' horns are brought from Birmah and Sumatra, and from Africa through Bombay; they are

highly valued by the Chinese from a notion that cups made from them sweat whenever a poisonous mixture is poured into them. A perfect horn sometimes sells as high as $300, but those that come from Africa do not usually rate above $30 or $40 each. The principal use of these horns is in medicine and for amulets, for only one good cup can be carved from the end of each horn; and consequently the parings and fragments are all preserved. The hard teeth of the walrus, lamantin, and other cetaceous animals, also form an article of import from the Pacific, under the designation of *seahorse-teeth;* they weigh one or two pounds apiece, and the ivory is nearly as compact, though not so white, as that of the elephant.

Among the miscellaneous articles brought from Europe, are flints and broken glass for use in the native glass manufacture. *Ginseng* still forms a considerable item in the American trade, but the high prices it once brought are no longer obtained, though a high duty indicates the desire of the Chinese government to protect the imperial monopoly. *Gold* and *silver thread* is largely imported for embroidery, ornamenting ladies' dresses, and such like purposes. The importation of *metals* has steadily increased with the enlargement of the trade; lead, iron, sheet-tin, block-tin, copper, spelter, tutenague, quicksilver, and steel, are all important items in the foreign trade, and go far to supply the native consumption along the coast. Lead, iron and quicksilver are the largest in the list; the first is extensively employed for lining tea-chests, and in the preparation of red and white lead for paints; the latter is largely re-exported in the shape of vermilion, and consumed in the plating of looking-glasses. Gold-dust is brought from Borneo and melted into ingots, which are employed to some extent as bullion, but this metal is principally used in the manufacture of gold leaf. *Smaltz*, for painting blue on porcelain and copper basins, is almost the only metallic oxide imported. *Saltpetre* was formerly prohibited, under the idea that foreigners exported it for making their own powder; it is purchased entirely for government use, and is resold by them to the people, or worked up in powder manufactories.

Sago is brought from Singapore, but the consumption of the *sí kuh mí*, i. e. "small-grain rice," is very limited. Another article of food of greater sale is *stockfish*, but as the Chinese have learned to cure fish in this way without salt, the foreign importa

tion has diminished from thousands of peculs to a mere trifle. *Skins* and *furs* still come to Canton, but the supply is small and unequal; the forests of Manchuria and Siberia furnish the chief part of the fine furs, while the flocks of the Mongols produce an almost unlimited supply of lambskins. The dress of the Chinese is well adapted for displaying elegant furs, and the sumptuary laws compel officers to wear them on their winter caps and robes. *Woods* of various sorts are imported for cabinet-work, dye-stuffs, and medicine. Ebony, amboyna-wood, rose-wood, mahogany, and satin-wood, are employed by the carpenters at Canton to a considerable extent, but their machinery for cutting veneers is clumsy, and the people prefer solid pieces of furniture to those which are inlaid.

The list of articles of foreign manufacture found in the markets of Canton, comprises many which the Chinese do not purchase to any amount, being brought there principally to supply the foreign residents, as well as with a view to try the taste of the people. Clocks and watches, cheap jewelry, telescopes, cutlery, snuff, corks, glassware, lamps, chandeliers, coarse soap from India, &c., are among the most saleable imports.

The mode of conducting the trade is fully described in the Chinese Commercial Guide, where the forms of custom-house blanks are given in both English and Chinese. The foreigners themselves employ clerks called *linguists*, to transact all their custom-house business, who go through the details, and act also as brokers in many transactions. Every Chinese who intends to engage in the trade, either in this capacity, or as a trader, previously learns to speak English, by studying manuscript vocabularies, in which the English sounds of words and phrases are written underneath in the Chinese character, he obtaining the assistance of more advanced scholars to correct his pronunciation. The idioms of the English learned in this viva-voce manner, are chiefly Chinese, which explains the inverted arrangement of sentences in the Canton-English, as this jargon is called, and the utter disregard paid to gender, number, person, time, and other proprieties, considered of some importance in most languages. For instance, a shopkeeper going to a foreigner to solicit his custom, says, "My chinchin (request) you, one good [illegible]en (friend), take care for my (patronize me); 'spose you want [illegible]e any first chop ting, my can catchee for you; I secure sell em plum cash

(prime cost); can do?" The foreigner, with great gravity replies, "Just now, my no wanchee anyting; any teem (time) 'spose you got very number one good ting, perhaps I come your shop look see." The native, knowing no other rules of speech, follows his own tongue, and the foreigner must imitate the same, or be misunderstood. The whole trade is conducted in this meagre gibberish, which the natives suppose, however, to be as copious and correct English as foreigners themselves speak, but which hardly serves even the common purposes of trade and household need, much less enables the two parties to exchange ideas upon recondite subjects. Much of the misunderstanding and trouble experienced in daily intercourse with the Chinese is doubtless owing to this imperfect medium, for they seldom take the trouble to ascertain if their idea of what is told them is the correct one; and mutual vexation and ill-will arise, when one party finds his orders to have been heedlessly performed, and the other that his efforts to please have only brought maledictions instead of commendation. These petty annoyances have also had more serious results in strengthening the national dislikes, and still further separating those who originally intended, perhaps, only to endure each other as long as they could make gain thereby.

The value and variety of the imports and exports which paid duty for a single year, will be seen from the following tables, which have been prepared from official sources, by the British consuls at Canton and Shanghai, and are as near the actual amounts as can be ascertained. The total of the foreign trade at the five ports for the year 1845 is here given from consular returns, but the amounts do not include the American and Spanish trade at Amoy, nor the trade at some of the other ports under other flags. The dollar is reckoned at 4*s*. 2*d*. sterling.

CANTON,	Imports in vessels of all nations,	$14,062,811	or £3,046,942
	Exports in vessels of all nations,	$30,564,526	or £6,622,726
AMOY,	Imports in 33 British vessels,	$707,973	or £147,494
	Exports in British vessels,	$742,749	or £154,781
FUHCHAU,	Imports in 5 British vessels, $346,308; and 3 American,		$55,267
	Exports in British vessels, $328,608; and in American,		$ 3,725
NINGPO,	Imports in British vessels,	$49,911;	exports, $53,976
	Imports in Bremen vessels,	$13,854;	exports, $ 2,217
	Imports in American vessels,	$ 5,414;	exports $ 5,357
SHANGHAI,	Imports in all vessels,	$5,875,104	or £1,223,980
	Exports in all vessels,	$6,465,849	or £1,347,052

Estimate of legal Imports from foreign countries into Canton, and those into Shanghai in British vessels during the year 1845.

Description of Commodities.	Aggregate Quantities Imported.	Estimated value in dollars	In what ships imported.									Into Shanghai.	Estimated Value in dollars.
			British.	American.	F'ch.	Dutch	Danish.	Swed'h.	German	Other Flags.	Portug. Lorchas		
Areca or betel nut	peculs, 35,221	130,795	15,935	12,058	..	45	..	..	5,095	..	2,088	..	..
Biche-de-mer	" 5,289	132,828	420	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,896	..	..
Birds nests	catties, 26,551	232,676	125	..	..	775	..	..	..	..	25,651	..	..
Clocks, watches, &c...	value	35,110	28,546	6,564	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	value	13,613
Cochineal	catties, 2,780	6,312	..	1,680	..	..	..	..	1,100	..	..	..	..
Cotton, raw	pcls, 580,541	5,192,439	527,201	32,943	..	1,283	..	13,631	..	180	5,316	..	..
Cottons, plain	ps. 1,255,506	3,462,169	846,147	338,286	..	..	..	..	16,118	..	54,955	1,253,492	4,001,237
twilled	" 137,677	420,911	3,020	132,937	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,740	3,327	10,469
cambrics & muslins	" 2,427	7,274	2,427	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	240	1,200
printed	" 27,283	69,672	23,426	2,981	..	..	..	..	625	.	350	26,816	91,017
handkerchiefs	doz. 15,680	33,168	14,126	1,239	..	..	210	..	105	..	..	8,369	9,157
unenumerated	value	84,224	19,050	50,784	..	..	246	..	2,818	..	11,326	value	118,286
Cotton yarn and thread	peculs, 23,331	400,961	20,446	1,785	..	..	44	..	25	..	1,031	770	23,122
Earthenware	value	1,965	1,840	125	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Elephants' teeth	catties, 16,418	16,723	15,271	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,147	..	..
Fishmaws	peculs, 1,832	82,035	1,696	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	136	..	..
Flints.	" 19,927	9,204	15,411	..	..	3,468	471	..	525	..	52	7,364	8,986
Gambier.....	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	272	705
Glass and glassware...	value	11,625	3,927	3,842	..	..	..	..	576	..	3,280	value	6,422
Ginseng.....	peculs, 2,532	155,549	246	2,286	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gum olibanum.	" 4,089	23,645	4,089	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gum myrrh, &c.	value	4,407	4,407	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Horns, buffalo's	peculs, 45	1,195	45	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Horns, rhinoceros'	" 64	3,260	54	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Indigo	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,632	7,238
Mother-o'-pearl shells	peculs, 1,966	12,573	419	1,545	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	..	..

Metals, copper	*peculs,*	*1,606*	*36,957*		*3*	*674*	..	*120*	..	..	..	..	*810*	..	..	
" *iron*	"	*29,931*	*74,952*	*24,083*	*4,375*	..	*3*	..	..	*630*	..	*840*	*13,553*	*32,117*		
" *steel*	"	*317*	*1,270*	*7*	..	..	*290*	..	..	*20*	..	..	..	..		
" *block tin*	"	*225*	*4,056*	*225*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
" *pig lead*	"	21,076	*106,407*	*716*	*18,971*	..	..	..	..	77	..	1,312	1,771	*6,422*		
" *spelter*	"	1,836	*11,475*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,836	..	..		
" *tin plates*	boxes,	1,239	8,692	1,006	190	..	7	..	..	36	..	..	291	5,237		
Pepper	peculs,	7,828	39,531	4,865	1,028	..	374	1,121	..	94	..	346	1,015	5,580		
Putchuck	"	1,457	14,618	902	290	..	..	..	..	..	..	265	..	..		
Rattans	"	39,313	112,937	9,381	11,870	..	5,789	94	..	70	..	12,109	5,022	20,717		
Rice and paddy	"	166,739	296,725	26,867	112,404	4,881	4,432	..	..	5,871	12,284	..	..	..		
Saltpetre	"	841	6,376	152	692	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	267	1,282		
Sharks' fins	"	33,102	128,679	6,084	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27,018	..	..		
Skins and furs	No.	30,889	74,795	9,916	10,918	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,995	..	..		
Smalts		313	14,489	280	..	..	..	..	..	33	..	..	27	2,457		
Soap	catties,	77,618	8,693	63,933	13,685	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Wine, beer, spirits	value		18,903	5,650	10,652	..	656	..	..	765	..	1,180	value	7,109		
Wood, sandal	peculs,	28,768	214,080	22,593	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1,142	76	365		
" ebony	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	700	979		
" sapan	"	6,570	12,955	395	716	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	478	1,646		
Woollens, broad	chang	161,236	890,996	145,472	8,215	..	..	1,760	..	1,319	..	5,459				
" narrow	"	784,637	1,118,013	736,236	22,603	..	6,415	..	..	6,615	..	4,440	value	790,027		
" unenumerated	value		7,536	7,536	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12,768	value	12,366		
Woollen blankets	pairs,	7,028	40,137	3,916	1,118	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	747	2,400		
Sundries	value		288,610	218,536	30,486	922	7,800	1,010	1,226	12,934	258	1,374	value	13,915		
		£3,046,942 or $14,062,811		10,892934,	2,478,048	8,318	77,751	19,871	114,817	123,530	22,482	15,408	£1,082,207 or 5,196,598			
												825,060				

The catty is 1⅓ *lb. av.*, and the pecul is 133⅓ *lbs. av.*; the chang is nearly 4 *yds.* English. The value of the goods has been computed according to the average prices in the market, including the duty and other charges. The principal imports not included in this table are opium, treasure, and pearls.

Estimate of all the Exports to foreign countries from Canton, and those from Shanghai in British vessels during the year 1845.

Description of Commodities.	Aggregate Quantities Exported.	Estimated value in dollars.	In what ships exported.									From Shanghai.	Estimated value in dollars.
			British.	American.	F'ch.	Dutch	Danish.	Swed'h.	German	Other Flags	Portug. Lorchas		
Alum	peculs, 31,032	54,486	30,782	..	..	..	..	..	250	..	..	2,701	2,256
Aniseed, star	" 611	6,300	106	12	110	220	50	..	133	..	..	..	..
Aniseed oil	" 67	9,494	24	43	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bangles	boxes, 146	8,848	127	2	1	2	..	2	..	..	12	..	..
Bamboo ware	peculs, 471	7,921	138	74	2	6	41	170	..	30	10	..	..
Brass leaf	boxes, 120	2,815	117	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
Camphor	peculs, 2,229	44,675	1,202	1,025	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
Canes of all sorts	thous. 232	2,823	117	53	16	..	40	6	..	..	..	..	..
Cassia lignea	peculs, 40,150	426,650	15,897	12,930	155	1,433	1,357	696	2,082	760	4,840	..	..
Cassia buds	" 549	8,969	502	10	..	..	..	..	37	..	..	..	..
Cassia oil	" 98	24,822	35	54	..	2	..	..	4	..	3	..	..
China root	" 3,611	10,820	3,016	39	60	10	265	197	5	19	..	..	..
Chinaware	" 3,850	121,078	4,718	909	31	48	10	120	2	..	42	..	..
Copper, tin, pewter ware	" 192	8,637	173	6	2	4	..	1	1	..	5	..	..
Crackers and fireworks	" 5,267	27,113	791	4,040	1	210	12	25	3	170	15	..	..
Fans	catties, 56,164	58,687	5,496	28,489	66	32	56	..	21,775	..	250	..	..
Furniture	peculs, 623	14,247	268	230	2	3	1	2	2	55	60	..	..
Glassware and beads	boxes, 2,019	39,138	1,939	..	..	..	20	..	..	..	90	..	..
Grass-cloth	catties, 31,718	41,624	2,256	11,888	..	465	..	251	6,721	2,085	8,052	..	..
Gypsum	peculs, ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,480	2,736
Hartall or orpiment	" 282	3,408	207	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ivory & m-o'pearl ware	catties, 7,427	18,504	1,207	5,075	2	50	25	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kittisols	boxes, 910	11,824	935	3	..	89	3	309	174	398	170	..	..
Lacquered ware	peculs, 501	23,069	263	148	4	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
Mats and matting	" 17,675	110,575	1,765	15,426	..	18	3	11	12	18	24	..	..
Musk	catties, 144	12,142	106	38	..	4	15	142	1	110	212	..	..
												67	4,017

Nankeens, dyed cottons	*peculs,*	*436*	*21,084*	*253*	*22*	*12*	*18*	..	*54*	*52*	..	*25*		*56*	*3,000*
Paper	"	*2,495*	*36,770*	*2,149*	*48*	*35*	*156*	*8*	*13*	*32*	..	*54*	..		
Quick-silver	"	*143*	*16,919*	*130*	..	..	*1*	..	..	..	*12*	..	..	..	..
Preserves, ginger, &c.	*boxes,*	*17,194*	*71,376*	*5,003*	*7,465*	..	*2,102*	*1,602*	*670*	*342*	..	*10*	..	..	..
Rattan ware	*peculs,*	*1,035*	*21,026*	*148*	*855*	..	*1*	*2*	*26*	..	*1*	*2*	..	..	..
Rhubarb	"	2,672	111,608	1,505	823	52	28	75	9	180	..	..	..	..	..
Silk, raw	"	5,389	2,077,710	5,192	32	31	75	..	..	56	3	..	73		1,699
" coarse and refuse	"	4,191	420,637	4,191	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	295		
" thread and ribbons	catties,	15,599	95,956	2,813	2,567	..	240	1,154	3,056	..	2,851	2,900	..		
" Tsatlee	peculs,	.	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
" Tuysaam	"	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,818		3,803,947
" Yuenfa	"	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,694		
Silk piece goods	catties	232,702	1,857,721	69,549	112,623	536	659	8,391	13,217	8,266	17,457	2,001	698		
Silk and cotton stuffs	"	25,587	73,020	24,487	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	100	1,474		
Soy	peculs,	568	5,308	430	9	..	..	78	48	3	..	..	..		..
Sugar, raw	"	139,857	701,841	136,283	492	..	..	..	3,082	..	..	..	..		..
Sugar candy	"	42,672	319,587	42,614	58	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Tea	"	600,091	23203082	429,867	139,202	1,931	16109	1,307	943	7,588	60	3,084	69,889		2,221,181
Trunks, camphor	nests,	740	16,154	262	427	..	18	22	8	3	..	..	..		..
Vermilion	boxes,	764	39,276	560	155	20	5	5	15	..	4	..	..		..
Sundries	value		378,583	213,075	151,451	1,033	2,046	1,296	1,712	1,586	965	2,416	value		4,800
	£6,622,726 or $30,566,426			20,734018	7,979,864	93,010	635533	141 129	179,615	419,973	163,688	219,596	£1,259,091 or 6,048,637		

The rate of exchange calculated in these tables has been 4*s.* 3*d.* stg. per dollar at Canton, and 4*s.* 2*d.* at Shanghai; the market price of dollars themselves varies according to their impress, Carolus IIII. dollars being at a premium of 5 or 6 per cent., and Mexican dollars at nearly as great a discount. Rupees and English money are almost unknown in trade except at Hongkong. The custom of each man stamping the dollars as they pass through his hands, as a guarantee that they are not counterfeit, defaces and soon destroys the coin; such dollars are called *chop dollars*, and gradually pass out of circulation, by being melted up into sycee. The value given to the various articles has been computed by the consuls at Canton upon a moderate estimate derived from the average prices in that market, including the duty and other charges. A large part of the trade in Portuguese lorchas or lighters is from Hongkong, and much of it is English property.

The contraband trade in opium is estimated to amount to upwards of forty thousand chests, at a sale price of twenty millions of dollars; which with the pearls, gold and silver ware, and precious stones, and other articles smuggled, the Spanish and other trade at Amoy, added to the above amounts, will swell the total of the foreign trade to about eighty-five millions of dollars annually, exclusive of the Russian trade at Kiakhta. The consumption of tea in England is about 58 millions of pounds annually; in the United States it is between 16 and 18 millions; in the Netherlands, 2 millions; Russia, 5 millions; Germany, 3 millions; New South Wales, 4 millions; and Spain, France, and elsewhere, 3 millions; the aggregate of 700 millions of pounds has been mentioned as the consumption of China itself, but this is a mere guess.

The prospects for the rapid extension of the foreign trade with China are not very promising, except in a few articles. The raw produce furnished from that country is very trifling, silk and alum being the chief; and there is little probability of any great increase in the exportation of her manufactured articles, except tea and silk goods. The opium trade has been for many years nearly fifteen millions of dollars in excess of the regular exchange of commodities, and the drainage of the country for this balance will probably go on as long as the taste for this pernicious narcotic continues, or there is specie to pay for it. To legalize the opium trade would make no material difference in the exportation of specie as long as the balance of imports so greatly exceeds the exports. England may make every effort to supply China with her manufactures, but so long as the Chinese furnish so little that she wants beyond a supply of tea, it is difficult to perceive with what they are to pay for all the cottons and woollens it is hoped they will buy. Besides the drain of the precious metals in payment for opium, the extended use of that article, in a comparative measure, paralyzes the productive powers of the consumers, and disables them from reproducing their share to the general capital of the country.

CHAPTER XXI.

Foreign Intercourse with China.

The notices which the research of authors has collected respecting the intercourse between China and the west, and the principal facts of interest, are so well arranged in the first three chapters of Sir John Davis' work, that it is needless to enter minutely into their detail. In truth, the very terms *intercourse* and *ambassies*, so often used with reference to the nations of Eastern Asia, indicate a peculiar state of relations with them; for while other courts send and receive resident ministers, those of China, Japan, Corea, and Cochinchina, keep themselves aloof from this national interchange of civilities; they neither understand its principles, care for its commencement, nor appreciate its advantages. Ambassies have been sent by most European nations to the two first, which have tended rather to strengthen their assumptions of supremacy than to enlighten them as to the real objects and wishes of the courts proposing such courtesies. The commercial intercourse has, like the political, either been forced upon or begged of these governments, constantly subject to those vexatious restrictions and interruptions, which might be expected from such ill-defined arrangements; and though mutually advantageous, has never been conducted on those principles of reciprocity and equality, which characterize commerce at the west. The rulers and merchants of these oriental nations are not yet sufficiently acquainted with their own and others' rights to be able or willing to enter into close political and commercial relations with European powers. Both magistrates and people are ignorant and afraid of the resources, power, and designs of Christian nations, and consequently disinclined to admit them or their subjects to unrestrained intercourse. When western adventurers, as Pinto, Andrade, Weddell, and others came to the shores of China and Japan in the 16th and 17th centuries, they found the governments disposed to traffic, but the conquests subsequently

made by Europeans in the neighboring regions of Luçonia, Java, and India, and their cruel treatment of the natives, led these two powers to apprehend like results for themselves, if they did not soon take precautionary measures of exclusion and restriction. Nor can there be much doubt that this policy was the safest measure, in order to preserve their independence, and maintain their authority over even their own subjects. The belief entertained by Europeans at that period that the pope had a right to dispose of all pagan lands, only wanted men and means to be everywhere carried into effect; and if the Chinese and Japanese governments had allowed Portuguese, Spanish, French, and English colonists to settle and increase within their borders, they would probably long since have crumbled to pieces, and their territories been possessed by others. Might made right more generally among nations then than it does now; at least they resorted to force more summarily than they do at present. The hope may be expressed, however, that the six governments of Farther Asia or Chin-India, from Birmah and Siam to Corea and Japan, may preserve their independence, while their people are elevated and Christianized, and thus enabled to take their proper place among the nations of the earth.

The first recorded knowledge of China among the nations of the west, does not date further back than Ptolemy the celebrated geographer, who seems also himself to have been indebted to a Tyrian author named Marinus. Previous to this period, however, the account of the existence of the land of Confucius, and an appreciation and demand for the splendid silks made there, had reached Europe, the country, the people, and the fabrics of that distant land, all being invested with a halo of power and wealth which has not yet entirely vanished. There are strong reasons for supposing the land of Sinim to be China, which would make Isaiah to be the first writer extant who has mentioned these regions. The true position of the Sinæ and Seres, and the nature of the textures called *serica* and *bombycina*, mentioned by Horace, Arrian, and other writers before Ptolemy, have been carefully investigated by Gosselin, Vincent, and others, whose researches only show how vague was the information then possessed. According to the Periplus of Arrian, the city of Thina can hardly be placed further east than Sí-ngan fu, and perhaps is not now in existence; Ptolemy speaks of a large town of that

name in the peninsula of Malacca, which is probably another place. There was a long and dangerous land route leading to this emporium by way of Scythia, which, according to Ptolemy, passed through Persia to Bactria, and over mountain defiles, and rugged paths beset with perils and difficulties, the whole journey occupying the best part of a year. "The character of the Seres, too, as concisely drawn by Ammianus Marcellinus, corresponds with that of the Chinese. They are represented as studiously shunning intercourse with other nations, allowing traffic only at a frontier station, and under very strict precautions; and while they sell their own commodities, they accept nothing but money in return. They are described also as singularly frugal, quiet, and tranquil; finally, as unwarlike and averse to the use of arms. These are the characteristics of the Chinese, and directly opposite to those which distinguish the other nations in the east of Asia. The journey of seven months from the mountain girdle of India was amply sufficient to enable the caravans to reach the borders and even the interior of China, while, for any nearer point, the time consumed would be most unaccountable. The extent of Serica, also, as given by Ptolemy, and the two great rivers flowing through it from west to east, agree with the modern delineations of the empire."* Arguments like these in favor of the identity of the Seres and the Chinese, drawn from their character and natural productions, are much stronger than those which go to prove them to have inhabited the valley of the Yarkand in Ili, inasmuch as the geography of those regions was described so erroneously as to defy explanation.

The works quoted above contain further extracts and summaries from the writings of Ptolemy respecting the voyage by sea, which show that he had a tolerably correct knowledge of the great features of the coast, from the mouth of the Ganges to the longitude of Canton. It is a difficult and almost profitless endeavor, however, to attempt to identify the names of the places mentioned in these early records. The emporium called Cattigara may have been Canton; it may also have been Fuhchau or Amoy, for these three places are all natural entrepôts, and Chinese historians of that age regarded the regions south of the Yang-tsz' kiang as wholly unsubdued, and knew and said little about

* Heeren's Asiatic Researches, Vol. II., pp. 285—295. Murray's China, Vol. I., p. 141.

them. Whether the Seres or Sinæ were distinct people will depend somewhat upon the position assigned to Cattigara, and the length of time required to reach it, for if it is placed no further east than Malacca or Cambodia, as Vincent and d'Anville suppose, the Sinæ who lived there could hardly have been the same people as the Seres, who were only to be reached through Central Asia. Even if Cattigara could be proved to be Canton, or a place in that vicinity, there is still reason for supposing the Sinæ to be a distinct race, for it is highly probable that this region was not subject to the Han dynasty then in power. It is stated, moreover, by native writers, that in the second century before Christ, the Chinese had intercourse with persons from Cantoo, Loo-hwang-chí, and other southern nations and places; Cantoo was then ten days' journey from China.*

It was under this dynasty, in A.D. 61 or 65, that an envoy was sent to the west, and returned with Budhist books and priests; and not long after, during the reign of Trajan, a Chinese general, Chang-kiang, is said to have penetrated with an army to the Caspian, and brought back the vine with him to China, A.D. 126. The emperor Marcus Antoninus sent a mission by sea to the country producing the rich silks so much prized in Rome; and this ambassy is noticed in the History Made Easy, where it is stated, that "in the reign of Hwăn tí, people came from India and other western nations, with tribute; and from that time foreign trade was carried on with Canton." De Guignes shows, from Chinese authors, that it took place in A.D. 166, and was sent by An-tun. On the other hand, the historian Flores states, as evidence of the universal awe and veneration in which the power of Rome was held under Augustus, that ambassadors from the remotest nations, the Seres and the Indians, came with presents of elephants, gems and pearls—a rhetorical exaggeration quite on a par with the Chinese account of the tribute sent from An-tun, and not so well authenticated. Whether, indeed, the *Ta-tsin kwoh* mentioned by Chinese writers, meant Judea, Rome, or Persia, cannot now be ascertained. The envoys sent to that country reported, "that beyond the territory of the Tau-shí (perhaps the Persians), there was a great sea, by which, sailing due west, one might arrive at the country where the sun sets." Like most attempts of the kind

* Chinese Repository, Vol. I., page 365.

in subsequent days, the mission of Antoninus appears to have been an entire failure, and to have returned without accomplishing any practical benefit to intercourse or trade, between the two greatest empires in the world; it was received, no doubt, at Loh-yang, then the capital, with ostentatious show and patronizing kindness, and its occurrence inscribed in the national records, as another evidence of the glory and fame of the son of heaven.

It is worthy of observation how, even from the earliest times, the traffic in the rich natural and artificial productions of India and China, has been the great stimulus to urge adventurers to come from Europe, who on their part offered little in exchange beside precious metals. The *Serica vestis*, whether it was a silken or cotton fabric, and other rarities found in those regions, bore such a high price at Rome as to tempt the merchants to undertake the longest journeys and undergo the greatest hardships to procure them; and such was the case likewise during the long period before the discovery of the cape of Good Hope. The existence of this trade early enabled the Nestorian missionaries to penetrate into those remote regions, and keep up a communication with their patrons at home; the more extended voyages of modern commerce, likewise assist benevolent persons in reaching the remotest tribes, and carrying on their labors, through their patrons on the other side of the world, probably with less danger and delay, than a mission at Cadiz could have been directed from Jerusalem in the days of the apostles.

The intercourse between China and the Greek empire constantly increased until the rise of the Mohammedan power, the products chiefly sought being silken and cotton cloths, gems, pearls, and other articles. The culture of silk was introduced into Europe in the reign of Justinian. The fragrant leaf called malabathrum is another article of traffic mentioned by the author of the Periplus: "But there used to come yearly to the frontier of the Sinæ, a certain people called Sesatæ, with a short body, broad forehead, flat noses, and of a wild aspect. They come with their wives and children, and carry great burdens in mats, which look like vine branches. They stop short at a certain place between their own territory and that of Thina, and spend a few days in festivity, using the mats for lying upon; they then return to the abode of their countrymen in the interior. The Sinæ next repair to the place and take up the articles which they left,

and having drawn out the stalks and fibres, they nicely double the leaves, roll them into a circular shape, and thrust into them the fibres of the reeds. Thus three kinds of malabathrum are formed; that from the larger leaf is called hadrosphærum, that from the middling one mesosphærum, that from the smaller microsphærum."*

The malabathrum has been supposed to be the betel leaf, which can hardly be the case, as that is always chewed fresh; others with more probability suppose it to have been tea, though Chinese accounts place its introduction as late as A. D. 315, and add that it did not come into general use until the Tang dynasty, when it is also mentioned by two Arab travellers. The description favors the idea that malabathrum was tea, and if so, it shows that the native country of the tea-plant is the mountainous region of Assam and Yunnan, where it has even recently been found wild, and that the Chinese traded with the wild Sesatæ for it before they began to cultivate it. Although the notices of the intercourse between the nations of European Asia and Chin-India, which have been preserved to modern times are few and dubious, it may be safely deduced that some traffic was constantly kept up; and that thousands of traders resorted to the country of the Seres and the valley of the Ganges, and returned to tell what they had seen, and sell what they had brought. The account given by the prophet Ezekiel, of the trade and commercial relations of Tyre, shows how a great emporium brought traders from distant nations together; and if the writer of the book of Esther had given a list of the provinces under the sway of Ahasuerus, it is not unlikely that some of them would have extended to the Imaus, if not into the valley of the Tarim, on the great highway to China. Pride and luxury were not less desirous of costly and splendid materials to gratify their desires in the days of the Persians and Jews than they are now, and enterprising traders were also willing to gratify the luxurious, and enrich themselves by bringing them from the ends of the earth. The probability of a trade both around cape Comorin and across the deserts of Tartary at that early period, is not lessened by knowing that Solomon's ships were gone three years to Ophir: wherever that may have been, it shows that long voyages were not dreaded, and if

* Murray's China, Vol. I., p. 153. Heeren's Asiatic Researches, Vol. II, p. 294.

ivory, apes, peacocks, and algum trees were worth bringing from a long distance, much more were silks, medicines, and gems. All these facts make it more likely that by the land of Sinim, Isaiah and his countrymen referred to the little known and distant, but the rich and populous countries beyond the Himalaya, and prophesied the future introduction of their inhabitants into the church.

The best intimation of a continuance of the intercourse with China from the time of Justinian to that of the Arab travellers, Wahab and Abuzaid, is the inscription found at Sí-ngan fu (page 291). The narratives of the Arabs are dated A. D. 850 and 877, and are everyway trustworthy in their general statements as to the course pursued in the voyage, the port to which they sailed in China, the customs of the people there, and the nature and mode of conducting the trade; they form, in fact, the first authentic accounts we have of the Chinese. The second traveller speaks of the sack of the city of Canfu, which was then the port of all the Arabian merchants, in which 120,000 Mohammedans, Jews, Christians, and Parsees, engaged in traffic there, were destroyed. This shows the extent and value of the trade, and yet not a single journal or book of travels beside these, during a period of more than a thousand years, from the time of Ptolemy to Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta, has been preserved to modern times. Canfu was probably Kanpu, near Chapu in Chehkiang, and the Gates of China, the Chusan archipelago and its numerous channels. Much of the statement made by Abuzaid, respecting the wealth, extent, and splendor of Canfu, is to be referred to the city of Hangchau fu, then and since, one of the greatest cities in Asia, and of which Canfu was the port. The destruction of the city in 877, during the decline of the Tang dynasty, no doubt contributed to direct part of the trade to Canton, which even then and long after, was comparatively a small place, and the people of that part of the country but little removed from gross barbarism; it is stated that a market was opened at Canton in 750, and an officer appointed to receive the imperial duties. In Marco Polo's time, Canfu or Ganpu was an extremely fine port, and frequented by all the ships that bring merchandise from India.*

Prior to the time when the Venetians reached the confines of

* Chinese Repository, Vol. I., pp. 6, 42, 252; Vol. III., p. 115.

the Pacific, the ravages of the Huns and other Tartar tribes, under Gengis and his successors, in the regions between the Mediterranean and Caspian, and their inroads into Europe, had aroused the fears of the pope and other potentates for their own safety. After the sudden departure of the hosts of Okkoday in 1241, at his death, and their retreat from Bohemia and Poland to the Dneiper, the pope determined to send two missions to the Tartars, one under Carpini, to the northern army in Russia, and another under Ascelin, to that stationed in Persia. Carpini was furnished with the following letter.

"*Innocent, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to the King and People of the Tartars.*

"Since not only men, but also irrational animals, and even the mechanical mundane elements, are united by some kind of alliance, after the example of superior spirits, whose hosts the Author of the universe has established in a perpetual and peaceful order, we are compelled to wonder, not without reason, how you, as we have heard, having entered many lands of Christians and others, have wasted them with horrible desolation, and still, with continued fury, not ceasing to extend further your destroying hands, dissolving every natural tie, neither sparing sex nor age, direct indifferently against all the fury of the sword. We therefore, after the example of the Prince of Peace, desiring to unite all mankind in unity and the fear of God, warn, beseech and exhort you, henceforth to desist wholly from such outrages, and especially from the persecution of Christians; and since, by so many and so great offences, you have doubtless grievously provoked the wrath of the Divine majesty, that you make satisfaction to him by suitable penitence; and that you be not so daring as to carry your rage further, because the omnipotent God has hitherto permitted the nations to be laid prostrate before your face. He sometimes thus passes by the proud men of the age; but if they do not humble themselves, he will not fail to inflict the severest temporal punishment on their guilt. And now, behold, we send our beloved brother John, and his companions, bearers of these presents, men conspicuous for religion and honesty, and endued with a knowledge of sacred Scripture, whom we hope you will kindly receive and honorably treat as if they were ourselves, placing confidence in what they may say from us, and specially treat with them on what relates to peace, and fully intimate what has moved you to this extermination of other nations, and what you further intend, providing them in going and returning with a safe conductor, and other things needful for returning to our presence. We have chosen to send to you the said friars, on account of their exemplary conduct and knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, and because they would

be more useful to you as imitating the humility of our Savior, and if we had thought they would be more grateful and useful to you, we would have sent other prelates or powerful men."*

This edition contains a summary of the travels and proceedings of Carpini and his companion, Benedict, in their hazardous journey from Kiev, in 1246, across the plains of Russia and Bokhara, to the courts of Baatu and Kuyuk, the last of whom was elected in place of Okkoday. They were first sent forward by the commanding officers of the several posts to Baatu, where the pope's letter was translated; when they were again dispatched at the most rapid rate, on horseback, to the court of Kuyuk, where they arrived almost exhausted. After they had been there a few days, the election was decided, and all ambassadors were introduced to an audience to the khan, when the pope's envoys alone were without a present. The letter was read, and an answer returned in a few weeks, in the same style; for these two potentates, who, for once communicated with each other by letter, had much more in common in their pretensions to universal dominion by the command of God, than they suspected. The khan's letter was as follows:—

"*Letter of the King of the Tartars to the Lord Pope.*

"The strength of God, Kuyuk khan, the ruler of all men, to the great pope. You and all the Christian people who dwell in the West have sent by your messengers sure and certain letters for the purpose of making peace with us. This we have heard from them, and it is contained in your letter. Therefore, if you desire to have peace with us, you pope, emperors, all kings, all men powerful in cities, by no means delay to come to us for the purpose of concluding peace, and you will hear our answer and our will. The series of your letters contained that we ought to be baptized and to become Christians; we briefly reply, that we do not understand why we ought to do so. As to what is mentioned in your letters, that you wonder at the slaughter of men, and chiefly of Christians, especially Hungarians, Poles, and Moravians, we shortly answer, that this too we do not understand. Nevertheless, lest we should seem to pass it over in silence, we think proper to reply as follows. It is because they have not obeyed the precept of God and of Gengis khan, and, holding bad counsel, have slain our messengers;† wherefore God

* Murray's Marco Polo, p. 49.

† Allusion is here made to Tartar ambassadors, whom the Russians murdered before the battle of Kalka.

has ordered them to be destroyed, and delivered them into our hands. But if God had not done it, what could man have done to man? But you, inhabitants of the West, believe that you only are Christians, and despise others; but how do you know on whom he may choose to bestow his favor? We adore God, and, in his strength, will overwhelm the whole earth from the east to the west. But if we men were not strengthened by God, what could we do?"—*Murray's Polo*, p. 59.

The khan took the precaution, which the pope did not, of putting his reply into an intelligible language, and when it was written in Tartar, he had it carefully explained to the friars, who translated it into Latin, and were soon after dismissed. They left the court on the 13th of November, 1246, and "travelled all winter through a wide open country, being commonly obliged to sleep on the ground, after clearing away the snow, with which in the morning they often found themselves covered." They reached Kiev in June, 1247; and Carpini was rewarded for his hardships by being appointed archbishop of Antivari in Dalmatia.

The mission of Ascelin and his companions was less successful, and their conduct less prudent than that of Carpini. They only reached the headquarters of Baiothnoy, one of the generals in command on the southern frontier, who seems to have been both displeased and amused at their impertinence, and kept them some time as objects of insult and derision. At last, a communication was handed them, purporting to be from the grand khan, asserting his universal sway, and accompanied by a letter from the general to the pope. This contained an order that if he desired to remain seated in his land and inheritance, he must come in his own person, and do homage to him who justly ruled the whole earth. The friars were then sent off, happy to have thus escaped the clutches of the barbarians.

One other record of a mission to the court of the great khan has been preserved, which contains more information than either Carpini's or Ascelin's, though its success was no greater. Louis XI., of France, having heard that Sartach, the son of Baatu, then commanding on the western frontier, was a Christian, sent a mission to him, consisting of the friar Rubruquis, and three companions. They left Constantinople, May 7, 1253, and proceeded to the Crimea, from whence they set out with a present of wines, fruits and biscuits, intended for the khan. In three days, they met the Tartars, who conducted them first to Scacatai, a chief

tain under Sartach, by whom, after considerable delay and vexation, they were furnished with everything necessary for a journey across the plains of southern Russia to the Volga, and the camp of Sartach. The monks attempted to convert the rude nomads, but ignorance of the language, and suspicions of their intentions, interposed great obstacles on both sides. On arriving at the end of their journey, they were disappointed at finding the ruler of these warriors a besotted infidel, who expected all persons admitted into his presence to bring him costly presents. A Nestorian, named Cojat, whom Rubruquis regarded as no better than a heretic, was high in authority, and the only medium of communication with the khan. He told the friar to bring his books and vestments, and make himself ready to appear before the khan on the morrow; their elegance was such, that at the close of the audience, Cojat seized most of them under an idle pretext that it was improper to appear in them a second time before Baatu khan, whither Rubruquis and his companions were to be sent.

Their journey was soon after prosecuted, by following up the Volga some distance, and when they arrived at the encampment of Baatu khan, he made many inquiries about the resources and power of the French king, and the war he was waging with the Saracens. On his introduction, "the friar bent one knee, but finding this unsatisfactory, did not choose to contend, and dropped on both. Misled by his position, instead of answering questions, he began a prayer for the conversion of the khan, with warning of the dreadful consequences of unbelief. The prince merely smiled; but the derision which was loudly expressed by the surrounding chiefs, threw him into a good deal of confusion." The interview was followed by an order to proceed to the court of Mangou, who had succeeded Kuyuk as grand khan. This long journey occupied four months, through the high land of Central Asia, further eastward than where Carpini found Kuyuk's court, and subjected them to severe hardships. Mangou received the mission hardly with civility, but having been examined by some Nestorian priests, they were admitted to an audience. The same ceremonies were required as at Baatu's court, and inquiries made as to the possessions of the French king, especially the number of rams, horses and oxen he owned, which the friar was amazed to learn, were soon to be attacked by the Tartars. No permission to remain could be obtained, but he was furnished with a house,

and allowed to tarry till the cold mitigated. In this remote region he found a European architect, William Bourchier and his wife, from Mentz, besides many Armenians, Saracens, and Nestorians, all of whom the khan received. He accompanied the court to Karakorum, where he nearly became involved in dangerous religious disputes, and on the approach of milder weather, was compelled to return to Baatu khan, by whom he was sent on, in a south-westerly direction, until he entered Armenia, and thence found his way to Iconium in Asia Minor, having been absent nearly two years.

These journeys made the people of Europe acquainted with the mighty empire of the grand khan, but the travellers had not the aid of printing to diffuse their narratives, and it was perhaps chiefly owing to the high standing of those who sent them, that their relations have been preserved; while travellers of humbler origin or pretensions, had no inducement to write what they had seen, and therefore only told their story, which was lost with the narrators. The travels of Marco Polo would probably never have been given to the world, if the leisure of captivity had not induced him to adopt this method of relieving its tedium. Every examination of his record has added to its reputation for accuracy both in the position of the cities he mentions or visited, and in the events he details; and when it is considered that he dictated it several years after his return home to a fellow-prisoner, Rusticians, who wrote it in French, his accuracy is highly commendable. It is doubtless generally known that Marco Polo was the son of Nicolo Polo, who with his brother Matteo, nobles and merchants of Venice, first left that city about the middle of the thirteenth century on a mercantile voyage to the Crimea, from which point a series of events led them eastward as far as China, then lately conquered by Kublai, the grand khan and successor of Mangou khan, whom Rubruquis visited. They were favorably received, and when they left, it was under a promise to return, which they did in 1274, bearing letters from Gregory X., and accompanied by young Marco, then about sixteen years old. They spent, in all, about twenty-four years in the East, during three of which Marco held a high office in Chehkiang, the only recorded instance of a European holding any civil office under the emperors of China. Magaillans says that Marco Polo did not understand Chinese, but it is difficult to see how he could have ad-

ministered the affairs of his prefecture in one of the most civilized parts of the country, without he both spoke and read Chinese, as well as Mongolian. At the end of 24 years, they returned home by way of southern Asia, so completely altered that their friends and countrymen did not know them; and the three Polos had some difficulty to convince them, that though long absent, they had at last really returned. The story is commonly related that they determined, by a public display, to satisfy their countrymen as to the happy results of their journey. "All their relations and acquaintances were invited to a magnificent feast. They then presented themselves in splendid dresses, first of crimson satin, next of damask, and lastly of velvet bearing the same color, which they successively threw off and distributed among the company. Returning in their ordinary attire, Marco produced the rags in which they had all been disguised, ripped them open, and exhibited such a profusion of diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and precious jewels, as completely dazzled the spectators. On the news of their wealth and adventures, persons of all ranks, ages, and professions, flocked to the house with congratulations and inquiries. Marco, whose society was courted by all the distinguished youths, stood forth as principal orator. Having often occasion, in his enumerations of people and treasure, to repeat the term *million*, then not common in Europe, the name of Messer Marco Millione was applied to him, first in jest, but after in reality." His travels were translated into the languages of Europe soon after their appearance, and the various editions and versions contain many discrepancies, variations and additions, which have exercised the ingenuity of commentators to explain and compare. The title of Herodotus of the Middle Ages has been applied to him, and Ritter says, "if the name of Discoverer of Asia were to be assigned to any person, nobody would better deserve it."

In 1254, Haitho or Hayton, an Armenian prince, undertook a journey to the grand khan, to petition for an abatement of the tribute which he had been obliged to pay the Mongols. He had no opportunity to see much of the Chinese, and gives the same account of the haughty tone held by the court and camp of the khan, which Carpini does. The different positions held by these men and the Polos, led them naturally to look upon the same people and events with very different feelings. The efforts of

John de Monte Corvino to propagate Christianity in China, have already been mentioned; they were undertaken while the Polos were in those regions, but no detailed accounts of his labors or travels have been preserved. The travels of Ibn Batuta, translated by Professor Lee of Cambridge, speak of his leaving his native city Tangiers, in 1324, on a pilgrimage. Going from one city to another, along the shores of the Mediterranean, and in the countries between it and the Caspian, he at last reached Delhi, where he became a judge, and was dispatched on an ambassy to China by the sultan. It seems that a Chinese envoy had arrived at Delhi, to request permission for the natives to rebuild a temple in Bootan, as they were poor and dependent upon the inhabitants of the plain, and had besought the Chinese government to intercede for them. Ibn Batuta was sent with a harsh refusal, but he was attacked on his journey, and obliged to return; he was sent again, and went to Calicut on the Malabar coast, where he found fifteen Chinese vessels or galleys at anchor, whose crews and guard amounted to a thousand men each. He embarked his attendants on one of these vessels, but while he remained on shore to pray for a prosperous voyage, a storm sunk the vessel and all on board. The envoy, after this second mishap, was afraid to return to his master, and went to Sumatra, from whence he found his way to China, and landed at Zaitun, which some have thought to be Canton, and others Tsiuenchau or Chinchew in Fuhkien. He mentions that the circulation of paper money, which Marco Polo thought such an excellent device for a king to raise funds, had entirely driven out the use of metallic currency. In every large town he found Mohammedans, ruled by officers of their own persuasion.

There is extant a journal written by Oderic, a friar who travelled through Central Asia and China. At Zaitun, he found Minorites who possessed two monasteries, in one of which he deposited the bones of friars who had suffered martyrdom in India whence he had brought them. The pagan temples grieved him much, and the power of the idols being great, the Minorite brethren were enabled to work miracles to prevent the further encroachments of the powers of hell. The influence of superstition upon their own minds, rendered most of the religious travellers into Central Asia less trustworthy and observant than they otherwise, perhaps, would have been; for, since they regarded

everything of a religious sort, as done under the direct agency of the powers of darkness, into whose dominions they were venturing, they were afraid to examine candidly and record accurately; and their own knowledge, too, was so imperfect and erroneous, that they constantly went astray, because they referred much of what they saw to their previous ideas. In these particulars, the travels of Wahab and Abuzaid and of Marco Polo, stand in strong contrast to the details of Rubruquis and Oderic. The accounts of all these writers agree in conveying the impression that China was then free to all travellers. Wahab, speaking of the regulations practised under the Tang dynasty, says:—

"If a man would travel from one place to another, he must take two passes with him, one from the governor, the other from the eunuch or lieutenant. The governor's pass permits him to set out on his journey, and takes notice of the name of the traveller, and those also of his company, the age and family of the one and the other; for everybody in China, whether a native or an Arab, or any other foreigner, is obliged to declare all he knows of himself, nor can he possibly be excused so doing. The eunuch's or lieutenant's pass specifies the quantities of money or goods, which the traveller and those with him take along with them; this is done for the information of the frontier places where these two passes are examined; for whenever a traveller arrives at any of them, it is registered that such a one, the son of such a one, of such a family, passed through this place on such a day in such a month of such a year, and in such company."—*Chi. Rep.*, Vol. I., p. 11.

The same writer speaks of the Mabed, a nation conterminous to China on the south-west or west, who sent ambassadors with presents every year to the emperor; and he in return annually sent the same to them. Other missions to neighboring countries are also mentioned in the Chinese annals. The Mongols ruled the centre of Asia for about a century, and their successors in China only partially adopted the exclusive policy against the tribes they had expelled. It was only at the subjugation of the empire by the Manchus, about two centuries ago, that foreign trade was limited to Canton, and their jealous and watchful conduct has in some degree been actuated by a fear of the same reprisals from some quarter, which the Mongols experienced. The ill conduct of the foreign traders themselves, however, must be regarded as the chief cause of the jealousy and seclusion with which they were treated. "Their early conduct," says Davis,

speaking of the Portuguese, "was not calculated to impress the Chinese with any favorable idea of Europeans; and when, in the course of time, they came to be competitors with the Dutch and the English, the contests of mercantile avarice tended to place them all in a still worse point of view. To this day, the character of Europeans is represented as that of a race of men intent alone on the gains of commercial traffic, and regardless altogether of the means of attainment. Struck by the perpetual hostilities which existed among these foreign adventurers, assimilated in other respects by a close resemblance in their costumes and manners, the government of the country became disposed to treat them with a degree of jealousy and exclusion which it had not deemed necessary to be exercised towards the more peaceable and well ordered Arabs, their predecessors."

These characteristics of avarice and power have been the leading traits in the Chinese estimate of foreigners from their first acquaintance with them, and foreigners themselves have done nothing to effectually disabuse them. The following record of their first arrival, taken from a Chinese work, is still good authority, in the opinion of the natives. "During the reign of Chingtih (1506), foreigners from the west, called Fah-lan-ki (or Franks), who said they had tribute, abruptly entered the Bogue, and by their tremendously loud guns, shook the place far and near. This was reported at court, and an order returned to drive them away immediately, and stop the trade. At about this time also, the Hollanders, who in ancient times inhabited a wild territory, and had no intercourse with China, came to Macao in two or three large ships. Their clothes and their hair were red; their bodies tall; they had blue eyes, sunk deep in their head. Their feet were one cubit and two tenths long; and they frightened the people by their strange appearance." The term *Hung-mau* or *red-haired*, then applied to the Dutch, has since been transferred to the English.

The Portuguese Rafael Perestrello sailed in a junk for China in 1516, five years after the conquest of Malacca, and was the first person who ever conducted a vessel to China, under a European flag. Ferdinand Andrade came the next year in four Portuguese and four Malay vessels, and gave great satisfaction to the authorities at Canton by his fair dealings; his ships were allowed to anchor at Sanchuen, or St. John's I. His brother Simon

came the following year, and by his outrageous conduct entirely reversed the good opinion formed of his countrymen; the Chinese besieged him in port, and drove him away in 1521. Others of his countrymen followed him, and one of the earliest ships accompanied some Chinese junks along the coast, and succeeded in establishing a factory at Ningpo; trade was also conducted at Amoy. In 1537, there were three Portuguese settlements near Canton, one at St. John's, one at a smaller island called Lampaçao (Lang-peh-kau), lying north-west of the Grand Ladrones, and the third just begun on Macao. In 1542, they had nearly abandoned St. John's for Lampaçao, and ten years afterward, at the time of Xavier's death, no trade of any consequence was carried on at the former place, it being concentrated at the latter, where 500 or 600 Portuguese constantly resided in 1560; this is the last notice of the settlement, and it was afterwards so completely forsaken for the more eligible situation of Macao, that its exact position is not now known. The new settlement was commenced under the pretext of erecting sheds for drying goods introduced under the appellation of tribute, and alleged to have been damaged in a storm. In 1573, the Chinese government erected a barrier wall across the isthmus joining Macao to the island of Hiangshan, and in 1587 established a civil magistracy to rule the Chinese. By their ill conduct at Ningpo, the Portuguese drew upon them the vengeance of the people, who rose upon them, and "destroyed twelve thousand Christians, including 800 Portuguese, and burned thirty-five ships and two junks." One of their provocative acts is stated to have been going out in large parties into the neighboring villages, and seizing the women and virgins, by which they justly lost their privileges in one of the provinces and ports best adapted to European trade. Four years later, in 1549, they were also driven from their newly formed settlement at Chinchew, and restricted to Lampaçao.

The Portuguese have sent four ambassies to the emperor of China. The first envoy, Thomé Pires, was appointed by the governor at Goa, and accompanied Ferdinand Andrade to Canton, in 1517, where he was received and treated in the usual style of foreign ambassadors. When his mission was reported at Peking, the emperor Chingtih was influenced against it by a subject of the sultan of Malacca, and detained Pires at Canton three years; the flagitious conduct of Andrade's brother, and the character

of the Portuguese, induced the emperor to appoint a court to examine whether the ambassy was legitimate or spurious, and Pires and his companions were adjudged to be spies, and sent back to Canton to be detained till Malacca was restored. This not being done, he and others suffered death in September, 1523; other accounts lead to the inference that he died in prison. Thus the innocent were made to suffer for the guilty. The next ambassy was undertaken in 1552 at the suggestion of Xavier, by the viceroy of Goa, but the mission proceeded no further than Malacca, the governor of that place refusing to allow it to leave the place—a significant intimation of the degree of subordination and order maintained by the Portuguese in the administration of their new colonies. The third was also sent from Goa in 1667, in the name of Alfonso VI., on occasion of the suspension of the trade of Macao by Kanghí; the expense was defrayed by that colony, about $40,000, and "the result of it so little answered their expectations, that the senate solicited his majesty not to intercede in behalf of his vassals at Macao with the government of China, were it not in an imperious and cogent case."

A good opportunity and necessity for this it was thought presented itself in 1723, when Magaillans returned to China carrying the answer of the pope to Kanghí, to send an envoy, Alexander Metello, along with him to Peking. He arrived at court in May, 1727, and had his audience of leave in July, receiving in exchange for the thirty chests of presents which he offered, and which Yungching received with pleasure "as evidences of the affection of the king of Portugal," as many for his master, besides a cup of wine and some dishes for himself sent from the emperor's table, and other presents for himself and his retinue, which were "valuable solely because they were the gifts of a monarch." No more advantage resulted from this than the ambassy sent a century previous, though it cost the inhabitants of Macao a like heavy sum. Another and last Portuguese ambassy reached Peking in 1753, conducted and ended in much the same manner as its predecessors; all of them exhibiting, in a greater or less degree, the spectacle of humiliating submission of independent nations through their envoys to a court which took pleasure in arrogantly exalting itself on the homage it received, and studiously avoided all reference to the real business of the ambassy, that it might neither give nor deny anything.

The influence and wealth of the Portuguese in China for the last century and a half have gradually decreased, and in consequence of the shortsighted policy of its authorities, the trade of Macao has been so far driven away from the settlement, that it is hardly able to support itself. In 1820, the opium trade was removed on board ship, and that being the principal source of income, the commerce of the place for many years was at a low ebb. The events which followed the proceedings of the English at Canton in 1839, in concentrating for a year or two nearly all the foreign community at Macao, caused a sudden expansion of trade, and growth in prosperity at that time, which the government has since endeavored to keep up by making it a free port, and depending upon taxes on real estate and other sources for the necessary outlays of the administration. The imperial commissioner Kíying, granted some additional privileges to the settlement in 1844, among others, permitting the inhabitants to build and repair new houses, churches, and ships without a license, and to trade at the five ports open to foreign commerce on the same terms as other nations; it was just three centuries before this that the Portuguese were driven away from Ningpo. The anchorage of the Typa was included in the jurisdiction of Macao, but the application of the Portuguese commissioner respecting the non-payment of the annual ground rent of 500 taels to the Chinese met with a decided refusal. To have granted this would have been to give up their lien upon the place, for the Chinese have always regarded Macao as a part of the empire, and maintained jurisdiction over their own subjects residing there, while they permit the Portuguese to make such regulations and exercise such authority over their own people and other foreigners as they choose.

The trade between the Spaniards and Chinese has been smaller, and their relations less important than most other European nations. The Spanish admiral Legaspi conquered Manila and the Philippines in 1543, and Chinese merchants soon began to trade with that city; but the first attempt of the Spaniards to enter China, according to Mendoza, was not made till 1575 by two Augustine friars, who accompanied a Chinese naval officer on his return home, from the pursuit of a famous pirate named Li-ma-hon, whom the Spaniards had driven away from their new colony. The missionaries landed at Tansuso, a place somewhere on the

coast of Kwangtung, and went up to the departmental city, where they were courteously received and entertained. The prefect of this place, after learning their wishes, sent them to the governor at Shauking fu, by whom they were examined; they stated that their chief object was to form a close alliance between the two nations for their mutual benefit, stating at the same time what their countrymen had done against Limahon; they added, that a second object was their wish to learn the language of China and teach its inhabitants their religion. The governor kept them in a sort of honorable bondage several weeks, and at last sent them back to Manila, doubtless by orders from court, though he alleged as a reason, that the pirate Limahon was still at large. After the return of this mission, the governor of the Philippines deemed it advisable to let the trade take its own course, and therefore refused his countenance to the proposal of a body of Franciscans to enter the country. They however made the attempt in a small native vessel, and passed up the river to Tsiuenchau fu, where they were seized and examined as to their designs. Not being acquainted with the language, they were deluded themselves, and misrepresented to the prefect by a professed native friend who understood Portuguese; and after many months' delay were mortified to learn that no permission to remain would be given; they returned to Manila in 1580, not at all disposed to renew the enterprise. The king himself, Philip II., however, having received the suggestion made by the Chinese admiral to the former party, that their sovereign should send an ambassy to Peking, had already ordered the governor to undertake such an enterprise. He fitted out a mission therefore, in 1580, though much against his judgment, at the head of which was Martin Ignatius, and associated six others with him, and a small suite. It gives one a low idea of the skill of navigators at that day to learn that in this short trip, the vessel being carried up the coast northward of Canton, the party thought it better to land than to try to beat back to their destination. The envoy and all with him were brought before the Chinese officers, who probably, entirely misunderstanding their object, imprisoned them; after considerable delay, they were brought before a higher officer, and sent on to Canton, where they were again imprisoned; the Portuguese governor of Macao subsequently obtained their liberation, and they mostly returned to Manila. This unlucky attempt if Mon

doza is right in calling it an ambassy, was the only one ever made by the Spanish government to communicate with the court of Peking.

The Chinese have carried on a valuable trade with Luçonia, at Manila, but the Spaniards have treated them with peculiar severity. They are burdened with taxes, which the people of no other nation are subjected to, and their immigration is rather restrained than encouraged. The harsh treatment of the Chinese settlers in Manila excited the attention and indignation of one of their countrymen many years ago, and on his return to Canton, he exercised all his influence with the officers of his own government, making what he had seen the model and the motive to induce them to treat all foreigners at Canton in the same way, and succeeded in perfecting the principal features of the system of espionage and restriction of the co-hong which existed for nearly a century, until the treaty of 1842;—another instance of the treatment justly requited upon foreigners for their own acts. The Spaniards had permission to trade at Amoy after all other nations had been restricted to Canton, but owing to the heavy port-charges and small market there, they never availed of the privilege. The same regulations were extended to Spanish vessels and commerce in 1843, which had been obtained by other powers, and the trade between Manila and the ports of China has greatly increased within the few last years, especially in the article of rice.

The Dutch commerce with the East did not of course, commence until after their successful struggle against the Spanish yoke, and as soon after completing their independence as they had the means, they turned their arms against the oriental possessions of their enemies, capturing Malacca, the Spice Islands, and other places, and attacking Macao. They appeared before this place in 1622, with a squadron of seventeen vessels, but being repulsed with the loss of their admiral and about 300 men, they retired, and established themselves on the Panghu, or Pescadores, in 1624. Their occupation of this position was a source of great annoyance to the Chinese authorities in Fuhkien, and to the Portuguese and Spaniards. According to the custom of those days, they began to build a fort, and forced the native Chinese to do their work, treating them with great severity. Many of the laborers were prisoners, whom the Dutch had taken in their attacks

upon the Chinese. Alternate hostilities and parleys succeeded, the Chinese declaring that the Dutch must send an envoy to the authorities on the mainland; they accordingly dispatched Von Mildert to Amoy, whom the sub-prefect there forwarded to Fuh-chau, to the governor. He decided to send a messenger to the Dutch, to state to them that trade would be allowed if they would remove to Formosa, but this proposition was refused. However, after a series of attacks and negotiations, the Chinese constantly increasing their forces, and the Dutch diminishing in their supplies, the latter acceded to the proposition, and removed to the western shore of Formosa, where they erected Fort Zealandia in 1624. It is recorded that the Chinese landed five thousand troops on one of the islands in the group; and their determined efforts in repelling the aggressions or occupation of their soil by the Dutch, probably raised their reputation for courage, and prevented the repetition of similar acts by others. It was doubtless a good stroke of policy on the part of the Chinese to propose the occupation of the island of Formosa to the Dutch, in exchange for the Pescadores, for they had not the least title to it themselves, and hardly knew its exact size, or the character of the inhabitants. The Dutch endeavored to extend their power over it, yet with only partial success; in the villages around Ft. Zealandia, they introduced new laws among the inhabitants, and instead of their councils of elders, constituted one of their chief men supervisor in every village, to administer justice, and report his acts to the governor of the island.

The moral interests of the natives were not neglected, and in 1626, George Candidius, a Protestant minister, was appointed to labor among them, and took great pains to introduce Christianity. The natives were ignorant of letters, their superstitions rested only on tradition or customs, which were of recent origin, and the prospects of teaching them a better religion were favorable. In sixteen months, he had instructed over a hundred in the leading truths of Christianity. The work was progressing favorably, churches and schools were multiplying, the intermarriages of the colonists and natives were bringing them into closer relationship with each other, and many thousands of the islanders had been baptized, when the Dutch governors in India, fearful of offending the Japanese, who were then persecuting the Christians in Japan, and apprehensive of losing the trade with that country themselves,

restricted these benevolent labors, and discouraged the further conversion of the islanders. Thus, as often elsewhere in Asia, the interests of true religion were sacrificed upon the altar of mammon, and the knowledge of salvation withheld for money. A dictionary of the native language was compiled by one of the ministers, which remained in manuscript till it was printed a few years since at Batavia, by the Dutch government.

During the struggles ensuent upon the overthrow of the Ming dynasty, many thousands of families emigrated to Formosa, some of whom settled under the Dutch, and others planted separate colonies; their industry soon changed the desolate island into a cultivated country, and increased the produce of rice and sugar for exportation. The immigration went on so rapidly as to alarm the Dutch, who, instead of taking wise measures to conciliate and instruct the colonists, tried to prevent their landing, and thereby did much to irritate them, and lead them to join in any likely attempt to expel the foreigners.

Meanwhile, their trade with China itself was trifling, compared with that of their rivals, the Portuguese, and when the undoubted ascendency of the Manchus was evident, the government of Batavia resolved to dispatch a deputation to Canton, to petition for trade. In January, 1653, Schedel was sent in a richly freighted ship, but the Portuguese succeeded in preventing any further traffic, even after the envoy had spent considerable sums in presents to the authorities, and obtained the governor's promise to allow his countrymen to build a factory. Schedel was informed, however, that his masters would do well to send an ambassy to Peking, a suggestion favorably entertained by the Company in Europe, who, in 1655, appointed Goyer and Keyzer, two eminent merchants at Batavia as their envoys. The narrative of this ambassy was written with great minuteness by Nieuhoff, the steward of the mission, and made Europeans better acquainted with the country than they had before been—almost the only practical benefit it produced, for as a mercantile speculation, it proved nearly a total loss. Their presents were received and others given in return; they prostrated themselves not only before the emperor in person, but made the *kotau* to his name, his letters, and his throne, doing everything in the way of humiliation and homage likely to please the new rulers. The only privilege their subserviency obtained was permission to send an ambassy

once in eight years, at which time they might come in four ships to trade. This ill success is ascribed with some reason, to the adverse influence of the Jesuits, but it is likely too, that their former forcible seizure of the Pescadores, and present occupation of Formosa, joined to the ignorance and disregard of the Manchus of the advantages of trade, contributed to the result.

This mission left China in 1657, and very soon after, the Chinese chieftain, Ching Chingkung (Koshinga, or Koxinga as his name is written by the Portuguese) began to prepare an attack upon Formosa. The Dutch had foreseen the probability of this, and had been strengthening the garrison of Zealandia since 1650, while they were negotiating for trade with the Manchus; Koxinga, too, had confined himself to sending emissaries among his countrymen on Formosa, to inform them of his designs. He set about preparing an armament at Amoy, ostensibly to strengthen himself against the Manchus, and continued his ordinary traffic with the colony to lull all apprehensions until the Dutch council had sent away the admiral and force dispatched from Java to protect them, when he landed a force of 25,000 troops, and took up a strong position. The communication between the forts being cut off, the governor sent two hundred and forty men to dislodge the enemy, only half of whom returned alive; one of the four ships in the harbor was burned by the Chinese, and another sailed away to Batavia for reinforcements. Koxinga followed up these successes by cutting off all communication between the garrison and the surrounding country, and compelling the surrender of the garrison and cannon in the small fort. Fort Zealandia was closely invested, but finding himself severely galled, he turned the siege into a blockade, and vented his rage against the Dutch living in the surrounding country, and such Chinese as abetted them. Some of the ministers and schoolmasters were seized and crucified, under the pretext that they encouraged their parishioners to resist; others were used as agents to treat concerning the surrender of the fort. Nieuhoff, from whom these details are extracted, relates an anecdote of one of these ministers worthy of perusal.

"Among the Dutch prisoners taken in the country, was one Mr. Hambrocock, a minister. This man was sent by Koxinga to the governor, to propose terms for surrendering the fort; and that in case of refusal, vengeance would be taken on the Dutch prisoners. Mr. Hambrocock came

into the castle, being forced to leave his wife and children behind him as hostages, which sufficiently proved that if he failed in his negociation, they had nothing but death to expect from the chieftain. Yet was he so far from persuading the garrison to surrender, that he encouraged them to a brave defence by hopes of relief, assuring them that Koxinga had lost many of his best ships and soldiers, and began to be weary of the siege. When he had ended, the council of war left it to his choice to stay with them or return to the camp, where he could expect nothing but present death; every one entreated him to stay. He had two daughters within the castle, who hung upon his neck, overwhelmed with grief and tears, to see their father ready to go where they knew he must be sacrificed by the merciless enemy. But he represented to them that having left his wife and two other children as hostages, nothing but death could attend them if he returned not: so unlocking himself from his daughters' arms, and exhorting everybody to a resolute defence, he returned to the camp, telling them at parting, that he hoped he might prove serviceable to his poor fellow-prisoners. Koxinga received his answer sternly; then causing it to be rumored that the prisoners excited the Formosans to rebel, he ordered all the Dutch male prisoners to be slain; some being beheaded, others killed in a more barbarous manner, to the number of 500, their bodies stripped quite naked and buried; nor were the women and children spared, many of them likewise being slain, though some of the best were preserved for the use of the commanders, and the rest sold to the common soldiers. Among the slain were Messrs. Hambrocock, Mus, and Winshaim, clergymen, and many schoolmasters."—*Chi. Rep.*, Vol. II. p. 414.

A force of ten ships and seven hundred men arriving from Batavia, the besieged began to act on the offensive, but were unable to drive Koxinga from the town, though they checked his operations, and concentrated the garrisons at Kilung and Tanshwui upon one point. A letter from the governor of Fuhkien to Coyet, the Dutch governor, came soon after, suggesting a junction of their forces to drive Koxinga away from the coast, after which both could easily conquer him in Formosa. This proposal was followed, and no sooner had the five vessels gone, than Koxinga made his advances so vigorously that the garrison was forced to surrender, after a siege of nine months, and the loss of 1600 men. Thus ended the Dutch rule in Formosa, after twenty-eight years' duration.

This loss induced the council at Batavia to prosecute their former enterprise against Amoy, where Koxinga still had a garrison. Twelve vessels were fitted out under Bort, who arrived in 1662, at the mouth of the river Min, where he was visited by deputies

from the governor, and induced to send two of his officers to arrange with him concerning operations. The governor was in the country, and the two officers, on reaching his camp, soon saw that there could be no cordiality between their leaders; for this proposal of a foreign power to assist them against the Chinese was too much like that of Wu Sankwei to their chieftains in 1644, for the Manchus to entertain it. Bort, desirous of doing something, commenced a series of attacks on the fleet and garrisons of Koxinga, burning and destroying them in a piratical manner, that was not less ineffectual towards regaining Formosa and obtaining privilege of trade at Canton, than harassing to the Chinese on the coast. He returned to Batavia in 1663, and was dispatched to Fuhkien in a few months with a stronger force, and ordered to make reprisals on both Manchus and Chinese, if necessary, in order to get satisfaction for the loss of Formosa. The governor received him favorably, and after a number of skirmishes against the rebellious Chinese, Amoy was taken, and its troops destroyed, which completed the subjugation of the province to the Manchus. As a reward for this assistance, the real value of which cannot, however, be easily ascertained, the governor lent *two junks* to the Dutch to retake Formosa, but Koxinga laughed at the pitiful force sent against him, and Bort sailed for Batavia.

These results so chagrined the council, that they fitted out no more expeditions, preferring to dispatch an ambassy, under Van Hoorn, to Peking, to petition for trade and permission to erect factories. He landed at Fuhchau in 1664, where he was received in a polite manner. The imperial sanction had been already received, but he unwisely delayed his journey to the capital until his cargo was sold. While discussing this matter, the Dutch seized a Chinese vessel bringing bullion from Java contrary to their colonial regulations, and the governor very properly intimated, that until restitution was made, no amicable arrangement could be completed; so that Van Hoorn, in order to save his dignity, and not contravene the orders of his own government, was obliged to allow the bullion to be carried off, as if by force, by a police officer.

These preliminary disputes were not settled till nearly a year after the arrival of Van Hoorn. He and his suite at last embarked on the Min, and after a tedious journey up that river, and across the mountains to Hangchau fu, they reached the canal

and the capital, having been six months on the way, "during which they saw 37 cities and 335 villages." The same succession of prostrations before an empty throne, followed by state banquets, and accompanied by the presentation and conferring of presents, characterized the reception of this ambassy, as it had all its predecessors. It ended with a similar farce, alike pleasing to the haughty court which received it, and unworthy the Christian nation which gave it; and the "only result of this grand expedition was a sealed letter, of the contents of which they were wholly ignorant, but which did not, in fact, grant any of the privileges they so anxiously solicited." They had, by their performance of the act of prostration, caused their nation to be enrolled among the tributaries of the grand khan, and then were dismissed as loyal subjects should be, at the will of their liege lord, with what he chose to give them.

The Dutch sent no more ambassies to Peking for 130 years, but carried on their trade at Canton on the same footing as other nations. The ill-success of Macartney's ambassy in 1793, induced Van Braam, the consular agent at Canton, to propose a mission of salutation and respect to the emperor from the government of Batavia, on the occasion of his reaching the sixtieth year of his reign. He hoped, by conforming to the Chinese ceremonies, to obtain some privileges which would place their trade on a better footing, but one would have supposed that the ill success of the former attempts would have convinced him that nothing was to be gained by new humiliations before a court which had just dismissed a well-appointed ambassy. The Company appointed Isaac Titsingh, late from Japan, as chief commissioner, giving Van Braam the second place, and making up their cortége with a number of clerks and interpreters, one of whom, De Guignes, wrote the results of his researches during a long residence in Canton, and his travels with the ambassy to Peking, under the title of Voyages à Peking. It is needless to detail the annoyances, humiliations and contemptuous treatment the Dutch ambassy experienced on its overland journey in midwinter, and the degrading manner in which the emperor received the envoys: his hauteur was a befitting foil to their servility, at once exhibiting both his pride and their ignorance of their true position and rights. They were brought to the capital like malefactors, treated when there like beggars, and then sent back to Canton like

mountebanks, to perform the three-times-three prostration at all times and before everything their conductors saw fit; who on their part stood by and laughed at their embarrassment in making these evolutions in their tight clothes. They were not allowed a single opportunity to speak about business, which the Chinese never associate with an ambassy, but were entertained with banquets and theatrical shows, and performed many skilful evolutions themselves upon their skates, greatly to the emperor's gratification, and received moreover a present of broken victuals from him, which had not only been honored by coming from the emperor's own table, but bore marks of his teeth and good appetite; "they were upon a dirty plate, and appeared rather destined to feed a dog than form the repast of a human creature." Van Braam's own account of this ambassy is one of the most humiliating records of ill-requited obsequiousness before insolent government lackeys which any European was ever called upon to pen. The mission returned to Canton in April, 1796, without attaining a single object, except saluting the emperor,—and this, in reality, was all the Chinese meant should be done when they suggested it; for, in order to understand much of their conduct towards their guests, the feelings they entertained towards them must not be lost sight of.

The French have never sent a formal mission to Peking to petition for trade and make obeisance, while through their missionaries they have made Europeans better acquainted with China, and given the Chinese more knowledge of western countries, than all other Christian nations together. Since the war with England, France has sent a well-appointed mission to China, at the head of which was M. Lagrené, by whom a treaty was formed between France and China.

The Russians have sent several ambassies to Peking, and compelled the Chinese to treat them as equals. The first recorded visit from a Russian was in 1619, but it may be questioned whether the mission of Evashko Pettlin and his companion, from Tomsk, across the desert to Kalgan and Peking, can be styled an ambassy. According to Murray, in whose compilation there is a notice of it, the two Cossacks were kindly received, but having no presents, they could not see the "dragon's face," and were dismissed with a letter, which all the learning of Russia at Tobolsk and Moscow could not decipher. During the next sixty years

Russian and Chinese subjects and soldiers frequently quarrelled, especially along the banks of the Sagalien, and the necessity of settling these disturbances and pretexts for trouble, by fixing the boundary line, being evident to both nations, commissioners were appointed to meet at Nipchu in Sept. 1689, and form a treaty. The missionary Gerbillon was mainly instrumental in settling these disputes, and perhaps neither party would have lowered its arrogant claims, if it had not been through his influence; the Chinese were far the most difficult to please.*

The next year, Peter sent Ysbrandt Ides as his envoy to Peking to exchange the ratification of the treaty; his journey across the wilds and wastes of Central Asia took up more time than a voyage by sea, for it was not till a year and eight months that "he could return thanks to the great God, who had conducted them all safe and well to their desired place." Ides' own account of his mission contains very slight notices regarding its object, though it gives considerable information concerning the regions he travelled through. In 1719, Peter dispatched another embassy under Ismailoff, to arrange the trade then conducted on a precarious footing—an account of which was drawn up by John Bell, an Englishman. Ismailoff refused to prostrate himself, until it was agreed that a Chinese minister, whenever sent to Petersburg, should conform to the usages of the Russians;—a safe stipulation certainly to a court which never demeans itself to send missions. The evident desirableness of keeping on good terms with the Russians, led the Chinese to treat their envoys with unusual respect, and attend to the business they came to settle. The trade was henceforth restricted to Kiakhta, and commissioners were appointed by both powers to manage its details. In 1727, a third mission was sent across the desert, under Count Vladislavitch, which succeeded in establishing the intercourse on a still better basis, viz. that a mission, consisting of six ecclesiastical and four lay members, should remain at Peking to study the Chinese and Manchu languages, so that interpreters could be prepared, and communications carried on more satisfactorily; the members of this college were to be changed decennially. The narrative of George Timkowski, who conducted the relief sent in 1821, gives an account of his trip from Kiakhta across the

* Chinese Repository, Vol. VIII., pp. 417, 506; Du Halde, Timkowski, &c.

desert, together with considerable information relating to the Kalkas and other Mongol tribes subject to China. The archimandrite, Hyacinth Batchourin, has given a description of Peking, but such works as the members of the Russian college have written, are for the most part still in that language.

The intercourse of the English with China, though it commenced later than the other maritime nations of Europe, has been far more important in its consequences, and their trade greater in amount than all other foreign nations combined. This intercourse has not been such as was calculated to impress the Chinese with a just idea of the character of the British nation as a Christian and philanthropic people; for the supercargoes and members of the East India Company, who had the exclusive monopoly of the trade between the two countries for nearly two centuries, systematically opposed every effort to diffuse Christian doctrine and general knowledge among them. During that long period, even if they had only maintained an interpreter in their factory, whose duties required him, besides the common routine of his office, to prepare scientific, geographical, and other popular treatises in the Chinese language, for sale or distribution, the character of all foreigners would have been far better in the eyes of the Chinese than it is at present.

The first English vessels were under the command of Weddell who anchored off Macao in May, 1637, though an unsuccessful attempt to open a trade had been made by queen Elizabeth in 1596, by dispatching an envoy with a letter to the emperor. Weddell was sent to China in accordance with a "truce and free trade" which had been entered into between the English merchants and the viceroy of Goa, who gave letters to the governor of Macao. The fleet was coldly received, and Weddell deluded with vain promises until the Portuguese fleet had sailed for Japan, when he was denied permission to trade. Two or three of his officers having visited Canton, he was very desirous to participate in the traffic, and proceeded with his whole fleet up to the Bogue forts, where this desire was made known to the commanders of the forts, who promised to return an answer in a week. Meanwhile, the Portuguese, with their usual shortsightedness, so misrepresented them to the Chinese, that the commander of the forts thought he would end the matter by driving them away. Having made every preparation during the period the fleet was waiting,

an attack was first made upon a watering-boat, by firing shot at it when passing near the forts.

"Herewith the whole fleet," quoting from Staunton's record, "being instantly incensed, did, on the sudden, display their bloody ensigns; and, weighing their anchors, fell up with the flood, and berthed themselves before the castle, from whence came many shot, yet not any that touched so much as hull or rope; whereupon, not being able to endure their bravadoes any longer, each ship began to play furiously upon them with their broadsides; and after two or three hours, perceiving their cowardly fainting, the boats were landed with about one hundred men; which sight occasioned them, with great distractions, instantly to abandon the castle and fly; the boats' crews, in the meantime, without let, entering the same, and displaying his majesty's colors of Great Britain upon the walls, having the same night put aboard all their ordnance, fired the council-house and demolished what they could. The boats of the fleet also seized a junk laden with boards and timber, and another with salt. Another vessel of small moment was surprised, by whose boat a letter was sent to the chief mandarins at Canton, expostulating their breach of truce, excusing the assailing of the castle, and withal in fair terms requiring the liberty of trade." This letter was shortly replied to, and after a little explanatory negotiation, hastened to a favorable conclusion on the part of the Chinese by what they had seen, trade was allowed after the captured guns and vessels were restored, and the ships supplied with cargoes.

No other attempt to open a trade was made till 1664, and during the change of dynasty, which took place in the interim, the trade of all nations with China, probably suffered more or less from the suspension of manufactures, or the risk of transporting goods. The English had a commercial factory at Firado, in Japan, from 1613 to 1633, and seem to have carried on some trade from that place, with Ningpo, while the Portuguese were established there. The East India Company had a factory at Bantam in Java, and one at Madras, but their trade with the East was seriously incommoded by the war with the Dutch; when it was renewed in 1664, only one ship was sent to Macao, but such were the exactions imposed upon the trade by the Chinese, and the effect of the misrepresentations of the Portuguese, that the ship returned without effecting sale. This did not discourage the Company, how-

ever, who ordered their agents at Bantam to make inquiries respecting the most favorable port, and what commodities were most in demand. They mentioned "Fuhchau as a place of great resort, affording all China commodities, as raw and wrought silk, tutenague, gold, china-root, tea, &c." A trade had been opened with Koxinga's son, in Formosa and at Amoy, but this rude chieftain had little other idea of traffic than a means of helping himself to every curious commodity the ships brought, and levying heavy imposts upon their cargoes. A treaty was indeed entered into with him, in which the supercargoes, as was the case subsequently in 1842, stipulated for far greater privileges and lighter duties than Chinese goods and vessels would have had in English ports. Besides freedom to go where they pleased without any one attending them, access at all times to the king, liberty to choose their own clerks, and trade with whom they pleased, it was also agreed, "that what goods the king buys, shall pay no custom; that rice imported pay no custom; that all goods imported pay three per cent. *after sale*, and all goods exported be custom free." This trade did not, however, continue very long, chiefly because there were few articles to be had at Zealandia. The trade at Amoy was more successful, and a small vessel was sent there in 1677, which brought back such a favorable report, that a factory was ordered to be established the next year. In 1678, the investments for these two places were $30,000 in bullion, and $20,000 in goods; the returns were chiefly in silk goods, tutenague, rhubarb, &c.; the trade was continued for several years, apparently with considerable profit, though the Manchus continually increased the restrictions under which it labored. In 1681, the Company ordered their factories at Amoy and Formosa to be withdrawn, and one established at Canton or Fuhchau, but in 1685, the trade was renewed at Amoy.

The Portuguese managed to prevent the English obtaining a footing at Canton, until about 1684; and, as Davis remarks, the stupid pertinacity with which they endeavored to exclude them from this port and trade, is one of the most striking circumstances connected with these trials and rivalries. It is the more inexplicable in the case of the Portuguese, for they could carry nothing to England, nor could they force the English to trade with them at second-hand; theirs was truly the "dog in the manger" policy, and they have subsequently starved upon it. In 1689, a duty of

5*s*. per pound, was laid upon tea imported into England; and the principal articles of export are stated to have been wrought silks of every kind, porcelain, lackered-ware, a good quantity of fine tea, some fans and screens. Ten years after, the Court of Directors sent out a consul's commission to the chief supercargo, who at that time was Mr. Catchpoole, which constituted him, during their pleasure, king's minister or consul, for the whole empire of China and the adjacent islands. In 1701, an attempt was made by him to open a trade, and he obtained permission to send ships to Chusan or Ningpo; an investment in three vessels, worth £101,300, was accordingly sent, but he found the exactions of the government so grievous, and the monopoly of the merchants so oppressive, that the adventure proved a great loss, and the traders were compelled to withdraw. The Company's hopes of trade at that port must, however, have been great, for their investment to Amoy that year was only £34,400, and to Canton, £40,800; Catchpoole also established a factory at Pulo Condore, in 1702, which had been taken by the English, and a fort erected the year before; this island lies off the coast of Cochinchina, and was a place resorted to by Chinese junks bound to the Archipelago and Siam. The whole concern, however, experienced a tragical end in 1705, when the Malays rose upon the English and murdered them all, and afterwards burned the factory. The Cochinchinese are said to have instigated this treacherous attack, to regain the island, which was claimed by them.

The trade at Amoy was continued for many years after the greater part of it had centred in Canton, for in 1723, Captain Alexander Hamilton, who wrote a "New Account of the East Indies," loaded there. The distance between the ports of Canton, Amoy, and Ningpo, and the difficulties attending the navigation up the Formosa channel, as well as the losses and exactions at the two latter places, probably combined to induce the Company to withdraw from them. The extortions and grievances suffered by the traders at Canton, were increased in 1702 by the appointment of an individual, who alone had the right of trading with them, and of farming it out to those who had the means of doing so. The trade seems hardly, even at this time, to have taken a regular form, but by 1720, the number and value of the annual commodities had so much increased that the Chinese established a uniform duty of four per cent. on all goods, and appointed a

body of native merchants, who, for the privilege of trading with foreigners, became security for their payment of duties and good behavior. The duty on imports was also increased to about 16 per cent., and a heavy fee demanded of purveyors before they could supply ships with provisions, besides a heavy measurement duty and present to the collector of customs. These exactions seemed likely to increase unless a stand was taken against them, and the English succeeded in resisting this combination of the native merchants to monopolize the trade. This was done by a united appeal to the governor in person in 17[illegible]8, yet the relief was only temporary, for the plan was so effectual and convenient for the government, that the co-hong was erelong re-established as the only medium through which the foreign trade could be conducted. An additional duty of 10 per cent. was added on all exports, which no efforts were effectual in removing, until the accession of Kienlung in 1736. This apparently suicidal practice of levying export duties is, in China, really a continuation of the internal excise or transit duties, paid upon goods exported in native vessels as well as foreign.

The emperor, in taking off the newly imposed duty of ten per cent., required that the merchants should hear the act of grace read upon their knees; but the foreigners all met in a body, and each one agreed on his honor not to submit to this slavish posture, nor make any concession or proposal of accommodation without acquainting the rest. The emperor also required the delivery of all the arms on board ship, a demand afterwards waived on the payment of about £2000. The hong-merchants shortly became the only medium of communication with the government, themselves being the exactors of the duties and contrivers of the grievances, and when complaints were made, the judges of the equity of their own acts. In 1734, only one English ship came to Canton, and one was sent to Amoy, but the extortions there were greater than at the other port, and she withdrew. Two years after, another attempt was made at Ningpo, where the authorities were so imperious and obstinate, and the place promised so little in the way of trade, that the ship returned to Canton, where she found that the recent duty of ten per cent. on imports, and the present formerly exacted, had both been taken off. This present, or *cumshaw* as it is called, was demanded, however, by the local authorities, and paid; but it cannot now be ascertained

whether it was then applied to the support of the foundling hospital and poor asylum, as was ascertained to be the case in 1832. In 1736, the number of ships at Canton was four English, two French, two Dutch, one Dane and one Swedish vessel; the Portuguese ships had been restricted to Macao before this date. The trade now profitable to both parties, had become regular, and the demand in Europe for tea and other articles of Chinese manufacture constantly increasing.

Commodore Anson arrived at Macaó in 1742, and as the Centurion was the first British man-of-war which had visited China, his decided conduct in refusing to leave the river until provisions were furnished, and his determination in seeking an interview with the governor, no doubt had a good effect. A mixture of decision and kindness, such as that exhibited by Anson, when demanding only what was in itself right, and backed by an array of force not lightly to be trifled with or incensed, has always proved the most successful way of dealing with the Chinese, who on their part need instruction as well as intimidation. The constant presence of a ship of war on the coast of China would perhaps have saved foreigners much of the personal vexations, and prevented many of the imposts upon trade, which the history of foreign intercourse exhibits, making it in fact little better than a recital of annoyances on the part of a government, too ignorant and proud to understand its own true interests, and recriminations on the part of a few traders, unable to do more than protest against them.

In consequence of the exactions of the government, and the success of the co-hong in preventing all direct intercourse between the foreigners and local authorities, the attempt was again made to trade at Amoy and Ningpo. The Hardwicke was sent to Amoy in 1744, and obliged to return without a cargo. Messrs. Flint and Harrison were dispatched to Ningpo in 1755, and were well received; but when the ship Holderness subsequently came to trade, it was with difficulty she procured a cargo, and an imperial edict was promulgated soon after restricting all foreign ships to Canton. In 1759, the factory occupied by foreigners at Ningpo was demolished, and regulations issued forbidding natives supplying their ships with provisions; so that Mr. Flint, who repaired there that year was unable to do anything towards restoring the trade. This gentleman was a person of uncommon per-

severance and talents, and had mastered the difficulties of the Chinese language, so as to act as interpreter at Canton twelve years before he was sent on this mission. "The ungrateful return which his energy and exertions in their service met with from his employers," justly observes Sir John Davis, "was such as tended in all probability, more than any other cause, to discourage his successors from undertaking so laborious, unprofitable, and even hazardous work of supererogation."

On his arrival at Ningpo, Mr. Flint, finding it useless to attempt anything there, proceeded in a native vessel to Tientsin, from whence he succeeded in making his case known to the emperor. A commissioner was deputed to accompany him overland to Canton, and there sit in judgment on the collector of customs. Mr. Flint proceeded to the English factory soon after his arrival, and the foreigners of all nations assembled before the commissioner, who informed them that the hoppo had been superseded, and all duties remitted over 6 per cent. on goods, and the cumshaw and tonnage dues on ships. The sequel of Mr. Flint's enterprise was too unfortunate, and the mode the Chinese took to bring it about too characteristic, to be omitted.

"It proved, however, that these fair appearances were destined only to be the prelude to a storm. Some days afterward, the governor desired to see Mr. Flint for the purpose of communicating the emperor's orders, and was accompanied by the council of his countrymen. When the party had reached the palace, the hong-merchants proposed their going in one at a time, but they insisted on proceeding together; and on Mr. Flint being called for, they were received at the first gate, and ushered through two courts with seeming complaisance by the officers in waiting; but on arriving at the gate of the inner court, they were hurried, and even forced into the governor's presence, where a struggle ensued with their brutal conductors to force them to do homage after the Chinese fashion until they were overpowered and thrown down. Seeing their determination not to submit to these base humiliations, the governor ordered the people to desist; and then telling Mr. Flint to advance, he pointed to an order, which he called the emperor's edict, for his banishment to Macao, and subsequent departure for England, on account of his endeavoring to open a trade at Ningpo, contrary to orders from Peking. He added that the native who had written the petition in Chinese was to be beheaded that day, for traitorously encouraging foreigners, which was performed on a man quite innocent of what these officers were pleased to call a crime. Mr. Flint was soon after conveyed to Tsienshan, a place near Macao, called Casa

Branca by the Portuguese, where he was imprisoned two years and a half, and then sent to England."—*Davis' Chinese*, Vol. I., p. 64.

Mr. Flint stated to the Company that a fee of £250 to the governor would set him at liberty, but they contented themselves with a petition. The punishment Mr. Flint received from the Chinese for this attempt to break their laws, would not have been considered as unmerited or unjust in any other country, but the neglect of the Company to procure the liberation of one who had suffered so much to serve them, reflects the greatest reproach upon them.

The whole history of the foreign trade with China, up to 1840, is a melancholy and curious chapter in national intercourse; for it is, after all, the daily and constant concerns of traffic, and not treaties or ambassies, which constitute national dealings with such a people. The grievances complained of, were delay in loading ships, and plunder of goods on their transit to Canton; the injurious proclamations annually put up by the government, accusing foreigners of horrible crimes; the extortions of the underlings of office; and the difficulty of access to the high authorities. The hong-merchants, from their position as sole traders and interpreters between the two parties, were able to delude both to a considerable extent; though, being made responsible for the acts and payments of the foreigners, over whom they could exercise only a partial surveillance, rendered their situation by no means pleasant. The rule on which the Chinese government proceeded in its dealings with foreigners has been thus translated by Prémare: "The barbarians are like beasts, and not to be ruled on the same principles as citizens. Were any one to attempt controlling them by the great maxims of reason, it would tend to nothing but confusion. The ancient kings well understood this, and accordingly ruled barbarians by misrule: therefore, to rule barbarians by misrule is the true and best way of ruling them." The same rule in regard to foreign traders was virtually acted on in England, during the reign of Henry VII., and the ideas of their power over those who visit their shores, among the Chinese, are not unlike those which prevailed in Europe before the Reformation. The Chinese, at first, feared and respected those who came to their shores, and whom they saw to be their superiors in the art of war, and spirit of enterprise; and if means and con-

duct, befitting the superior knowledge and civilization of their visitors had been taken to enlighten them, such efforts, it cannot be supposed, would have been useless or unappreciated. By degrees the respectful fear of the Chinese passed into haughty contempt; and the resolution taken to exact as much as possible from those who were determined to trade, and of whose real condition and power, little or nothing was known.

A fruitful source of difficulty between the Chinese and English, was the turbulent conduct of sailors. The French and English sailors at Whampoa, in 1754, carried their national hatred to such a degree, that they could not, even in China, pursue their trade without quarrelling; and a Frenchman having killed an English sailor, the Chinese stopped the trade of the former nation, until the guilty person was given up, though he was subsequently liberated. The Chinese allotted two different islands in the river at Whampoa, for the recreation of the seamen of each nation, in order that such troubles might be avoided in future. A similar case occurred at Canton, in 1780, when a Frenchman killed a Portuguese sailor at night, in one of the merchants' houses, and fled to the consul's for refuge. The Chinese demanded the criminal, and after some days he was given up to them, and publicly strangled; this punishment he no doubt merited, although it was the first case in which they had interfered, where the matter was altogether among foreigners, and their success was considered as furnishing a bad precedent for interference on subsequent occasions. In 1784, a native was accidentally killed at Whampoa, by a ball left in a gun when firing a salute from the Lady Hughes, an English ship, and the Chinese on the principle of requiring life for life, demanded the man who had fired the gun. Knowing that the English were not likely to give him up, the police seized Mr. Smith, the supercargo of the vessel, and carried him a prisoner into the city, having previously succeeded in lulling their suspicions by protesting that they wished merely to examine the gunner concerning the affair. On the seizure of the supercargo, the ships' boats were ordered up from Whampoa with armed crews, to defend the factories; but the Chinese authorities dispatched a messenger to say that their intention in taking Mr. Smith was simply to ask him a few questions; who, on his part, requested the captain to send up the gunner or somebody else from the ship to be examined, which was ac-

cordingly done. Trusting too much to the promises of the Chinese, the man was allowed to go within the city walls, unattended by any of his countrymen, when Mr. Smith was immediately liberated, and he strangled by direct orders of the emperor, after about six weeks' confinement. The man, probably, underwent no form of trial intelligible to himself, and his condemnation was the more unjust, as by Sect. ccxcii. of the Chinese code, he was allowed to ransom himself by a fine of about $20. As a counterpart of this tragedy, the Chinese stated, and there was reason for believing them, that a native, who had accidentally killed a British seaman, about the same time, was executed for the casualty.

The untoward result of this affair served as a caution and guide in dealing with the local authorities hereafter, for the Chinese officers regarded it as incumbent on them in all such cases, to carry out if possible, the rule of life for life. Their mode of operations, however, when it was impracticable to get possession of the guilty or accused party, was well exhibited in the case of a homicide which occurred in 1807. A party of sailors had been drinking in one of the shops at Canton, when a scuffle ensued, and the sailors put the populace, who had begun to insult them, to flight, killing one of the natives in the onset. The trade was immediately stopped, and the hong-merchant, who had *secured* the ship, was held responsible for the delivery of the offender. Eleven men were arrested by the Company's order, and a court instituted in their hall before Chinese judges, Captain Rolles of H. B. M. ship Lion being present with the committee. The actual homicide could not be found, but one man, named Edward Sheen, was detained in custody, which satisfied the Chinese while he remained in Canton; but when the committee wished to take him to Macao with them, they resisted, until Captain Rolles declared that otherwise he should take the prisoner on board his own ship, which he actually did. Being now beyond their reach, the authorities gave up the case, and explained the affair to the supreme tribunal at the capital, by inventing a tale, stating that the prisoner had caused the death of a native by raising an upper window, and accidentally dropping a stick upon his head as he was passing in the street below. This statement was reported to his majesty, as having been concurred in by the English, after a full examination of witnesses, who attested to the circumstances;

the imperial rescript affirmed the sentence of the Board of Punishments, which ordered that the prisoner should be set at liberty, after paying the legal fine of about $20, provided to pay the funeral expenses. The trade was thereupon resumed.

This case serves to illustrate the proceedings of the Chinese government, in many similar cases among themselves, where the interest or fear of the subordinate officers leads them to make out a fair statement, in utter disregard of truth and equity. It should be stated, however, in passing our judgment upon such conduct, that the governor and his colleagues were placed in an unpleasant dilemma. The laws peremptorily required life for life whenever foreigners were concerned; and they were liable to be denounced to their sovereign and degraded, if they did not execute the laws: a thing wholly impracticable, after he had been removed on board ship. They could not but be sensible that the man, though deserving of some punishment, was not guilty of murder, and their fabrication, though plain to all the local officers, still had a merciful end in view for the prisoner; and was moreover, a safe expedient for themselves, as the relations who were the only parties likely to testify against them, had been pacified by a sum of fifty thousand pounds. Another inducement to hush the matter, was the suspension of trade, and consequent general inconvenience to all parties.*

Another case of homicide occurred at Whampoa, in 1820, when the authorities showed their earnest desire to settle the affair by assuming that the butcher of the ship, who committed suicide soon after, was the guilty person; they held an inquest on board the ship, and a corresponding statement was made out. In 1822, a party of sailors watering at Lintin from H. B. M. ship Topaze was attacked by a crowd of natives, and in the affray two Chinese were killed and many wounded on both sides. The authorities at Canton demanded that two Englishmen should be given up, which the captain refused to do, at the same time explaining the affair, and showing that the inhabitants of the island were blameworthy. A long discussion ensued between the Company and the local authorities, which ended in the Committee stopping the trade and withdrawing from the river, until the governor agreed to release them, as merchants, from all partici-

* Sir G. T Staunton's Translation of the Penal Code, p. 516.

pation or responsibility for the acts of British ships of war. This was finally done and the trade resumed. One reason for the tedious progress of these disputes may be found in the habitual tergiversation of the Chinese, which lead them to suspect others of falsehood, in the same degree that they are conscious of it themselves, and renders them unwilling to confess their mendacity when charged home upon them.

The zeal of the Chinese in this affair of the Topaze, was no doubt increased by their success the year before in a case of homicide on board the American ship Emily, caused by an angry sailor, named Francis Terranova, throwing a jar at a woman, which knocked her overboard, though evidence was brought forward to show that she fell into the water partly through her own haste or carelessness. The district magistrate of Pwanyu came down to the ship with the hong-merchants and linguists, and held a trial upon the sailor, which the committee of American merchants present protested against as unjust and a mere mockery, inasmuch as the magistrate refused to accept the offered services of Dr. Morrison as interpreter, and employed his own wretched linguists to conduct the trial. The error of the Americans, according to the account drawn up by an eye-witness, and given in the North American Review for January, 1835, was in allowing the trial to take place without the aid of a well qualified interpreter, which they could probably have obtained by a little determination; and afterwards in permitting the man to be taken out of the ship before he had had a fair trial.

They are stated, in this narrative, to have told Howqua, "We are bound to submit to your laws while we are in your waters, be they ever so unjust; we will not resist them;" and it was on this principle that they suffered the unconvicted sailor to be carried to Canton, without resistance; but there is no evidence for Sir John Davis' assertion that he was put in irons by the Americans at the desire of his judges, or that he was personally delivered up to them. He was strangled very soon after he was in the hands of the Chinese, in opposition to all the delays and forms of even their own laws, no foreigner being allowed to be present. The government at Washington never made the least move or remonstrance respecting this tragical affair, but still left the commerce, lives and property of American citizens in China wholly unprotected, and at the mercy of its rulers. We are not pre-

pared to admit, however, that because the natives of one country live in another, they are bound thereby to submit to whatever injustice may be practised or inflicted upon them; when, too, as was the case then in China, they are regarded as foreigners, and not permitted to live under, or be judged by the same laws as the natives.

Other cases of murder and homicide have occurred in China since the two last mentioned,* but no one has been executed by the Chinese. One of them was a captain Mackenzie, who was beaten so severely in a night affray with some Parsees, in 1833, as to cause his death; both the parties being British subjects, the matter was settled by the Committee sending the Parsees to Bombay for trial; the Chinese making one unsuccessful attempt to bring the case under their own jurisdiction. The other grew out of a fracas between the crews of the opium ships and the inhabitants of an island near Kumsing moon, in which a man was killed on each side. The relatives of the deceased Chinese complained to their rulers, and the hong-merchants hit upon an expedient to satisfy the forms of law, by persuading a black from Macao to personate the murderer, and give himself up to be tried, assuring him of a full acquittal. Some correspondence ensued between the authorities and the Committee, and the captive was finally set at liberty.*

These cases are brought together in this place to illustrate the anomalous position which foreigners held in China, before the late war. They constituted a community by themselves, subject chiefly to their own sense of honor in their mutual dealings, but their relations with the Chinese were like what lawyers call a "state of nature." The change of a governor-general, of a collector of customs, or senior hong-merchant, involved a new course of policy according to the personal character of these functionaries. The Committee of the East India Company had considerable power over British subjects, especially those living in Canton, and could deport them if they pleased; but the consuls of other nations had little or no authority over their countrymen. Trade was left at the same loose ends that politics were, and the want of an acknowledged tariff encouraged smuggling, and kept up a constant spirit of resistance and dissatisfaction between the

* Chinese Repository, Vol. II., pp. 513—515.

native and foreign merchants, each party endeavoring to get along as advantageously to itself as practicable. Nor was there any acknowledged medium of communication between them, for the consuls not being credited by the Chinese government, came and went, hoisted and lowered their flags, without the slightest notice from the authorities. Trade could proceed, perhaps, without involving the nations in war, since if it was unprofitable it would cease; but while it continued on such a precarious footing, national character suffered, and the misrepresentations produced thereby rendered explanations difficult, inasmuch as neither party understood or believed the other.

The death of the unfortunate gunner, in 1784, and the large debts owed to the English by the hong-merchants, which there seemed no probability of recovering, induced the British government to turn its attention to the situation of the king's subjects in China with the purpose of placing their relations on a better footing. The flagitious conduct of a captain M'Clary, who seized a Dutch vessel at Whampoa, in 1781, which Davis narrates, and the inability of the Company to restrain such proceedings, also had its weight in deciding the crown to send an ambassy to Peking. Colonel Cathcart was appointed envoy, in 1788, but his death in the straits of Sunda temporarily deferred the mission, which was resumed on a larger scale in 1792, when the earl of Macartney was sent as ambassador, with a large suite of able men, to place the relations between the two nations, if possible, on a well understood and secure footing. Two ships were appointed as tenders, to accompany his majesty's ship Lion, 64, in which he went out, and nothing was omitted, either in the composition of the mission, or the presents to the emperor, to insure its success. Little is known regarding its real impression upon the Chinese; they treated it with great consideration while it remained in the country, although at an estimated cost of £170,000, and probably dismissed it with the feeling that it was one of the most splendid testimonials of respect that a tributary nation had ever paid their court. The English were henceforth registered among the nations who had sent tribute-bearers, and were consequently only the more bound to obey the injunctions of their master.

To the English, however, this expedition may be said to have opened China, so much interest was taken in it, and so well

calculated were the narratives of Staunton and Barrow, to convey better ideas of that remote country. "Much of the lasting impression which the relations of Lord Macartney's ambassy leave on the mind of his reader," to quote from a review of it, "must be ascribed, exclusive of the natural effect of clear, elegant, and able composition, to the number of persons engaged in that business, the variety of their characters, the reputation they already enjoyed, or afterwards acquired; the bustle stir of a sea-voyage; the placidity and success which finally characterized the intercourse of the English with the Chinese; the splendor of the reception the latter gave to their European guests; the walks in the magnificent gardens of the 'son of heaven;' the picturesque, and almost romantic navigation upon the imperial canal; and perhaps, not less, for the interest we feel for every grand enterprise, skilfully prepared, and which proves successful, partly in consequence of the happy choice of the persons, and the means by which it was to be carried into effect." This impression of the grandeur and extent of the Chinese empire has ever since more or less remained upon the minds of all readers of Staunton's narrative; but truer views were imparted than had before been entertained concerning its real civilization and rank among the nations.

That the ambassy produced some good effect is undeniable, though it failed in most of the principal points. It also afforded the Chinese an opportunity of making arrangements, concerning that future intercourse which they could not avoid, even if they would not negotiate, and of acquiring information concerning foreign nations, which would have proved of great advantage to them. Their contemptuous rejection, ignorant though they are of the real character of these courtesies, of peaceful missions like those of Macartney, Titsingh, and others, takes away much of our sympathy for the calamities which subsequently came upon them. With characteristic shortsightedness, the Chinese government looked upon the very means taken to arrange existing ill-understood relations as a reason for considering those relations settled to its liking, and a motive to still further exactions.

For many years subsequent to this ambassy, the trade went on without interruption, though the demands and duties were rather increased than diminished, and the personal liberty of foreigners gradually restricted within narrower limits. The government

generally, down to the lowest underling, systematically endeavored to degrade and insult foreigners in the eyes of the populace and citizens of Canton, in order, in case of any disturbance, to have their co-operation and sympathy against the "barbarian devils." The dissolute and violent conduct of many foreigners towards the Chinese, gave them, alas, too many arguments for their aspersions and exactions, and both parties too, frequently considered the other fair subjects for imposition.

In 1802, the English troops occupied Macao by order of the governor-general of India, lest it should be attacked by the French, but the news of the treaty of peace arriving soon after, they re-embarked almost as soon as the Chinese remonstrated. The discussion was revived, however, in 1808, when the French again threatened the settlement, and the English, under Admiral Drury, landed a detachment to assist the Portuguese in defending it. The Chinese, who had previously asserted their complete jurisdiction over this territory, and which a little examination would have plainly shown, now protested against the armed occupation of their soil, and immediately stopped the trade, and denied provisions to the ships. The English were ordered by the Committee to go aboard ship, and the governor refused to have the least communication with the admiral until the troops were withdrawn. He attempted to proceed to Canton in ships' armed boats, but was repulsed, and finally, in order not to implicate the trade any further, a step not at all apprehended in protecting the Portuguese, he wisely withdrew his troops and sailed for India. The success of the native authorities greatly rejoiced them, and a temple was built on the river's bank to commemorate their victory, and a fort, called "Howqua's Folly" by foreigners, erected to guard the river at that point.

The Chinese, ignorant of the principles on which international intercourse is regulated among western powers, regarded every hostile demonstration between them in their waters as directed towards themselves, and demanding their interference. They are utterly powerless to defend even themselves against their own piratical subjects, as was manifested in 1810 and previously, and also in 1660, when Koxinga ravaged the coast, and the governor of Fuhkien called in the aid of the Dutch; and still they assume that they are able to protect all foreigners who "range themselves under their sway." This was exhibited in 1814, on

occasion of the British frigate Doris cruising off the port of Canton to seize American vessels during the war with that country, when the provincial authorities ordered the Committee to send the Doris away, saying, that if the English and Americans had any petty squabbles they must settle them between themselves, and not bring them to China. The Committee stated their inability to control the proceedings of men-of-war, whereupon the Chinese began a series of petty and vexatious annoyances against the merchants and shipping, such as prohibiting the employment of native servants, entering their houses to seize natives, molesting and stopping ships' boats proceeding up and down the river on business, hindering the loading of the ships, and other like harassing acts, so characteristic of Asiatic governments, when they feel themselves powerless to cope with the real object of their fear or anger. These almost hostile measures proceeded at last to such a length, that the Committee determined to stop the British trade until the governor would allow it to go on without molestation as usual, and they had actually left Canton for Whampoa, with all the factory, and proceeded down the river some distance, before he showed a sincere wish to arrange matters amicably. There had been several meetings between the Committee and deputies from his excellency previous to the former leaving the city, but it was not until the Chinese saw them actually depart that they believed them to be in earnest. A deputation from each party accordingly met in Canton, and after considerable negotiation, the principal points in dispute were gained.

One thing which the English justly remonstrated against, was the banishment of a linguist, who had been sent to Peking with the implied permission of the authorities, to Sung, the amiable conductor of Macartney's ambassy, in order to carry him a gold box and a complimentary letter from the English ministry on his elevation to the Inner Council. The unfortunate messenger was banished to Ílí soon after his return to Canton, on the charge of having had traitorous dealings with foreigners, the statesman was disgraced, and the present sent back ; thus showing, in the strongest manner, the feelings of the imperial government. The governor, however, unhesitatingly told the Committee that the linguist had been punished for entirely another reason. At this time he conceded three important points, viz. the right of corresponding with the government under seal in the Chinese language, the un-

molested employment of native servants, and the assurance that the houses of foreigners should not be entered without permission; nor were these stipulations ever retracted or violated. Trade was resumed soon after. The proceedings in this affair, were conducted with no little apprehension on both sides, for the value of the traffic was of such importance that neither party could really think of stopping it. Besides the revenue accruing to government from duties and presents, the preparation and shipment of the articles in demand for foreign countries give employment to millions of natives in different parts of the empire, and had caused Canton to become one of the greatest marts in the world. The governor and his colleagues were responsible for the revenue and peaceful continuance of the trade; but through their ignorance of the true principles of a prosperous commerce, and fear of the consequences resulting from any innovation or change, or the least extension of privileges to the few half-imprisoned foreigners, they thought their security lay rather in restriction than in freedom, in a haughty bearing to intimidate, and not in conciliation to please, their customers. On the other hand, the existence of the East India Company's charter depended in a good degree upon furnishing a regular supply of tea to the people of England, and therefore the success of the Committee's bold measure of stopping the trade depended not a little upon the ignorance of the Chinese of the great power a passive course of action would give them.

The government at home, on learning these proceedings, resolved to dispatch another ambassy to Peking in order to state the facts of the case at court, and if possible agree upon some understood mode of conducting trade and communicating with the heads of government. Lord Amherst, who like Lord Macartney, had been governor-general of India, was appointed ambassador to Peking, and Henry Ellis and Sir George T. Staunton associated with him as second and third commissioners. A large suite of able men, with Dr. Morrison as principal interpreter, accompanied the ambassy, and the usual quantity and variety of presents. The mission reached the capital August 28th, 1816, but was summarily dismissed without an audience, because the ambassador would not perform the *kotau*, or appear before his majesty as soon as he arrived; the intrigues of the authorities at Canton with the high officers about the emperor to defeat the am-

bassy by deceiving their master, have also been adduced as reasons for its failure. The rejection of this mark of respect from foreign nations, for England in one sense stood as the representative of Christendom, completely placed the Chinese out of the list of civilized nations, and showed the inutility and folly of this mode of approach. There now remained only three modes of procedure:—the resort to force to compel them to enter into some equitable arrangement, entire submission to whatever they ordered, or the withdrawal of all trade, until they proposed its resumption: the course of events continued the second until the first was resorted to, and eventuated in laying open the whole coast to the enterprise of western nations.

The journey of the ambassy from Peking to Canton was performed pleasantly, and the journals of Ellis, Abel, Davis, and Morrison, imparted considerable new information upon the habits and condition of the people, and the productions of the country. The conduct of the authorities at Canton was also more civil, thus showing that the ambassy had had some effect; and the decided conduct of Lord Amherst in asserting his right to the first seat at an interview held with the governor-general, and of Captain Maxwell in bringing the frigate Alceste up to Whampoa, and silencing the Bogue forts, further added to the respect or fear shown in their own fashion in a desire to avoid collision and altercation. The effort was made by the chief of the factory in 1829, to compel the Chinese to permit foreigners to live at Canton with their families, and armed sailors and cannon were brought up from Whampoa to resist any attempt to coerce the ladies away, but the governor succeeded in dismissing them after an altercation of several months. The debts of two of the bankrupt hongs, amounting to about two millions of dollars, were also settled and paid by six instalments, and the united responsibility of the co-hong for the debts of any one of its members ordered to cease. This did not, however, take place, nor stop the needy or prodigal among them from borrowing largely of the foreigners.

At the close of the East India Company's exclusive rights in China, the prospect for the continuance of a peaceful trade was rather dubious. The enterprising Mr. Marjoribanks, president of the factory, had planned the experiment of sending a vessel up the coast to ascertain how far trade could be carried on, which resulted in satisfactorily proving that the authorities were able

and determined to stop all traffic at those ports, however desirous the people might be for it. The contraband trade in opium was conducted in a manner that threatened erelong to involve the two nations, but the Company's factory kept themselves aloof from it, by bringing none in their ships: the same Company, however, did everything in India, to encourage the growth and sale of the drug, and received an annual revenue, at the time of its dissolution, of nearly two millions sterling. During its existence in China, the East India Company stood forward as the defenders of the rights of foreigners and humanity, in a manner which no community of isolated merchants could have done; and to some extent compelled the Chinese to treat all more civilly. As a body, it did little for the encouragement of Chinese literature, or the diffusion of Christian truth or of science among the Chinese, except the printing of Morrison's Dictionary, and an annual grant to the Anglo-Chinese college; and although Dr. Morrison was their official translator for twenty-five years, the Directors never gave him the empty compliment of enrolling him in the list of their servants, nor contributed one penny for carrying on his great work of translating and printing the Bible in Chinese. They set themselves against all such efforts, and during a long existence, the natives of that country had no means put into their hands by their agency, of learning that there was any great difference in the religion, science, or civilization of European nations and their own.

The trade of the Americans to China commenced in 1784, the first vessel having left New York, February 22d of that year, and returned May 11th, 1785; it was commanded by captain Green, and the supercargo, Samuel Shaw, on his return, gave a lucid narrative of his voyage to chief-justice Jay. It has steadily increased since that time, and with the exception of the temporary suspension, when Terranova was judicially murdered, has gone on very quietly, though the citizens of the United States, for sixty years, until the recent mission of Mr. Cushing, had no official dealings with the government. The consuls at Canton were merely merchants, having no salary from their government, no funds to employ interpreters when necessary, or any power over their countrymen; and came and went without the least notice or acknowledgment from the Chinese. The Americans have been usually distinguished from the English among the citizens of

Canton, and the officers of government also understand the difference between the two nations; but they have seldom come in collision, or had any official correspondence.

The trade and intercourse of the Swedes, Danes, Prussians, Spaniards, Austrians, Peruvians, Mexicans, or Chilians, at Canton, have been attended with no peculiarities or events of any moment. None of these nations ever sent "tribute" to the court of the son of heaven, and their ships traded at Canton on the same footing with the English. The voyage of Peter Osbeck, chaplain to a Swedish East Indiaman in 1753, contains considerable information relating to the mode of conducting the trade at that time, and the position of foreigners, who then enjoyed more liberty, and suffered fewer extortions than in later years.

Many of the names given to foreign nations at Canton are derived from their flags. The Austrians, for instance, are called *May Ying*, or double-headed eagle, and the Prussians, *Tan Ying*, single eagle; the Danes are known as *Hwáng kí*, or Yellow flag people; and the Americans as *Hwá kí*, or Flowery flag people. The Russians, French, and Hollanders, have their proper appellations of *Ngo-lo-sz'*, *Fah-lan-sí*, and *Ho-lan;* the Portuguese are called *Sí Yang*, or Western Ocean people, a term originally applied to all Europeans, but now confined to them. Spaniards are called *Lui-sung*, from Luzon, whence most of their ships come. Such descriptive terms for foreign nations and places, are more congenial to the genius of the people and language, than the transfer of proper names, like *A-mí-lí-ko* for America, *Ying-kih-lí* for England, *Po-lu-sz'* for Prussia, &c., though the latter are undoubtedly better. There is, in fact, a mutual inadaptation, and these terms of four or five syllables, destitute of all rhyme or reason to a Chinese, if he reads them otherwise than phonetically, strike him quite as barbarous as Sz'chuen, Hukwang, Yangtsz' kiang, and such like, do an Englishman. The usual name by which all foreigners are known at Canton, is *fankwei*, or "foreign devils," an opprobrious epithet, for which there is not the least excuse, and which a native seldom uses when speaking Chinese to a foreigner. Another term, *í*, is used in official papers, the proper signification of which has given rise to considerable discussion, some scholars saying it means *foreigner*, while others translate it *barbarian*. The term *barbarian*, as used by the Greeks to denote all who did not speak Greek, or by Shakspeare to ex-

press foreigners, nearly conveys the Chinese idea; but the present use of that word meaning savages, without letters or institutions, is too strong. The ancient Chinese books speak of four wild nations on the four sides of the country, viz. the *fan*, *i*, *tih*, *man*; the first two have been applied to traders from abroad, one by the common people in the phrase *fankwei*, the other by officials as a word understood to express some remote and foreign people. It can hardly be supposed that in their ignorance of the position and numbers of the tribes intended by these terms, they have ever attached very specific ideas to them, which moreover explains the discrepancy of those who have endeavored to investigate their meaning. Other terms, as "western ocean men," "far-travelled strangers," and "men from afar," have occasionally been substituted, when *i* was objected to. When used as a general term, without an opprobrious addition, it is as well adapted as any to denote all foreigners; for like thousands of other words, it will gradually receive new shades of meaning, as the Chinese learn and read more of the geography, science, and religion of western lands.

CHAPTER XXII.

Origin of the War with England.

THE East India Company's commercial privileges ceased in 1834 and it is worthy of note, that an association should have been continued in the Providence of God, as the principal representatives of Christendom among the Chinese, which by its character, its pecuniary interests, and general inclination was bound in a manner to maintain peaceful relations with them, while every other important Asiatic kingdom and island from Arabia to Japan, was at one time or other during that period the scene of collision, war, or conquest between the nations and their visitors. Its monopoly ceased when western nations no longer looked upon these regions as objects of desire, nor went to Rome to get a grant of the pagan lands they might discover and seize; and when, too, Christians began to learn and act upon their duty to evangelize these ignorant races. China and Japan were once open, but during a century and more, no effective measures were taken to translate or distribute the pure word of God in them.

Believing that the affairs of the kingdoms of this world are ordered by their Almighty Governor with regard to the fulfilment of his promises and the promulgation of his truth, the war between England and China, two empires excelling in power, resources, population, antiquity and influence, is not only one of great historical interest, but one whose future consequences cannot fail to exercise increasing influence upon many millions of mankind. This war, extraordinary in its origin, as growing chiefly out of a commercial misunderstanding; remarkable in its course, as being waged between strength and weakness, between conscious superiority and ignorant pride; and momentous in its conclusion as introducing, on a basis of general good understanding, one half of the world to the other half, without any arrogant demands from the victors, or humiliating concessions from the vanquished; demands a more particular account than has been given to the previous incidents in the foreign intercourse with China.

At the close of the charter, the Select Committee announced to the authorities at Canton, that its ships would no longer come to China, and that a king's officer would be sent out to manage the affairs of the British trade. The same notice had been previously given in 1831, when the governor-general replied, "that in case of the dissolution of the Company, it was incumbent on the British government to appoint a chief to come to Canton for the general management of commercial dealings, and to prevent affairs from going to confusion;" but the present governor inquired of them why their ships ceased coming to China, since tea was *necessary* to England. The only "chief" whom the Chinese expected to receive, was a commercial headman, qualified to communicate with their officers by petition, and send his petitions as usual through the medium of the hong-merchants. The new mode of conducting the trade in English vessels now announced, was regarded as a trifling matter, affecting the "outside foreigners" alone; as long as they were humbly obedient to the orders given them, and duly felt the emperor's kindness, the Chinese cared very little whom they had for chief, or what powers were given him over his countrymen.

The English government justly deemed the change one of considerable importance, and concluded that the oversight of their subjects in a foreign land, and the superintendence of such large amounts of property, required a commission of experienced men. The king therefore appointed the Rt.-Hon. Lord Napier, who was sent out as chief superintendent of British trade, and arrived at Macao with his suite, July 15th, 1834, where were associated with him in the commission, John F. Davis and Sir G. B. Robinson, formerly servants of the Company, and a number of secretaries, surgeons, chaplain, interpreters, &c., whose united salaries amounted to £18,200. On arriving at Canton, the tide-waiters officially reported that three "foreign devils" had landed, and the news was speedily transmitted to the governor, and circulated among the people. As soon as he had learned that Lord Napier had reached Macao, the governor ordered the hong-merchants to go down, and intimate to him that he must remain there until he received the legal permission to come to Canton; for having received no orders from court how he should treat the English superintendent, he thought it the safest plan to resist any infringement of the old regulations.

Lord Napier had been ordered to report himself to the governor at Canton *by letter;* and a short extract from his instructions will show the intentions of the English government in constituting the commission, and the incorrect views entertained of the notions of the Chinese respecting foreign intercourse, and the character they gave to the English authorities. Lord Palmerston says,

"In addition to the duty of protecting and fostering the trade of his majesty's subjects with the port of Canton, it will be one of your principal objects to ascertain, whether it may not be practicable to extend that trade to other parts of the Chinese dominions. . . . . It is obvious that with a view to the attainment of this object, the establishment of direct communications with the port of Peking would be desirable; and you will accordingly direct your attention to discover the best means of preparing the way for such communications; bearing constantly in mind, however, that peculiar caution and circumspection will be indispensable on this point, lest you should awaken the fears or offend the prejudices of the Chinese government; and thus put to hazard even the existing opportunities of intercourse by a precipitate attempt to extend them. In conformity with this caution you will abstain from entering into any new relations or negoriations with the Chinese authorities, except under very urgent and unforeseen circumstances. But if any opportunity for such negotiations should appear to you to present itself, you will lose no time in reporting the circumstance to his majesty's government, and in asking for instructions; but, previously to the receipt of such instructions, you will adopt no proceedings but such as may have a general tendency to convince the Chinese authorities of the sincere desire of the king to cultivate the most friendly relations with the emperor of China, and to join with him in any measures likely to promote the happiness and prosperity of their respective subjects."

His excellency's messengers arrived too late to detain the British superintendent at Macao, and a military officer was dispatched to intercept him, who passed him on the way; so that the first intimation the latter received of the governor's disposition, was in an edict addressed to the hong-merchants, from which two paragraphs are extracted.

"On this occasion, the barbarian *eye*, Lord Napier, has come to Canton without having at all resided at Macao to wait for orders; nor has he requested or received a permit from the superintendent of customs, but has hastily come up to Canton:—a great infringement of the established laws! The custom-house waiters and others who presumed to admit him

to enter, are sent with a communication requiring their trial. But in tender consideration for the said barbarian *eye* being a new comer, and unacquainted with the statutes and laws of the celestial empire, I will not strictly investigate. . . . . As to his object in coming to Canton, it is for commercial business. The celestial empire appoints officers, civil ones to rule the people, military ones to intimidate the wicked. The petty affairs of commerce are to be directed by the merchants themselves; the officers have nothing to hear on the subject. . . . . If any affair is to be newly commenced, it is necessary to wait till a respectful memorial be made, clearly reporting it to the great emperor, and his mandate be received; the great ministers of the celestial empire are not permitted to have intercourse by letters with outside barbarians. If the said barbarian eye *throws in* private letters, I, the governor, will not at all receive or look at them. With regard to the foreign factory of the Company, without the walls of the city, it is a place of temporary residence for foreigners coming to Canton to trade; they are permitted only to eat, sleep, buy and sell in the factories; they are not allowed to go out to ramble about."*

How unlike were these two documents. Both were directed to the same individual, and placed him in an unpleasant dilemma. The governor, well acquainted with his own official position, said it was requisite to wait for an imperial mandate before commencing a new affair, and refused to receive a letter from a foreign officer; by so doing, he certainly did not, in his own opinion, overstep or transgress what he had been taught to consider right dealings with them. Had he acted otherwise, he would have laid himself open to severe animadversion, and perhaps punishment, from his superiors; and in saying that the superintendent should report himself, and apply for a permit before coming to Canton, he was only requiring what the members of the Company had always done when they returned from their summer vacation at Macao. Lord Napier, unaware, perhaps, of the rules, thought he had the same liberty to come to Canton without announcing himself, that other and private foreigners had; but whoever did so, really infringed the regulations, which required permission to be obtained by every person before residing in Canton, and an officer of his rank would have pleased the Chinese authorities better by observing them. His lordship had thought of this contingency before leaving England, and had requested "that in case of necessity, he might have authority to

* Correspondence relating to China (Blue Book), p 4. Chinese Repository, Vol. III., p. 188; Vol. XI., p. 188.

treat with the government at Peking;" this request being denied, he desired that his appointment to Canton might be announced at the capital; this not being granted, he wished that a communication from the home authorities might be addressed to the governor of Canton; but this was deemed inexpedient, and he was directed to come to Canton, and report himself *by letter*." These requests were surely reasonable, and involved no loss of dignity, but the court of St. James chose to send out a superintendent of trade, an officer partaking of both ministerial and consular powers, and ordered him to act in a certain manner, involving a partial violation of the regulations of the country where he was going, without providing for the alternative of his rejection.

To Canton, therefore, he came, and the next day reported himself *by letter* to the governor, sending it by his secretary, Mr. Astell, to the city gates. His lordship had been instructed not to have anything to do with the hong-merchants; and therefore when they waited upon him the morning of his arrival, with the edict they had been sent down to Macao to "enjoin upon him," he courteously dismissed them, as he says in a letter to Lord Palmerston, with an intimation that "he would communicate immediately with the viceroy in the manner befitting his majesty's commission and the honor of the British nation." The account of the reception of his communication is taken from the same dispatch.

"On the arrival of the party at the city gates, the soldier on guard was dispatched to report the circumstance to his superior. In less than a quarter of an hour, an officer of inferior rank appeared, whereupon Mr. Astell offered my letter for transmission to the viceroy, which duty this officer declined; adding that his superior was on his way to the spot. In the course of an hour, several officers of nearly equal rank arrived in succession, each refusing to deliver the letter on the plea that higher officers would shortly attend. After an hour's delay, during which time the party were treated with much indignity, not unusual on such occasions, the linguists and hong-merchants arrived, who entreated to become the bearers of the letter to the viceroy. About this time, an officer of rank, higher than any of those who had preceded him, joined the party, to whom the letter was in due form offered, and as formally refused. The officer having seen the superscription on the letter, argued, 'that as it came from the superintendent of trade, the hong-merchants were the proper channels of communication;' but this obstacle appeared of minor importance in their eyes, upon ascertaining that the document was styled

a *letter*, and not a *petition*. The linguists requested to be allowed a copy of the address, which was of course refused.

"About this time, the *kwang-hieh*, a military officer of the rank of colonel, accompanied by an officer a little inferior to himself, arrived on the spot, to whom the letter was offered three several times and as often refused. The senior hong-merchant Howqua, after a private conversation with the colonel, requested to be allowed to carry the letter in company with him, and ascertain whether it would be received. This being considered as an insidious attempt to circumvent the directions of the superintendents, a negative was made to this and other overtures of a similar tendency. Suddenly, all the officers took their departure, for the purpose, as it was afterwards ascertained, of consulting with the viceroy. Nearly three hours having been thus lost within the city, Mr. Astell determined to wait a reasonable time for the return of the officers, who shortly afterwards reassembled; whereupon Mr. Astell respectfully offered the letter in question three separate times to the colonel, and afterwards to the other officers, all of whom distinctly refused even to touch it; upon which the party returned to the factory."—*Chi. Rep.*, Vol. XI., p. 27.

The governor reported this occurrence at court, in a memorial, in which, after stating that his predecessor had instructed the Company's supercargoes to make arrangements that "a *taipan* (or supercargo, for the word is applied to all foreign consuls) acquainted with affairs should still be appointed to come to Canton to control and direct the trade," he goes on to mention Lord Napier's arrival at Macao with his family, his coming up to Canton, and the orders which had been issued to the hong-merchants, to convey to him the regulations of the Chinese government. He then adds,

"The said barbarian eye would not receive the hong-merchants, but afterwards repaired to the outside of the city to present a letter to me, your majesty's minister, Lu. On the face of the envelope, the forms and style of equality were used; and there were absurdly written the characters, *Ta Ying kwoh* (*i. e.* Great English nation). Now it is plain on the least reflection, that in keeping the central and outside [people] apart, it is of the highest importance to maintain dignity and sovereignty. Whether the said barbarian eye has or has not official rank, there are no means of thoroughly ascertaining. But though he be really an officer of the said nation, he yet cannot write letters on equality with the frontier officers of the celestial empire. As the thing concerned the national dignity, it was inexpedient in the least to allow a tendency to any approach or advance, by which lightness of esteem might be occasioned. Accordingly, orders were given to Han Shauking, the colonel in command of

the military forces of this department, to tell him authoritatively, that, by the statutes and enactments of the celestial empire, there has never been intercourse by letters with outside barbarians; that, respecting commercial matters, petitions must be made through the medium of the hong-merchants, and that it is not permitted to offer or present letters. . . . . On humble examination, it appears that the commerce of the English barbarians has hitherto been managed by the hong-merchants and *taipans*; there has never been a barbarian eye to form a precedent. Now, it is suddenly desired to appoint an officer, a superintendent, which is not in accordance with old regulations. Besides, if the said nation has formed this decision, it still should have stated in a petition, the affairs which, and the way how, such superintendent is to manage, so that a memorial might be presented, requesting your majesty's mandate and pleasure as to what should be refused, in order that obedience might be paid to it, and the same be acted on accordingly. But the said barbarian eye, Lord Napier, without having made any plain report, suddenly came to the barbarian factories outside the city to reside, and presumed to desire intercourse to and fro by official documents and letters with the officers of the central flowery land; this was, indeed, far out of the bounds of reason." —*Chi. Rep.*, vol. III., p. 327.

The governor, though not altogether correct in one or two statements, here intimates that the intention of his government in requesting a *taipan* to come to Canton was only to have a responsible officer with whom to communicate. In refusing to receive an *eye* or superintendent, therefore, he did not, in his own view of the case, suppose that he was refusing, nor did he or the court at Peking, intend to refuse, the residence of a supercargo; for they were desirous to have responsible heads appointed over the commerce and subjects of every nation trading at Canton. These occurrences were discussed by ex-president Adams, in his lecture upon the war with China, delivered in 1841, and the rejection of Lord Napier's letter and mission was considered a sufficient reason for war, and the real cause of the subsequent contest. He says rightly enough in his lecture, after showing the impolicy of allowing the Chinese ideas of supremacy over other nations, and rapidly reviewing the treatment of Macartney's ambassy, that when the supercargoes of the E. I. Company presented representations or remonstrances on behalf of British subjects to the governor, it was through the medium of the hong-merchants, and in the form of petitions.

But the venerable lecturer is in error, when he adds, "That

this mode of communication was to cease from the time of the expiration of the exclusive privileges of the Company, was equally well known to the British and Chinese governments." Whether he refers to the supercargoes, or to the medium and form of conducting the correspondence, by the phrase "mode of communication," is not very clear, though the context favors the latter. The question of the supremacy of the Chinese over foreign nations was not debated in the contest between the governor and Lord Napier; at least, not by the latter. The former was not blameworthy for endeavoring to carry the laws of his own country into execution; and the latter was doing his best to obey the instructions of his own sovereign. The question of the propriety of those laws, involving as they did the supremacy of the emperor over the English, or the feasibility of those instructions, could only be debated and settled by their principals. Whether this assumption was a proper ground of complaint and hostilities, is altogether another argument. When Lord Napier's letter was rejected, he should have referred home to his own government for further instructions, and would undoubtedly have done so, if the English ministry had intended to settle the question of supremacy; but he did not do so, nor did they refer to it, or remonstrate against the unhandsome treatment their representative received. The two ambassadors already sent to the Chinese court, the presents they brought, and the supposed success obtained on this occasion, all combined to impress the emperor and his ministers more strongly with the idea that they really did exercise an acknowledged supremacy over the English.

The refusal of Lord Napier to confer with the hong-merchants, and of the governor to receive any communication except a petition, placed the two parties in an awkward position. In his letter, the former stated the general objects of his coming to Canton, and requested that his excellency would accord him an interview in order that their future intercourse might be arranged; and considering the desirableness of giving him accurate views, the party at the gate would doubtless have acted wisely in permitting the hong-merchants to take it to him. The governor was both irritated and alarmed at the contumacy of the newly arrived *eye*, and vented his anger upon the unfortunate hong-merchants, giving them order upon order to "enjoin" upon his lordship, which he would not receive. They had two or three interviews with him

after the rejection of the letter, but as they now said it would not be received unless superscribed *pin*, or petition, they were dismissed. Having heard that there was a party among the British residents in Canton, who disapproved of the proceedings of the superintendent, they vainly endeavored to call a meeting of the disaffected on the 10th of August, but his lordship called a meeting of his countrymen next day, and found that they generally approved of his conduct. By his recommendation, a Chamber of Commerce was formed, through which all communications with the Chinese authorities were subsequently made. His lordship in a dispatch of the 14th, thus reviews his position in consequence of the rejection of his letter, and the subsequent conduct of the governor. After recommending the renewal of the effort to open better understood relations with the court of Peking by a demand from the emperor to allow the same privileges to all foreigners residing in China, which Chinese received in foreign countries, and showing the good effects likely to result to both parties from such a course, he goes on to say :—

"My present position is, in one point of view, a delicate one, because the trade is put in jeopardy, on account of the difference existing between the viceroy and myself. I am ordered by his majesty, to 'go to Canton, and there report myself by letter to the viceroy.' I use my best endeavors to do so; but the viceroy is a presumptuous savage, and will not grant the same privileges to me that have been exercised constantly by the chiefs of the Committee. He rakes up obsolete orders, or perhaps makes them for the occasion: but the fact is, the chiefs used formerly to wait on the viceroy on their return from Macao, and continued to do it until the viceroy gave them an order to wait upon him, whereupon they gave the practice up. Had I even degraded the king's commission so far as to petition through the hong-merchants for an interview, it is quite clear by the tenor of the edicts that it would have been refused. Were he to send an armed force, and order me to the boat, I could then retreat with honor, and he would implicate himself; but they are afraid to attempt such a measure. What then remains but the stoppage of the trade, or my retirement? If the trade is stopped for any length of time, the consequences to the merchants are most serious, as they are also to the unoffending Chinese. But the viceroy cares no more for commerce, or for the comfort and happiness of the people, as long as he receives his pay and plunder, than if he did not live among them. My situation is different; I cannot hazard millions of property for any length of time on the mere score of etiquette. If the trade shall be stopped, which is probable enough in the absence of the frigate, it is possible I may be obliged to retire to Ma-

cao to let it loose again. Then has the viceroy gained his point, and the commission is degraded. Now, my lord, I argue, that whether the commission retires by force of arms, or by the injustice practised on the merchants, the viceroy has committed an outrage on the British crown, which should be equally chastised. The whole system of government here is that of subterfuge, and shifting the blame from the shoulders of the one to the other. . . . . I shall not go, however, without publishing in Chinese, and disseminating far and wide the base conduct of the viceroy in oppressing the merchants, native as well as foreign; and of my having taken the step out of pure compassion to them. I can only once more implore your lordship to force them to acknowledge my authority and the king's commission, and if you can do that, you will have no difficulty in opening the ports at the same time."—*Chi. Rep.*, Vol. XV., p. 68.

Such were the sentiments and desires which filled the mind of the English superintendent. He is not quite right in saying that the governor would not grant him the same privileges as had been accorded to the chiefs of the Committee; for the present question was not about having an interview, but regarding the superscription of his letter; and the chiefs of the Company had always sent their sealed communications through the hong-merchants as petitions. The governor, finding himself unable to bring the "barbarian eye" to reason and due submission, and get him to retire to Macao, stopped the English trade on the 16th, and two days after issued an explanatory paper in reply to the report that his orders on that subject had been carried into effect. This document sets forth his determination to uphold the old regulations, and a few sentences are here introduced as a contrast with the preceding dispatch of Lord Napier's. The previous conviction of the governor in the undoubted supremacy of his own master over all foreign nations which had sent ambassies, and his own official position making him responsible for successfully maintaining the laws over foreigners, must be borne in mind. After repeating his previous remarks regarding the impropriety of Lord Napier's coming to Canton, without previously reporting himself, he says:—

"To refer to England:—should an official personage from a foreign country proceed to the said nation for the arrangement of any business, how could he neglect to have the object of his coming announced in a memorial to the said nation's king, or how could he act contrary to the requirements of the said nation's dignity, doing his own will and pleasure!

Since the said barbarian eye states that he is an official personage, he ought to be more thoroughly acquainted with these principles. Before, when he offered a letter, I, the governor, saw it inexpedient to receive it, because the established laws of the celestial empire do not permit ministers and those under authority to have private intercourse by letter with outside barbarians; but have, hitherto, in commercial affairs, held the merchants responsible; and if perchance, any barbarian merchant should have any petition to make requesting the investigation of any affair, [the laws require] that by the said taipan, a duly prepared petition should be in form presented, and an answer by proclamation awaited. There has never been such a thing as outside barbarians sending in a letter."

He then says, that there has never been any official correspondence to and fro between the native officers and the barbarian merchants; which appears to be incorrect in the translation, for the chiefs of the Company had communicated with the governor and had interviews with him in 1814, and at other times: but he means a correspondence of equality, which the Chinese government had indeed never yielded. The idea of supremacy never leaves him. He then refers to the trade in a strain peculiarly Chinese.

"The hong-merchants, because the said barbarian eye will not adhere to the old regulations, have requested that a stop should be put to the said nation's commerce. This manifests a profound knowledge of the great principles of dignity. It is most highly praiseworthy. Lord Napier's perverse opposition necessarily demands such a mode of procedure, and it would be most right immediately to put a stop to buying and selling. But considering that the said nation's king has hitherto been in the highest degree reverently obedient, he cannot in sending Lord Napier at this time have desired him thus obstinately to resist. The some hundreds of thousands of commercial duties yearly coming from the said country concern not the celestial empire the extent of a hair or a feather's down. The possession or absence of them is utterly unworthy of one careful thought. Their broadcloths and camlets are still more unimportant, and of no regard. But the tea, the rhubarb, the raw silk of the Inner Land, are the sources by which the said nation's people live and maintain life. For the fault of one man, Lord Napier, must the livelihood of the whole nation be precipitately cut off! I, the governor, looking up and embodying the great emperor's most sacred, most divine wish, to nurse and tenderly cherish as one, all that are without, feel that I cannot bring my mind to bear it! Besides, all the merchants of the said nation dare dangers, crossing the seas myriads of miles to come from far. Their hopes rest wholly in the attainment of gain by buying and selling. That they

did not attend when summoned by the hong-merchants to a meeting for consultation, was because they were under the direction of Lord Napier; it assuredly did not proceed from the several merchants' own free will. Should the trade be wholly cut off in one morning, it would cause great distress to many persons, who, having travelled hither by land and sea, would by one man, Lord Napier, be ruined. They cannot in such case but be utterly depressed with grief. . . . . I hear the said eye is a man of very solid and expansive mind and placid speech. If he consider, he can himself doubtless distinguish right and wrong: let him on no account permit himself to be deluded by men around him. . . . . Hereafter, when the said nation's king hears respecting these repeated orders and official replies, [he will know] that the whole wrong lies on the barbarian eye; it is in nowise owing to any want on the part of the celestial empire of extreme consideration for the virtue of reverential obedience exercised by the said nation's king."—*Chi. Rep.*, Vol. III., p. 235.

He consequently gives further indulgence before stopping the trade, and sent a deputation to Lord Napier, consisting of two prefects and the colonel of the department, to inquire why he had come to Canton, what business he was appointed to perform, and when he would retire to Macao. The letter was again handed them, but the superscription still remained, and they refused to touch it. They, however, learned enough to be able to inform their master what he wished to know: the real point of dispute between the two could only be settled between their sovereigns, and as Lord Napier's dispatch intimates, by force alone. The governor by this deputation, showed a desire to make some arrangement with the superintendent, and the trade would probably have been shortly reöpened, had not the latter, two days after, resorted to the unusual and injudicious measure of appealing to the people in order to explain the reasons why the governor had stopped the trade, and brought distress on them. The paper was a short one, simply detailing the principal events which had transpired since his arrival, and laying the whole blame upon the "ignorance and obstinacy" of the governor in refusing to receive his letter; closing with, "the merchants of Great Britain wish to trade with all China on principles of mutual benefit; they will never relax in their exertions till they gain a point of equal importance to both countries; and the viceroy will find it as easy to stop the current of the Canton river, as to carry into effect the insane determination of the hong."—*Ibid.*, p. 237.

Whether this proceeding was justifiable, taking all circum-

stances into consideration, is very doubtful; it would never have been permitted in another country, where no occasion for such an appeal would probably have arisen. In many of the proceedings between the Chinese and foreigners, based as they were upon incorrect ideas, the rules of diplomacy elsewhere observed formed no guide; but as a particular step, the publication of this statement was very unwise. The people were highly excited and divided in their opinions, and the governor was irritated to the highest pitch. He issued several orders to the hong-merchants, blaming them for permitting Lord Napier to come to Canton, and making one of them, Hingtai, responsible for it, since it was his business, as the security for the ship Fort William, to have prevented his lordship availing himself of her launch to come up the river. The linguist who transacted the business of the ship, and the pilot who brought her up the river several weeks before, were likewise involved, and all three imprisoned. We feel little sympathy for officers who resort to such injustice to shield themselves, or escape from the consequences of their own acts; but this treatment was a part of the official responsibility of the members of the hong monopoly, and it was not deemed strange by the Chinese.

The governor and his colleagues stopped the English trade on the 2d of September, in a long proclamation containing many inaccurate statements and absurd reasonings, in which he forbade both natives or foreigners to give aid or comfort to Lord Napier. He declares that he had lowered himself to regard the barbarian disposition, and adds, "that the said barbarian eye has listened to what has been told him as if he were entangled in a net. He is indeed stupid, blinded, and ignorant. It is impossible to make him comprehend reason. If such a misled, extravagant man be at Canton in control of the trade, the mercantile people also will hereafter be unable to enjoy mutual quiet." The traffic between the natives and the English merchants was in a good degree suspended on the publication of this order, and the servants in Lord Napier's house all left; communication with the shipping at Whampoa was also interdicted, so that in reality the entire foreign trade was stopped. A guard of Chinese troops was also placed near the Company's hong, but no personal distress was felt on account of the interdict. The superintendent immediately ordered up H. B. M. frigates Andromache and Imogene, to pro-

tect the shipping and persons of British subjects, and the two vessels accordingly came up the river, and anchored at Whampoa on the 11th. In their passage through the Bogue, both vessels returned the fire from the forts, with little damage to either; and on anchoring, a lieutenant and boat's crew were dispatched to Canton to protect the English factory. These decisive proceedings troubled the governor and his colleagues not a little, who, on their part, prepared for stronger measures by blocking up the river, and stationing troops on the hills about Whampoa and on the banks, but were much relieved when they found that the ships quietly remained at their anchorage, instead of forcing their way further up the river.

Lord Napier protested against the violent proceedings of the governor in stopping the trade, and sent it to him through the Chamber of Commerce and hong-merchants; a reply was issued by his excellency, while the ships were coming up the river, deprecating the presence of the superintendent in Canton. The close confinement which his lordship had been obliged to observe since his arrival in July, during the hottest part of the season, had, in addition to the harassing nature of his position, seriously impaired his health, and on the 14th of September, he announced his determination to retire to Macao, until reference could be made to England. A correspondence ensued between the Chamber of Commerce and the hong-merchants, relating to the exit of the two ships, so that it was not till the 21st that Lord Napier embarked in a native passage-boat for Macao. A letter had been sent to Captain Blackwood of the Imogene, requesting him to take both ships down to Lintin, and it was not until the Chinese heard of their arrival at that anchorage, that they would proceed with their prisoner, as they in reality regarded him, detaining him five days on a journey of less than a hundred miles. The sufferings and annoyances he experienced on the passage down were too much for his debilitated frame, and he died at Macao in a fortnight after his arrival, just three months since landing. He was buried with the honors due to his rank in the Protestant burying-ground, from whence his remains were disinterred to be taken to England on Lady Napier's return. His countrymen afterwards subscribed about $2,200 to erect a monument to his memory, and the sculpture was received in China, but never put up.

As soon as Lord Napier had left, the communication between

Canton and Whampoa was opened, and the trade resumed. When the ships anchored at Whampoa, the governor memorialized the emperor upon the precautionary measures he had adopted to resist them; but his majesty was highly indignant, and degraded and suspended all who had been in any way responsible for their entrance. Upon receiving a second memorial, announcing "that Lord Napier had been driven out, and the two ships of war dragged over the shallows and expelled," he revoked his censure, and restored most of those whom he had before degraded. Before his Majesty's rescripts were received, the governor had vented his indignation upon ten of the civil and military officers connected with the affair, by subjecting them to torture in order "to ascertain if they were guilty of illicit connexion with foreigners." He also sent the police to arrest the natives connected with the printing and publication of Lord Napier's statement to the people; who seized several workmen engaged in printing religious tracts, and imprisoned after severely bambooing them; they and their employer were equally guiltless of all participation in the preparation of the document, but the officers must have a scapegoat.

The drama was closed on the part of the Chinese, by an imperial mandate: "The English barbarians have an open market in the Inner Land, but there has hitherto been no interchange of official communications. Yet it is absolutely requisite that there should be a person possessing general control, to have the special direction of affairs; wherefore let the governor immediately order the hong-merchants to command the said separate merchants, that they send a letter back to their country calling for the appointment of another person as *taipan*, to come for the control and direction of commercial affairs, in accordance with the old regulations."

Throughout the whole of this affair, the principles on which the Chinese acted are plainly seen; in their view, to have granted official intercourse by letter, would have been to give up the whole question, to consider the king of England as no longer a tributary, and so release him and his subjects from their allegiance. It would not only permit them to come into their borders as equals, subject to no laws or customs, but also open the door for resistance to their authority, armed opposition to their control, and finally, possession of their territory. The governor not ob-

securely hints at this, in his edict stopping the trade, when speaking of the necessity of restraining the barbarian eye, he says, "With regard to territory, it would also have its consequences." These would be the probable results of allowing such a mode of address from the Kalkas, Tibetans, or other tributaries on the north, and the emperor and his court felt the importance of its concession. The Manchus, the Mongols, and all the Chinese and Tartar races, acknowledge one emperor or grand khan, who *alone* can be the vicegerent of heaven, and he is the emperor of China: there can no more be two such khans, two such vicegerents, than there can be two suns in the heavens, or two popes at Rome. They suppose all foreigners who come for traffic, come with tribute, to "range themselves under the renovating influence of the glorious sun of the celestial empire;" otherwise, why should they come at all?

It is both ridiculous and pitiable that the Chinese should have had notions so incorrect and dangerous, for it led them to misinterpret every act of foreigners, and as in the present instance, to bring down upon themselves much trouble and disaster. Everything in their intercourse with Europeans, since the Portuguese first came to their shores, had conspired to strengthen their opinion that foreigners were crafty, domineering, avaricious and contumacious, and must be kept down in every possible way to insure their own safety. The last memorial of governor Lu, and the emperor's rescript reprieving the degraded officers, both show that they had in their own opinion, by compelling the British superintendent to retire, successfully resisted and overcome an insidious attempt to conquer the country; can we be surprised, therefore, at their gratification? The indignation of the emperor at the local officers, on hearing of the forcible entrance of the ships of war was mixed with great apprehension, "lest there were yet other ships staying at a distance, ready to bring in aid to him." Ignorant as he was of the true character of the ambassies which had been received at Peking, he was still more likely to take alarm at any attempt to open an equal intercourse, and disposed to resist it as he would a forcible occupation of his territory, of which it was, in his view, only the precursor.

That these were the feelings of the rulers at Peking, and the motives of their policy in treating the commission as they did, cannot be doubted; and we must know what views and fears ac-

tuated them in order to understand their proceedings. If the position of England in the eyes of the Chinese had been fully known in London, the unequal contest Lord Napier undertook would have been avoided, or would have been waged against the court and imperial government. It was not amiss, however, that the opportunity of receiving or rejecting the offer of an amicable intercourse should be given the Chinese; but through the inapplicable instructions which his lordship received, and which he felt bound to obey as much as governor Lu did his orders, this offer was not made to the weaker and ignorant party in such a way as not to unnecessarily alarm its fears, while it fully explained the real position and intentions of England, and through her all Christendom, in seeking intercourse with China. The governor and his colleagues felt that their character, office, and existence, all depended upon the expulsion of the English superintendent and his ships; and they consequently resorted to every expedient to harass, restrain, and oppose them, stopping their provisions, taking away their servants, and suspending the trade of their countrymen, in order to compel them to depart. Conscious of their weakness, they did not dare to come to personal encounter, and seize his lordship to carry him out of the port; they were disinclined or afraid to spill blood and risk life, and therefore resorted to contemptible annoyances and vicarious punishments. His lordship, on the other hand, could see nothing so unprecedented in the mere reception of a letter; and though the two parties were at issue, the reasons and grounds of the mutual misunderstanding do not seem to have been fully known at the time to either. The Chinese certainly were ignorant of the wishes of the English; and few foreigners supposed that that government regarded this peaceful mission as a scheme of conquest, or as the effort of an independent officer to intrude into the emperor's dominions against his wish.

The residents, generally, on the spot saw the principal point of difficulty, and in a petition to the king in council, dated Dec. 4, 1834, signed by a large part of British subjects in China, recommend a commissioner to be sent to one of the northern ports with a small fleet to arrange the matter of future intercourse. In this petition, they "trace the disabilities and restrictions under which British commerce now labors, to a long acquiescence in the arrogant assumption of supremacy over the monarchs and

people of other countries, claimed by the emperor of China for himself and his subjects;" and conclude, "that no essentially beneficial result can be expected to arise out of the negotiations in which such pretensions are not decidedly repelled." The recommendations of the petitioners were disregarded in England, and the dispatches of Mr. Davis, who succeeded Lord Napier, rather recommended an appeal to Peking to settle the difficulties, the failure of which could only justify a resort to coercive measures. The cabinet disapproved of the spirit of Lord Napier's dispatches, and intimated to him that it was "not by force and violence that his majesty intended to establish a commercial intercourse between his subjects and China, but by conciliatory measures." It is highly probable, however, if a contrary course had been pursued, and a commissioner well escorted, immediately appointed to Peking to arrange the terms of future intercourse, the subsequent war would have been averted, though it is not unlikely that the arrogancy of the imperial court would have rejected all overtures, until compelled to treat by force.

The emperor, as if sensible that there might be some ground for complaint, ordered the governor to inquire into the conduct of the hong-merchants, lest they exacted illegal duties, and incurred debts to foreigners which they could not repay. It was a difficult course for the Chinese government to carry on a line of policy with respect to foreign intercourse, which would at once maintain its own proud assumptions, avoid the risk of a rupture, "squeeze" all the money possible out of the trade, and repress the complaints of the merchants. This had been done with considerable success while the Company's monopoly existed, but it could not much longer be continued.

The trade was conducted with quiet and regularity during the next season, to the satisfaction of all parties. That of the Americans, Dutch, and other nations had all been really stopped with that of the English, but the suspension was at a dull season of the year. The consuls of these nations took no official part in the dispute, though they had some ground for complaint in the suspension of their trade, and the imprisonment of their countrymen. The Chinese shopkeepers, not connected with the hong monopoly, known as "outside merchants," having been interdicted trading at all with foreigners, went to the governor's palace in a large body, and soon obtained a removal of the restriction. The hong-

merchants themselves instigated this decree, for these shopkeepers were deriving large profits from their business, while they were almost free from the extortions which the monopolists suffered. All the extraordinary expenses incurred by the provincial exchequer in the late affair were required of these unfortunate men; and they *must* get it out of the trade in the best way they could, with the conviction, that the better they did it and the more they got, so much the oftener would they be called on, and compelled to pay the more. Amelioration could not be expected from such a system; for as soon as the foreigners began to complain, the hong-merchants were impelled by every motive to misrepresent their complaints to the governor, and quash every effort to obtain redress. The situation of foreigners at Canton at this time was not inaptly likened by a writer on the subject, to the inmates of the Zoölogical Garden in Regent's Park. "They (the animals) have been free to play what pranks they pleased, so that they made no uproar, nor escaped from confinement. The keepers looked sharply after them and tried to keep them quiet, because annoyed by the noise they made, and responsible for the mischief they might commit if they got at liberty. They might do what was right in their own eyes with each other. The authorities of China do not expect from wild and restless barbarians the decorum and conduct exemplified in their own great family."

The peculiar position of the relations with the Chinese, and the value of the trade, present and prospective, was so great, that these events called out a host of pamphleteers, both in England and the East. The members of the Company naturally recommended a continuance of the peaceable system, urging that foreigners should obey the laws of the empire where they lived, and not interfere with the restrictions put upon them. Others recommended the forcible possession of an island on the coast, to which Chinese traders would immediately resort, and which was to be held only so long as the emperor refused to open his ports and allow a fair traffic with his people. Others deprecated the resort to force until a commissioner to Peking had been appointed with a suitable escort, and after explaining the designs and wishes of his government, demand the same privileges for foreigners in China that the Chinese enjoyed abroad; and then, in the event of a refusal, compel acquiescence. Some advised letting things take their own course, and conducting trade as it could be both

at Canton and on the coast, until circumstances compelled the Chinese to act: "that which we now require is, not to lose the enjoyment of what we have got," said the Duke of Wellington, on hearing the finale of Lord Napier's experiment, and his advice was followed in most respects. A few thought it would be the wiser way to disseminate juster ideas of the position, power, and wishes of England and all foreign nations among the Chinese in their own language, in a way that both people and monarch could understand, before attempting any further measures; they argued very properly that ignorance on these points would vitiate every attempt to bring about a better state of things, that although the Chinese were greatly to blame for their uncompromising arrogance, it was also their great misfortune that they really had had little opportunity to learn the truth, and acquire correct information respecting their visitors. All these suggestions looked forward to no long continuance of the present undefined, anomalous, relations, and all of them contained much pertinent advice, and many valuable items of information; but it was a question not more difficult than important what course of procedure was the best. Amid all the advice they received, and the risk there was of failing in whatever was attempted, the British ministry did what most men would have done,—wait till the way was clearer.

The British superintendents lived in Macao pending the action of their government, merely keeping a clerk at Canton to sign manifests. They issued a paper of recommendations to English subjects, stating in it that prudence dictated entire silence on the part of every one, while they hoped too, that unusual care would be taken not to give the Chinese any new ground of complaint. Mr. Davis, on a review of the events of the season, expressed his gratification to Lord Palmerston at the peaceable manner in which the tea had been shipped. After his departure, Sir George B. Robinson, bart., succeeded to the office of chief superintendent, and exercised its duties at Macao and Lintin, until the office was abolished. Mr. Astell and Captain Elliot filled the offices of second and third superintendents, A. R. Johnston was secretary, J. R. Morrison and Rev. C. Gutzlaff, Chinese translators, &c. During this season, the foreign residents made their first united effort to impart the blessings of knowledge to the Chinese, by the institution of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful

Knowledge among the Chinese. A meeting of British subjects was also held in March, to make arrangements for a hospital at Whampoa or elsewhere for the relief of British subjects.

The trade on the coast in small vessels was now almost entirely confined to opium. Two attempts were made to penetrate the country in 1835, by Mr. Gordon of Calcutta, under orders of the Bengal government, to learn how the tea-plant was cultivated, but they were mainly unsuccessful. He landed at first near Tsiuen-chau fu, and hired sedan-chairs to take his party to the Ankoi (or Ngankí) hills, about forty miles from the coast. Mr. Gutzlaff accompanied him as interpreter, and their reception furnished an additional instance of the friendliness of the people. Some of the villagers lighted them on their way, and all received them kindly, even the officers, on learning their object, offered no serious obstruction. The second attempt by the same gentleman to reach the Bohea hills, by ascending the river Min, was forcibly stopped by a detachment of troops near Min-tsing firing upon the boat containing the party, and compelling it to return. In this excursion, the people manifested the same willingness to hold intercourse, but when under the surveillance of their rulers, a not unfounded fear of being implicated kept them aloof.

The result fully proved the impossibility of entering the country in an open manner without the permission of the rulers; intercourse with the people, limited as it was, also showed that the name and character of foreigners were generally associated with the opium trade, and that this contraband traffic was becoming a strong argument in the minds of the better class of Chinese against the extension of all trade. The dwellers immediately on the coast were eager for an extension of the traffic, because it brought them large gains, and the officers at the principal ports were desirous of participating in the emoluments of their fellows at Canton; but those who had the good of the country at heart, and there are many such in China, thought that the extension of foreign trade would bring with it unmitigated evil, chiefly from the increased use of opium. That was the only article which would sell, and every effort was made to diffuse it along the coast by both natives and foreigners.

The chief superintendent remained at Lintin on board a small cutter among the opium and other ships anchored there, during the season of 1835–36, and was so well satisfied with his position

that he recommended his government to purchase a small ship for the permanent accommodation of the commission there beyond the reach of the Chinese officers, and also to vest its powers in a single individual, and not in a joint Board. He also remarked respecting the opium trade, and expressed his conviction that there was little hope of establishing a proper understanding with the Chinese government, except by a resort to force and the occupation of an island off the mouth of the river:—

"I see no grounds to apprehend the occurrence of any fearful events on the north-east coast, nor can I learn what new danger exists. I am assured, from the best authority, that the scuffles between different parties of smugglers and mandarins, alike engaged and competing in the traffic, are not more serious or frequent than in this province. In no case have Europeans been engaged in any kind of conflict or affray: and while this increasing and lucrative trade is in the hands of the parties whose vital interests are so totally dependent on its safety and continuance, and by whose prudence and integrity it has been brought into its present increasing and flourishing condition, I think little apprehension may be entertained of dangers emanating from imprudence on their part. Should any unfortunate catastrophe take place, what would our position at Canton entail upon us but responsibility and jeopardy, from which we are now free? On the question of smuggling opium, I will not enter in this place, though, indeed, smuggling carried on actively in the government boats can hardly be termed such. Whenever his majesty's government directs us to prevent British vessels engaging in the traffic, we can enforce any order to that effect, but a more certain method would be to prohibit the growth of the poppy and the manufacture of opium in British India; and if British ships are in the habit of committing irregularities and crimes, it seems doubly necessary to exercise a salutary control over them by the presence of an authority at Lintin."

Taking all things into consideration, this is a remarkable dispatch to be sent by the representative of a Christian government writing from the midst of a fleet of smugglers on the shores of a pagan country. "The scuffles caused by the introduction of opium are," he remarks, "*not more* serious or frequent on the coast than about Canton;" though even there, probably, not one half which did occur were known; but Europeans never engaged in any of them. They only brought the cause and object of these collisions where the people could get it, and then quietly looked on to see them fight about it. The "prudence and integrity" of the merchants were engaged in cherishing it to a high degree of pros-

perity, and they were not likely to act imprudently. The orders of the supreme government for its officers on the coast to stop the traffic were utterly powerless, through the cupidity and venality of those officers and their underlings; yet their almost complete failure to execute them does not impugn the *sincerity* of the court in issuing them. There is not the least evidence to show that the court of Peking was not sincere in its desire to suppress the trade from the first edict in 1800 till the war broke out in 1840. The excuse that the government smuggled because its revenue cruisers engaged in it, and the provincial authorities winked at it, is no more satisfactory, in a large view of the case, than is the successful bribery of custom-house officers in England or elsewhere a proof of the corruption of the treasury department. The temptation of an "increasing and lucrative" trade was as strong to the unenlightened pagan Chinese smuggler as it was to the Christian merchants and monopolists who placed the poisonous drug constantly within their reach. It would have been far more frank on the part of the British superintendent to have openly defended a traffic affording a revenue of more than two millions' sterling to his own government, and suggested that such an "increasing and lucrative" business should not be impeded, than to say that he could stop British ships engaging in it as soon as he received orders to that effect.

The existence of the commission at the outer anchorages was fully known to the authorities at Canton, but no movement towards reopening the intercourse was made by either party. Lord Palmerston instructed the superintendent not to communicate with the government through the hong-merchants, nor to give his written communications the name of petitions. By a dispatch received in Dec., 1836, Sir George Robinson was directed to hand the papers of his office to Charles Elliot, R. N., as the office and salary of chief superintendent was abolished, and the whole commission placed on a more economical footing, its annual salaries being reduced to about £10,000. Captain Elliot set about reopening the communication with the Chinese officers in the same way that the supercargoes of the E. I. Company had conducted it, on the day that he assumed office. In his dispatch, he explained the reasons of his conduct, upon the grounds that he had no right to direct official communication with the governor, and that the remarkable movements of the Chinese, and the criti-

cal state of uncertainty in respect to the whole foreign trade, rendered it highly desirable to be at Canton. A new governor, Tăng Tingching, had superseded Lu, who willingly responded to the proposition of Captain Elliot, by sending a deputation of three officers to Macao with the hong-merchants, to make some inquiries before memorializing the emperor. In his report, the governor avoided all reference to Lord Napier, and requested his majesty's sanction to the present request as being in accordance with the orders that the English merchants should send home to have a supercargo come out to manage them. It was of course granted; and the British commission, having received a "red permit" from the collector of customs, returned to Canton, April 12th, 1837, after an absence of about thirty months. In his note to the governor upon receiving the imperial sanction, Captain Elliot says, "The undersigned respectfully assures his excellency, that it is at once his duty and his anxious desire, to conform in all things to the imperial pleasure; and he will therefore heedfully attend to the points adverted to in the papers now before him." This language was much too strong, and his excellency afterwards called upon the superintendent to do as he had promised.

The remarkable movements of the supreme government referred to by Captain Elliot, grew out of a memorial from Hŭ Nai-tsí, president of the Sacrificial Court, and formerly salt commissioner and judge at Canton, proposing the legalization of the opium trade. The memorialist states it to be his conviction that it is impossible to stop the traffic or use of the drug; if the foreign vessels be driven from the coast, they will go to some island near by, where the native craft will go off to them; and if the laws be made too severe upon those who smoke the drug, they will be disregarded. By legalizing it, he says the drain of the precious metals will be stopped, the regular trade rendered more profitable and manageable, and the consumption of the drug regulated. He proposes instant dismissal from office as the penalty for all functionaries convicted of smoking, while their present ineffectual attempts to suppress the trade, which resulted in general contempt for all law, would cease, and consequently the dignity of government be better maintained. The trade on the coast would be concentrated at Canton, and the fleet at Lintin broken up, thereby bringing all foreigners more completely under control.

This unexpected movement at the capital caused no little stir

at Canton, and the hong-merchants presently advertised the foreigners that soon there would no longer be any need for keeping receiving-ships at Lintin. Captain Elliot wrote in his dispatch, that he thought legalization had come too late to stop the trade on the coast, and that the "feeling of independence created among British subjects from the peculiar mode of conducting this branch of the trade," would erelong lead to graver difficulties, and acts of violence requiring the armed interference of his government. The impression was general at Canton, that the trade would be legalized, and increased preparations were accordingly made in India to extend the cultivation. The governor and his colleagues recommended its legalization on the grounds that the "tens of millions of precious money, which now annually ooze out of the empire, will be saved," the duties be increased, the evil practices of transporting contraband goods by deceit and violence suppressed, numberless quarrels and litigations arising therefrom, and the crimes of worthless vagrants, dimifiished. They also delude themselves with the idea that if the officers were dismissed as soon as convicted, the intelligent part of society would not indulge their depraved appetites, but let the "victims of their own self-sacrificing folly," the poor opium smokers, be found only among the lower classes. In connexion with this report, the hong-merchants replied to various inquiries respecting the best mode of carrying on the opium trade, in case it should be legalized, and their mode of conducting trade generally; adding, that it was beyond their power to control the smuggling trade, or restrain the exportation of sycee, and showed that the balance of trade would naturally leave the country in bullion. Both these papers are fairly drawn up, and their perusal cannot fail to elevate the character of the Chinese for consideration, carefulness, and business-like procedure.

There were other statesmen, however, who regarded Hü Nai-tsí's memorial as a dangerous step in the downward path, and sounded the alarm. Among these, the foremost was Chu Tsun, a cabinet minister, who sent in a counter memorial couched in the strongest terms. He advised that the laws be more strictly maintained, and cited instances to show that when the provincial authorities earnestly set about it they could put the trade down; that the people would soon learn to despise all laws if those against opium-smoking were suspended; and that recreant officers should

be superseded and punished. His indignation warms as he goes on: "It has been represented that advantage is taken of the laws against opium, by extortionate underlings and worthless vagrants, to benefit themselves. Is it not known, then, that when government enacts a law there is necessarily an infraction of that law? And though the law should sometimes be relaxed and become ineffectual, yet surely it should not on that account be abolished; any more than we should altogether cease to eat because of stoppage of the throat. The laws which forbid the people to do wrong may be likened to the dikes which prevent the overflowing of water. If any one, urging then, that the dikes are very old and therefore useless, we should have them thrown down, what words could express the consequences of the impetuous rush and all-destroying overflow! Yet the provincials, when discussing the subject of opium, being perplexed and bewildered by it, think that a prohibition which does not *utterly* prohibit, is better than one which does not effectually prevent the importation of the drug. . . . . If we can but prevent the importation of opium, the exportation of dollars will then cease of itself, and the two offences will both at once be stopped. Moreover, is it not better, by continuing the old enactments, to find even a partial remedy for the evil, than by a change of the laws to increase the importation still further?"

He then proceeds to show that the native article could not compete with the foreign, for it would not be as well manufactured, and moreover "all men prize what is strange, and undervalue whatever is in ordinary use." Its cultivation would occupy rich and fertile land now used for nutritive grains: "to draw off in this way the waters of the great fountain requisite for the production of food and raiment, and to lavish them upon the root whence calamity and disaster spring forth, is an error like that of the physician, who, when treating a mere external disease drives it inwards to the heart and centre of the body. Shall the fine fields of Kwangtung, which produce their three crops every year, be given up for the cultivation of this noxious weed?" He says the question does not concern property and duties, but the welfare and vigor of the people; and quotes from the History of Formosa a passage showing the way in which the natives there were enervated by using it, and adds that the purpose of the English in introducing opium into the country has been to weaken and enfee-

ble it. Kanghí long ago (1717) remarked," he observes, "There is cause for apprehension, lest in the centuries or milleniums to come, China may be endangered by collisions with the various nations of the west, who come hither from beyond the seas." And now in less than two centuries, "we see the commencement of that danger which he apprehended."

The suggestion of Hú Nai-tsí to allow it to the people and interdict the officers, is called bad casuistry, "like shutting a woman's ears before you steal her earrings." He shows that this distinction will be vain, for it will be impossible to say who is of the people and who are officers, for all the latter are taken from the body of the former. The permission will *induce* people to use it who now refrain from fear of the laws; for even the proposal has caused "thieves and villains on all hands to raise their heads and open their eyes, gazing about and pointing the finger, under the notion that when once these prohibitions are repealed, thenceforth and for ever they may regard themselves far from every restraint and cause of fear." He asserts that nothing but strong laws rigidly carried into effect will restrain them from their evil ways, and concludes by recommending increased stringency in their execution as the only hope of reformation.

This spirited paper was supported by another from a sub-censor, Hú Kiu, on the necessity of checking the exportation of silver and recommending that a determined officer be sent to punish severely the native traitors, which would add dignity to the laws; and then the barbarians would be awed and consequently reform, and be entirely defeated in their designs of conquering the country. He cites several instances of their outrageous violation of the laws, such as levelling graves in Macao for the purpose of making a road over them, landing goods there for entering them at Canton in order to evade the duties and port-charges, and even riding in sedans with four bearers, like Chinese officers. Force need only be put forth a little, he thought, and they would again be humbled to subjection; but if they still brought the pernicious drug, then inflict capital punishment upon them as well as upon natives. The sub-censor expresses the same opinion as Chu Tsun regarding the designs of foreigners in bringing opium, that they wished first to debilitate and impoverish the land as a preparatory measure, for they never smoked the drug in their own country, but brought it all to China. This impression was preva-

lent both among the officers and people, derived mainly from the abstinence of the foreign merchants and seamen; and in their ignorance and apprehension, other things were misinterpreted to support this belief.

The papers of both Chu Tsun and Hú Kiu were transmitted to Canton for deliberation, although the local officers had only a few weeks before sent a memorial to the cabinet approving of the suggestions of Hú Naï-tsí regarding the legalization of the article. At this time, however, it was properly remarked, that "there had been a diversity of opinion in regard to it, some requesting a change in the policy hitherto adopted, and others recommending the continuance of the severe prohibitions. It is highly important to consider the subject carefully in all its bearings, surveying at once the whole field of action, so that such measures may be adopted as shall continue for ever in force, free from all failure." This subject, the most important, it cannot be doubted, which had ever been deliberated upon by the emperor and his council, was now fairly brought before the whole nation; and if all the circumstances be taken into consideration, it was one of the most remarkable consultations of any age or country. A long experience of the baneful effects of opium upon the health, minds, and property of those who used it, had produced a deep conviction in the minds of wellwishers of their country, of the necessity of some legal restraint over the people; while the annual drainage of specie at the rate of eighteen or twenty millions of dollars alarmed those who cared only for the stability and prosperity of the country. The settlement or management of the question was one of equal difficulty and importance, and the result proved that it was quite beyond the reach of both their power and wisdom. Fully conscious of the weak moral principle in themselves and their countrymen, they considered it right to restrain and deter the people by legislative enactments and severe penalties. Ignorant of the nature of commercial dealings, they thought it both practicable and necessary to limit the exportation of specie; for, not having any substitute for coin or any system of national credit, there was serious hazard, otherwise, that the government would ultimately be unable to carry itself on. It is unjust to the Chinese to say, as has often been done, by men calling themselves Christians, that all parties were insincere in their efforts to put down this trade, that it was a mere affectation of morality, and that no

one would be more chagrined to see it stop than those apparently so strenuous against it. This assertion was made by Lord Palmerston in parliament, and it has been made by others many times; but those who have candidly examined the proceedings of the Chinese, or have lived among the people in a way to learn their real feelings, need not be told how incorrect is the remark. The highest statesman, and the debilitated, victimized smoker alike agreed in their opinions of its bad effects, and both were pretty much in the position of a miserable lamb in the coil of a hungry anaconda.

The debate among the Chinese excited a discussion among the foreigners, most of whom were engaged in the traffic. Here the gist of the debate turned upon the points whether opium was really a noxious stimulant *per se*, and whether the Chinese government was sincere in its prohibitions in the face of the notorious connivance of the officers along the coast from Hainan to Tientsin. One writer in the Repository, after conclusively showing the baneful effects of the narcotic upon the system when taken constantly, and that its habitual use in the smallest degree almost certainly leads to the intemperate, uncontrollable use, then charges the sin of murder upon those who traffic in it, and asserts, "that the perpetuating and encouraging and engaging in a trade which promotes disease, poverty, misery, crime, madness, despair, and death, is to be an accomplice with the guilty principals in that tremendous pursuit." He enters into the question whether it be the less criminal for a man to engage in a pursuit which he knows is injurious to his fellow-men, because if he does not do so some one else will, and exposes its fallacy. The Court of Directors, even, whom all the world knows to be chief managers of the cultivation, manufacture and sale of the drug, says in one of its dispatches, "that so repugnant are their feelings to the opium trade, they would gladly in compassion to mankind, put a total end to the consumption of opium if they could. But they cannot do this, and as opium will be grown somewhere or other, and will be largely consumed in spite of all their benevolent wishes, they can only do as they do!" His remarks are none too strong upon the hollowness and guilt of such an excuse, by which each one tries to shelter his evil practices under the example of everybody else.

The article was replied to by another gentleman, extensively

engaged in the traffic, and defended on the ground that what is bad now was always bad; and that as the emperor and his ministers had shut their eyes to the effects of opium for twenty years past, there were doubtless other grounds for their sudden opposition. He asserts that opium is a "useful soother, a harmless luxury, and a precious medicine, except to those who abuse it;" and that while a few destroy themselves, the prudent many enjoy a pleasing solace, to get which tends to produce the persevering economy, and the never-ceasing industry of the Chinese. He estimates that at a daily allowance of 1½*oz.*, not more than one person in 326 touches the pipe, and that there were not *more* than 912,000 victimized smokers in the empire. He also remarked, that the present mode of conducting the trade by large capitalists kept it respectable, and that if their characters were held up to odium and infamy, it would get into the hands of desperadoes, pirates, and marauders. He contended for this because he looked upon the efforts of the Chinese to put it down as utterly futile as the proclamations of Elizabeth were to put down hops, or the Counterblast of James to stop tobacco. Nothing but moral principle, acting in the shape of opium temperance societies, will avail.

This rejoinder was immediately responded to by two writers who clearly exhibited its unsoundness, and ridiculed the plea that the trade should be kept in the hands of gentlemen, and under the direction of a monopoly. The smuggler brought his vessel on the coast, and there waited till the people came off for his merchandise, disposing of it without the least risk to himself, "coolly commenting on the injustice of the Chinese government in refusing the practice of international law and reciprocity to countries, whose subjects it only knows as engaged in constant and gross infraction of laws, the breaking of which effects the basis of all good government, the morals of the country." The true character of the smuggling trade is well set forth in one paragraph, which is as applicable now as it was ten years ago.

"Reverse the picture. Suppose, by any chance, that Chinese junks were to import into England, as a foreign and fashionable luxury, so harmless a thing as arsenic or corrosive sublimate; that after a few years it became a rage; that thousands, yea, hundreds of thousands used it; and that its use was in consequence of its bad effects prohibited. Suppose, that, in opposition to the prohibition, junks were stationed in St.

George's channel, with a constant supply, taking occasional trips to the isle of Wight and the mouth of the Thames, when the officers were sufficiently attentive to their duty at the former station to prevent its introduction there. Suppose the consumption to increase annually, and to arouse the attention of government, and of those sound-thinking men who foresaw misery and destruction from the rapid spread of an insidious, unprofitable and dangerous habit. Suppose, in fact, that *mutato nomine*, all which has been achieved here had been practised there. Suppose some conservators of the public morals to be aroused at last, and to remonstrate against its use and increase; and that, among the nation sending forth this destroyer, to prey on private happiness and public virtue, one or two pious and well-meaning *bonzes* were to remonstrate with their countrymen on the enormity of their conduct:—how wonderfully consolatory to one party, and unanswerable to the other, must be the remark of the well-dressed and well-educated Chinese merchant: 'Hai ya! my friend, do not you see my silk dress and the crystal knob on my cap; don't you know that I have read and can quote Confucius, Mencius, and all the Five Books; do you not see that the barbarians are passionately fond of arsenic, that they will have it, and even go so far as to pay for it; and can you, for one moment, doubt that it would not be much worse for them, if instead of my bringing it, it were left to the chance, needy, and uncertain supply, which low men of no capital could afford to bring?"

The writer then shows, that instead of only one person in every 326 using the pipe, it was far more probable that at least one out of every 150 (or about 2,500,000 in all) of the population was a victimized smoker. And that even this was a large allowance, if the number of secluded villages off the great thoroughfares, where the drug could not easily penetrate, was taken into the account. The assertion of its being a harmless luxury to the many, like wine or beer is disputed, and the sophisticated argument of its use as a means of hospitality exploded. "What would a benevolent and sober-minded Chinese think," he asks, "were the sophistry of the defenders of this trade translated for him? Where would he find the high-principled and high-minded inhabitant of the far-off country? How could he be made to comprehend that the believers in and practicers of Christian morality advocated a trade so ruinous to his country. That the government of India *compelled* the growth of it by unwilling ryots; and that, instead of its being brought to China by 'desperadoes, pirates, and marauders,' it was purveyed by a body of capitalists, not participating certainly in what they carry, but supplying the In-

dian revenue safely and peaceably; that the British government and others encouraged it; and that the agents in the traffic were constantly residing at Canton, protected by the government whose laws they outraged; but monstrously indignant, and appealing to their governments, if No. 2 longcloths are classed as No. 1, through the desperate villainy of some paltry custom-house servant." The whole article is in the same just strain, but "the vice was plated with gold," and all arguments fell powerless.

The other writer also exposes the sinful fallacy of the argument of expediency in the conduct of the trade, and then proceeds to show how great an obstacle it is in the way of diffusing the Gospel among the Chinese. "I have seen much in your paper," he remarks, "about the wrongs of foreigners in China, but little about the wrongs of China at their hands. . . . . There is not a greater barrier to the introduction of the Gospel into China by the hands of foreigners, (and who else is to introduce it?) than the trade in opium by those bearing the Christian name. We all laud, and justly too, the Ophthalmic hospital, and rejoice in its influence as commending the foreign interests to China. It is by welldoing that we are thus putting to silence the silly boastings and disdain of this people; but how is this influence paralyzed by our standing in the view of the government and nation as a band of smugglers, active agents of that evil, which is the presumed procuring cause of all the financial embarrassments of the country, carrying dismay, poverty, and wretchedness through its length and breadth. . . . . The merits of this question might be rested upon the single fact, that by all the moral feelings of China, the introduction of opium is accounted an abominable thing. All our pretensions of doing good to her are vain while we remain connected with opium; we can only be accounted by the nation as hollow-hearted hypocrites. Let charity be heard when she pleads that the good our benevolent operations might effect may not be nullified by our ill-doing, and that our *partial* good be not permitted to conceal from us our real character, while we continue smuggling venders of opium." There is no space for further quotations, and the writer closes by offering a premium of £100 for the best essay, "showing the effects of the opium trade on the commercial, political, and moral interests of the nations and individuals connected therewith, and pointing out the course they ought to pursue in regard to it."

There was, however, so little interest in the subject, that this premium was never awarded, though the proposal was extensively advertised both in China and England.

The memorial of Hû Kiu mentioned the names of several foreigners, English, Parsees, and Americans, residing at Canton, who were extensively engaged in the opium trade; and in three edicts issued by the governor in the autumn of 1836, the immediate departure of nine persons therein mentioned was required. So habitually, however, did foreigners disregard the commands and prohibitions of the local government, that none of them hastened their departure in consequence, though a report was of course made to the capital that orders had been issued for their expulsion.

It was this posture of affairs which Captain Elliot referred to, and the desirableness of his coming to Canton was evident. The governor and his colleagues soon learned that the feeling at court was rather against legalizing, though they were directed to report concerning the amount of duty proper to be levied on it; and to show their zeal, arrested several brokers and dealers, some of whom were tortured and imprisoned. Aming, one of the linguists, was severely tortured and publicly exposed in the cangue for exporting sycee; others escaped similar and worse treatment by absconding. The chief superintendent expressed his opinion, that "the legalization of the trade in opium would afford his majesty's government great satisfaction," but suggested that the gradual diversion of British capital into other channels would be attended with advantageous consequences. To one situated as Captain Elliot was, between his own government which promoted the importation of opium, and the Chinese government which was now making extraordinary efforts to regulate it; and deeply sensible personally of the injury resulting from its use to the people, and to the reputation of his own and all foreign nations generally, from the constant infraction of the laws; the proposed step of admitting it by duty offered a timely relief. No one was more desirous of putting a stop to this destructive traffic than Captain Elliot, but knowing the impossibility of checking it by laws, he naturally wished to see the many political and commercial evils growing out of smuggling done away. It was, indeed, much to be desired, that the Chinese would take this course; and it is very remarkable that, the great reason why the emperor and his

advisers did not do so, was because it would be detrimental to the people.

During the years 1837 and 1838, there was a constant struggle along the coast between the officers of government, the native smugglers, and the foreign dealers; sometimes the former competed with, and sometimes connived at, and then arrested the latter, while the foreigners seldom came in collision with either, but did all they could to promote the sale. In February, Capt. Elliot wrote to rear-admiral Capel, in India, requesting him to dispatch a ship of war to China, in order to visit the outer anchorages where the opium trade was carried on, "as one of the movements best calculated, either to carry the provincial government back to the system of connivance which has hitherto prevailed, or to hasten onwards the legalization measure from the court." The sloop-of-war Raleigh soon after arrived in compliance with this request, and was dispatched to Fuhchau to procure the release of the lascars forming part of the crew of the opium brig Fairy, who had been detained there for many months, which she successfully accomplished. The main object, however, of the superintendent's request, could better be brought about by the action of the home government; and in the autumn of 1837, her majesty's secretary transmitted orders for the admiral himself to go to China and communicate with the British authorities there.

Captain Elliot, being now at Canton, as the recognized head of the British trade, received an order through the hong-merchants from the provincial authorities, in September, to drive away the receiving-ships from Lintin, and send the emperor's commands to his king, that henceforth they be prohibited coming. He replied to the effect that he could not transmit any orders to his own sovereign which did not come to him direct from the government; and quoted the recent instance of the governor-general of Fuhkien communicating directly with the captain of a British ship of war. The governor was therefore forced to employ a different channel, and sent his orders to the prefect and colonel of the department to be by them enjoined on Captain Elliot. He replied by promising to send it to his country, and adds, in true diplomatic style, "He has already signified to your excellency with truth and plainness, that his commission extends only to the regular trade with this empire; and further, that the existence of any other than this trade has never yet been submitted to the know-

ledge of his own gracious sovereign." The rapid extension of smuggling about Canton in small boats, and the numerous collisions which tended to keep all parties in a constant ferment and struggle, hazarding the whole trade, induced Captain Elliot to transmit, with the "orders" he had received, a minute account of the condition of the opium trade, and a memorandum respecting the mode and desirableness of opening communication with the court. Lord Palmerston, in reply, intimates that "her majesty's government do not see their way in such a measure with sufficient clearness to justify them in adopting it at the present moment." He adds, that no protection can be afforded to "enable British subjects to violate the laws of the country to which they trade. Any loss, therefore, which such persons may suffer in consequence of the more effectual execution of the Chinese laws on this subject, must be borne by the parties who have brought that loss on themselves by their own acts."—A most paradoxical but convenient position for this "honorable" officer of the English government to assume! The opium is brought down to Calcutta and sold by this government through the E. I. Company for the China market, but when it leaves that port its carriers are smugglers, and must bear their own losses and punishments (for the penalty now was death), without hope of protection. The moment, however, the personal freedom, or the *regular* trade, of these same persons was jeoparded by the efforts of the Chinese authorities to reach the contraband trade through it or them, then the strong arm of England's irresistible power was to teach them to let both alone. In a struggle of this sort, between arrogant weakness, inoperative laws, contempt of other powers, and great ignorance of national rights, on one side, and appetite, skill, knowledge, and force combined, on the other, the likelihood of some serious outbreak was not very doubtful or far distant.

Near the close of 1837, the British flag was again hauled down at Canton, and the superintendent returned to Macao because he refused to superscribe the word *pin* upon his communications, according to his instructions, and the governor declined to receive them without it. In July, 1838, Sir Frederick Maitland arrived in H. B. M. S. Wellesley, 74, and was almost immediately brought into correspondence with the Chinese admiral Kwan, in consequence of the forts firing upon an English schooner passing the Bogue, and stopping her to inquire whether he or any of his crew

or women were in her. The Wellesley and her two consorts were anchored near the forts, and the Chinese admiral made a full apology for the mistake, which had occurred without his orders; his conduct in the whole affair was very creditable both to his judgment and temper. As soon as Sir Frederick arrived, Captain Elliot endeavored to reöpen the correspondence with the governor by sending an open letter to the city gates, which was received and taken to him, but returned in the evening, because it had not the required superscription. He therefore rejoined the ships of war. Two or three friendly communications subsequently passed between the two admirals, and in October, the Wellesley left the Chinese waters.

Having now fully taken the sense of the empire, the efforts of the supreme government to suppress the contraband trade were much greater in the year 1838 than ever before, and indicated a determination to do its utmost to carry that will into effect. In April, a native named Kwoh Síping, was publicly strangled at Macao by express command of the emperor, as a warning to others not to engage in exporting sycee, or introducing opium. The execution of the sentence was conducted by the district magistrate and sub-prefect with the utmost propriety and order in the presence of a large crowd of natives and foreigners. A visit was paid one of the European smuggling schooners near the factories, some weeks previous to this tragical scene, and three chests of opium seized by the Chinese, and the hong-merchant, who owned the house of L. Just, the agent of the opium, was held responsible for not having duly warned his tenant, and for not seeing that his instructions took effect; it was understood he paid nearly ten thousand dollars to hush up the matter. The number of the foreign small craft under English and American flags plying up and down the river at this date was over fifty, most of them engaged in smuggling; sometimes the government seemed determined to exert its power, and boats were consequently destroyed, smugglers seized and tortured, and the sales checked; then, it went on again as briskly as ever. These boats were easily caught, for the government could exercise entire control over its own subjects; but when the foreign schooners, heavily armed and manned, sailed up and down the river delivering the drug, the revenue cruisers were afraid to attack them. In August, they were required to exhibit their passports at the Bogue. The hong-mer-

chants addressed a note to all the residents concerning them, the close of which vividly exhibits their unlucky position as the "responsible advisers" of the barbarians. "Lately we have repeatedly received edicts from the governor and hoppo severely reprimanding us; and we have also written to you, gentlemen of the different nations, several times, giving you full information of the orders and regulations, that you might perfectly obey them, and manage accordingly; but you, gentlemen, continue wholly regardless."

Collisions became more and more frequent between the Chinese and their rulers in consequence of the increased stringency of the orders from court. In September, in an affray near Whampoa, between the military and villagers, several persons were killed, and scores arrested. The retailers at Canton were imprisoned, and those found in other places brought there in chains. In Hupeh, it was reported that the officers had punished arrested smokers, by cutting out a portion of the upper lip to incapacitate them from using the pipe. Still, such was the venality of the officers, that even at this time, the son of the governor himself was engaged in the traffic, and many of the underlings only seized the drug from the smuggling-boats to retail it themselves. The memorial of Hwang Tsioh-tsz' to the throne, advising the penalty of death, was promulgated in Canton about the same time; and the emperor's rescript, requiring "the commanders-in-chief in the provinces of Moukden (Shingking), Kirin, and Tsi-tsi-har, and the governors and lieutenant-governors of all the hither provinces, to express, in the form of regulations, their own several views on the subject, and lay the same speedily before the throne," urged to stronger measures. This memorial advocated the strongest penalties. In a rapid survey of the ill effects of the use of the drug, he acknowledges that it had extended to Manchuria, and pervaded all ranks of official and humble life. The efflux of silver "into the insatiate depths of transmarine regions," had caused the rate of exchange for cash to rise, until it was difficult to carry on the business of government. He then reviews the different plans proposed for checking the opium trade, the cause of all this evil, such as guarding the ports, stopping the entire foreign trade, arresting the smugglers, shutting up the shops, and lastly, encouraging the home growth. He confesses that the bribes paid the coastguard service and the maritime officers, are so great as

entirely to prevent their vigilance; and that the home-prepared drug does not yield the same stimulus as the foreign article. As a last resort, he proposes to increase the penalties upon the consumers, laying all the blame upon them, and advises death to be awarded all who smoke opium after a year's warning has been given them. The well known subdivision of responsibility was to be made doubly strong by requiring bonds of every tything and hundred, that there were no smokers within their limits. Officers found guilty were not only to be executed, but their children deprived of the privilege of competing at the public examination. One feels a degree of sympathy for the helpless condition of officers and statesmen sincerely desirous of doing their country service, and yet so sadly ignorant of the only effectual preventative. They might as well have tried to concert a measure to stop the Yellow river in its impetuous flow, as to check the opium trade by laws and penalties. Nothing but the Gospel and its influences could help them, and these they really know nothing of, though they forbade them as far as they did know them; but foreigners did not dare to violate their prohibitions on this head. "China was shut."

The contraband traffic on the river increased to such a degree during the year 1838, that the whole foreign trade seemed likely to be involved, when it suddenly took another direction. On the 3d of December, twelve small boxes containing about two peculs of opium, were seized, while landing, and the coolies carried into the city. They declared that they had been sent to Whampoa by Mr. Innes, a British merchant, to obtain the opium from an American ship consigned to Mr. Talbot. The governor ordered the hong-merchants to expel these two gentlemen and the ship within three days, on the garbled testimony of the two coolies. Mr. Talbot sent in a communication, stating, that neither the ship nor himself had anything to do with the opium, and obtained a reversal of the order to leave. The hong-merchants were justly irritated at this flagrant violation of law, and informed the Chamber of Commerce, that they would not rent their houses to any who would not give a bond to abstain from such proceedings, and refusing to open the trade until they were given; and furthermore declared their intention to pull Mr. Innes' house down if he refused to depart. The Chamber of Commerce protested, stating, "that the inviolability of their personal dwellings was a point

imperatively necessary" for their security; the hong-merchants then resorted to entreaty, stating their difficult position between their own rulers on one side, who held them responsible for executing their orders, and the foreigners on the other, over whom they had little or no power. The Chamber could only express its regret at the unjust punishment inflicted on one of their number Punhoyqua for this, and reassert its inability to control the acts of any foreigner, or give them security respecting the small craft on the river. The hesitation of the Chinese rulers in not immediately arresting Mr. Innes for his violation of the laws, seems to have been prompted by a dislike of personally encountering the foreigners; for with full power in their hands, since one proclamation would probably have sufficed to bring down the whole populace upon their enemies, to the entire destruction of factories and residents, still they forbore, and run the risk of official degradation and banishment, rather than employ *all* means in their reach.

The governor, as if at a loss what to do next, resolved to show foreigners what consequences befel natives who dealt in opium; and while Mr. Innes still remained in Canton, he sent an officer with a small party of fifteen to execute Ho Laukin, a convicted dealer, in front of the factories. The officer was proceeding to carry his orders into effect near the American flag-staff, when the foreigners sallied out, pushed down the bamboo tent he was raising, trampling on it, and telling him in very loud tones not to execute the man there. Quite unprepared for this opposition, he hastily gathered up his implements, and went into a neighboring street, where the man was strangled. Meanwhile, a large crowd of idlers collected to see these extraordinary proceedings, whom the foreigners endeavored to drive away, supposing that a little determination would soon scatter them. Blows, however, were returned, and the foreigners speedily driven into their factories, and the doors shut; the crowd had now become a mob, and under the impression that two natives had been seized, they began to batter the fronts and break the windows with stones and brickbats. They had had possession of the square about three hours, and the danger was becoming imminent, when the district magistrate came into it, with three or four other officers, attended by a small body of police. Stepping out of his sedan, he waved his hand over the crowd, the lictors pouncing upon three or four of the most active,

whom they began to chastise upon the spot, and the storm was quelled. About twenty soldiers with him, armed with swords and spears, took their stand in a conspicuous quarter; the magistrate and his retinue seated themselves, leaving the hong-merchants and the police to disperse the crowd. The foreigners were also assured that all should be kept quiet during the night, but not a word was said to them regarding their conduct in interfering with the execution, or their folly in bringing this danger upon themselves. This occurrence tended to impress both the government and people with contempt and hatred for foreigners and their characters, fear of their designs, and the necessity restraining them. The majority of them were engaged in the opium trade, and all stood before the empire as violators of the laws, while the people themselves suffered the dreadful penalty.

The Chamber of Commerce, in an address to the governor, expressed its indignation at the square being turned into a public place of execution, "for it belonged to the houses rented by foreigners," and was "a direct violation of established tenures." "Their minds," the writers said, "were greatly excited at hearing what was to be done; they assembled in the square, and there plainly but peacefully pointed out to the officer in charge that such an occurrence could not be tolerated; no violence of any sort was committed, and the officers of government desisted in their preparations, and withdrew." The subsequent riot was attributed entirely to the populace, and the assertion is made that the foreigners withdrew into their factories "on the assurance that the police should instantly be sent for, and from the most earnest wish to prevent the fatal consequences which might have arisen from any conflict between the foreigners and the populace." The governor replied with dignity. After stating the grounds of the condemnation of Ho Laukin, he proceeds: "I, the governor, with the lieutenant-governor, having taken into consideration that his penalty of death was the result of the pernicious introduction of opium into Canton by depraved foreigners, commanded that he should be led out to the ground of the Thirteen Factories, adjoining the foreign residences, and there be executed. Thus it was designed to strike observation, to arouse careful reflection, and to cause all to admonish and warn one another; in the hope that a trembling obedience to the laws and statutes of the celestial empire might be produced, that the good portion of the foreign com-

munity might thereby preserve over their commercial intercourse, and that the depraved portion might be prevented from pursuing their evil courses. These foreigners, though born and brought up beyond the pale of civilization, have yet human hearts. How should they then have been impressed with awe, and dread, and self-conviction! Can they yet put pen to paper to draw up such insane whinings?" He adds that he intends to execute all such criminals in that place, and properly asserts the same control over it as any other place in the province.

Captain Elliot arrived in Canton the same evening, followed by armed boats from Whampoa. At a general meeting, he freely expressed his conviction of the cause of these untoward events in the smuggling traffic on the river, and declared his intention of ordering all the British-owned vessels to leave it within three days; and expressed the hope that the further step of placing himself in communication with the provincial authorities to obtain their coöperation to drive them out, would be prevented by the speedy departure of every vessel so engaged. His injunctions and intreaties to his own countrymen were, however, equally unavailing, and he accordingly addressed the governor, stating his wish to coöperate in driving them out. In a public notice, Captain Elliot remarked that "this course of traffic was rapidly staining the British character with deep disgrace," and exposing the regular commerce to imminent jeopardy; and that he meant to shrink from no responsibility in drawing it to a conclusion The governor, as was expected, praised the superintendent for his offer, but left him to do the whole work; remarking, in that peculiar strain of Chinese conceit, which so effectually forestalls our sympathy for their difficulties, "that it may well be conceived that these boats trouble me not one iota:"—as if all he had to do was to arise in his majesty, and they were gone. The boats however gradually left the river during the month. Mr. Innes retired to Macao, and the regular trade was resumed at the beginning of January.

This procedure brought down a torrent of abuse upon Captain Elliot from the English newspapers, the writers calling him by many hard names, ridiculing him as a tidewaiter of the Chinese custom-house, and aiding the cowardly authorities to carry their orders into effect, thereby staining the honor of her majesty's commission. Although it would be difficult to draw a line between

the heinousness of the opium trade inside of the Bogue, and its harmlessness beyond that limit, or to see wherein one branch was so much worse, *per se*, than the other; still there were sufficient grounds for such action as would show the Chinese government that British power would not protect British subjects in violating the laws of China. The position of the Chinese rulers ill fitted them for learning this nice distinction; they were like a man firing at an enemy through a fog,—a fog rendered thicker, too, by their own ignorance and absurd assumptions.

At this period, the supreme government had taken its course of action. Reports had been received from the chief authorities in the provinces, almost unanimously recommending increased stringency to abolish the traffic as the only likely course to succeed. History, so far as we know, does not record a similar mode of an arbitrary, despotic, *pagan* government, taking the public sentiment of its own people before adopting a doubtful line of conduct. It was a far more momentous and difficult question in fact than even the Cabinet deemed it to be, while their conceited prejudices incapacitated them from dealing with it prudently or successfully. Hü Nai-tsí was dismissed for proposing legalization, and three princes of the blood degraded for smoking opium; and arrests, fines, tortures, imprisonments, and executions were frequent in the provinces on the same grounds, all showing the determination to eradicate it. The governor of Hukwang, Lin Tseh-sü, was appointed commissioner to proceed to Canton with unlimited powers to stop the traffic. The trade was at this time almost suspended, the deliveries being small and at losing prices. The authorities admonished smokers to reform, and sent the police to search houses for the drug and pipes; but in Canton, the people erected gates across the streets in order first to see that the police had no opium secreted on their persons. Many underlings were convicted and summarily punished, and on the 26th of February, Fung A-ngan was strangled in front of the factories for his connexion with opium, and participation in the affray at Whampoa some months before; the foreign flags, English, American, Dutch, and French, were all hauled down in consequence. The entire stoppage of all trade was threatened, and the governor urged upon foreigners the immediate removal of all opium ships from Chinese waters.

On the 10th of March, commissioner Lin arrived in Canton to enter upon the difficult duties of his office. The emperor sent

him to Canton to inquire and act so as thoroughly to remove the source of the evil, for, says he, "if the source of the evil be not clearly ascertained, how can we hope that the stream of pernicious consequences shall be stayed? It is our full hope that the long indulged habit will be for ever laid aside, and every root and germ of it entirely eradicated; we would fain think that our ministers will be enabled to substantiate our wishes, and so remove from China the dire calamity." It was reported in Canton that the monarch, when recounting the evils which had long afflicted his people by means of opium, paused and wept, and turning to Lin, said, "How, alas! can I die and go to the shades of my imperial father and ancestors, until these direful evils are removed!" Such was the chief purpose of this movement on the part of the Chinese government, and Lin was invested with the fullest powers ever conferred on a subject. Although long experience of the ineffectiveness of Chinese edicts generally lead those residing in the country to disregard them as mere verbiage, still to say that they are all insincere and formal because they are ineffectual, is to misjudge and pervert the emotions of common humanity. We sympathize with the emperor and his ministers in their endeavors to stay the progress of this evil; yet when all the powerful restraints and sanctions of the law of God, and a full knowledge of their disastrous effects, have not been able to stay the use of ardent spirits in Christian lands, how much less were the chances of success in this case! Lin appears to have been well fitted for the mission; and if he had been half as enlightened as he was sincere, he would perhaps have averted the war which followed, and been convinced that legalization was the most judicious step he could recommend.

For a week after his arrival, the commissioner was busy making inquiries, and nothing was publicly heard from him; while every one, natives and foreigners, anxiously watched his movements. Captain Elliot wrote to the governor, desiring a "calming declaration" from his excellency respecting the execution before the factories; but it is probable he received no answer, and wishing to dispatch the sloop-of-war Larne, he left the city before Lin published any notice. On the 18th, Lin's first proclamations were issued to the hong-merchants and foreigners; that to the latter required them to deliver up every particle of opium in the store-ships, and to give bonds that they would bring no more, on

penalty of death. The poor hong-merchants were, as usual, instructed regarding their responsibility to admonish the foreigners, and furthermore were strictly charged to procure these bonds, or they would be made examples of. Three days were allowed for the opium to be given up and the bonds made out, on the last of which, the Chamber of Commerce met. The hoppo had already issued orders detaining all foreigners in Canton, in fact making them prisoners in their own houses; communication with the shipping was suspended, troops were assembled about the factories, and armed cruisers stationed on the river. The Chamber of Commerce wrote to the hong-merchants, through their chairman, W. S. Wetmore, stating that they would send a definite reply in four days, and adding, "that there is an almost unanimous feeling in the community of the absolute necessity of the foreign residents of Canton having no connexion with the opium traffic."

This paper was taken to the commissioner, and about 10 o'clock P. M., the hong-merchants again met the Chamber, and told them that if *some* opium was not given up, two of their number would be beheaded in the morning. The merchants present, including British, Parsees, Americans, and others, acting as individuals, then subscribed 1037 chests to be tendered to the commissioner, in compliance with his demand; but the hong-merchants returned next morning, saying that this amount was insufficient. In the afternoon, Lin sent an invitation to Mr. Dent, one of the leading English merchants, to meet him at the city gates; who expressed his willingness to go if the commissioner would give him a safe-warrant, guaranteeing his return within a day. The hong-merchants returned without him; and the next morning two of them, Howqua and Mowqua, came again to his house with chains upon their necks, having been sent with an express order for him to appear. They repaired to the Chamber of Commerce then assembled, but all soon returned to Mr. Dent's house, where an animated debate took place, which resulted in the unanimous decision on the part of the foreign residents that he should not go into the city without the safe-warrant. The prefect and some other officers being in waiting at the assembly-hall, a deputation of foreigners was sent to state to them the reasons why Mr. Dent did not obey. The prefect immediately sent three officers to Mr. Dent's house to again command him to go into the city; he replied that no resistance would be made if they took him by force, nor was any

disrespect or disobedience intended, but he would not go without a sealed safe-warrant; this the officers said they could not obtain, nor did they dare to ask for it.

His partner, Mr. Inglis, then proposed that himself and three other gentlemen, Messrs. Thom, Fearon, and Slade, should go into the city to state the grounds of his hesitation. This was instantly acceded to, and they were conducted to a large temple inside the walls, where the prefect had already arrived, and four other officers soon made their appearance. Mr. Thom then stated to the judicial commissioner, the ground of Mr. Dent's refusal, and their fears that the *yumchai* (*i. e.* imperial commissioner) meant to detain him as a hostage until he had delivered up all the opium. This supposition was doubtless well grounded, for Lin had already engaged two native cooks formerly employed in the factories, and the imprisonment of Mr. Flint under similar circumstances was not forgotten. The reason why he wished for Mr. Dent in particular, in addition to his prominence as a merchant, was that he alone remained of the thirteen foreigners previously ordered out of the country, all the others having, as it happened, left the city. The judge declared that if Mr. Dent was still contumacious, he should be dragged out of his house by force, though he at the same time promised he should return unharmed. This party returned about 9 o'clock, P. M., and near midnight the hong-merchants were again at Mr. Dent's house urging his compliance. It was suggested to Howqua, that as the next day was the Sabbath, in which foreigners did no business, he had better defer any further steps till Monday. This proposition was readily acceded to, and the whole party present separated for the night.

During these proceedings at Canton, Captain Elliot was issuing orders at Macao. On the 22d, he sent a note to the governor, through the sub-prefect (which probably never reached him), asking him if he meant to make war upon English ships and subjects, and expressing his readiness to meet the Chinese officers, and use "his sincere efforts to fulfil the pleasure of the great emperor as soon as it was made known to him." However well such expressions as this might be understood by those acquainted with our usages, still the Chinese could hardly draw any other conclusion than that he had the power as well as the inclination to put down the opium trade, which he certainly could not do;

and this remark, therefore, tended to deceive them. This note to the governor was followed by a letter to Captain Blake of the Larne requesting his assistance in defending British property and life; and by a circular to all British ships, opium and others, to proceed to Hongkong, and prepare themselves to resist every act of aggression on the part of the Chinese. The next day he issued a second circular to British subjects, detailing the reasons which compelled him to withdraw all confidence in the "justice and moderation of the provincial government," and demand passports for all his countrymen who wished to leave Canton, and counselling every one to make preparations to remove on board ship. This circular was written under some excitement, but no one doubted the propriety of his going to Canton at all hazards, though personal danger was not to be apprehended at this time. He arrived there about sunset, Sunday evening, dressed in naval uniform, and closely attended by cruisers watching his movements. The British flag was hoisted, and Captain Elliot conducted Mr. Dent to the Consulate in the most conspicuous manner, where, having summoned a public meeting, he read his notice of the previous day. This proceeding was interpreted by the Chinese as an effort to induce foreigners to abscond, and was stated as the reason for withdrawing the servants. Captain Elliot, however, told the hong-merchants to inform the commissioner that he was willing to let Mr. Dent go into the city, if he could accompany him.

His coming up the river had excited the apprehensions of the Chinese, that he meant to force his way out again, and orders were issued to close every pass around the factories; the act of escorting Mr. Dent had increased this apprehension, for it was virtually taking him out of the commissioner's hands; and as he said, "almost had the hare escaped, the wolf run off," and further orders were therefore given to place a triple cordon of armed boats before the factories, to command every native servant to leave them, and station guards before the door of each hong, and on the roofs of the adjoining houses. By nine o'clock, not a native was left, and the foreigners, about 275 in number, were their only inmates. Patrols, sentinels and officers, hastening hither and thither, with the blowing of trumpets and beating of gongs, added confusion to the darkness and gloom of the night. Had there been a little more excitement, or had the foreigners

made any resistance, the factories might have been pillaged, and their inmates indiscriminately slaughtered; and Lin took credit to himself that he did not let loose the mob upon those who, in his view, so contumaciously resisted his commands; and from one expression in his edict "about calling upon the able-bodied of the people," it is possible that he had thought of such a step.

On the 25th, most of the foreign merchants of all nations signed a paper pledging themselves "not to deal in opium, nor to attempt to introduce it into the Chinese empire:" how many of the individuals subsequently broke this pledge on the ground that it was forced from them, cannot be stated, but part of the firms which signed it afterwards actively engaged in the trade. Capt. Elliot applied for passports for himself and countrymen, and requested the return of the servants, avoiding all mention of the cause of these stringent proceedings; this request, was not, so the prefect's reply affirmed, to be granted till the opium was surrendered. No native was allowed to bring food or water to them; letters could not be sent to Whampoa or Macao, except at imminent risk, and one boatman lost his life for attempting it, though various successful expedients were soon devised for transmitting them: the confinement was complete, and had been effected without the least harm. The heavy punishment which had fallen on Kwoh Sïping, Ho Laukin, and Fung A-ngan had come nearer to the agents of the traffic; but no arm was lifted against them personally. The same mode of pressure the Chinese were wont to practise upon their own people, was now resorted to in order to compel the delivery of all the opium.

The commissioner next issued an exhortation to the foreigners, urging upon them the delivery of the drug on four grounds, viz., because they were men and had reason; because the laws forbade its use, under very severe penalties; because they should have feelings for those who suffered from using it; and because of their present duress, from which they would then be released. This paper, as were all those issued by Lin, was characterized by a vigor of expression and cogency of reasoning quite unusual in Chinese state papers, but betraying the same arrogance and ignorance which had misled his predecessors. One extract will suffice. Under the first reason why the opium should be delivered up, he says, that otherwise the retribution of heaven will follow them, and cites some cases to prove it.

"Now, our great emperor, being actuated by the exalted virtue of heaven itself, wishes to cut off this deluge of opium, which is the plainest proof that such is the intention of high heaven! It is then a traffic on which heaven looks with disgust, and who is he that may oppose its will? Thus in the instance of the English chief Robarts, who violated our laws; he endeavored to get possession of Macao by force, and at Macao he died! Again in 1834, Lord Napier bolted through the Bocca Tigris, but being overwhelmed with grief and fear he almost immediately died; and Morrison, who had been darkly deceiving him, died that very year also! Besides these, every one of those who have not observed our laws, have either been overtaken with the judgments of heaven on returning to their country, or silently cut off ere they could return thither. Thus then, it is manifest that the heavenly dynasty may not be opposed!"

Two communications to Captain Elliot, from Lin through the prefect and district magistrates, accompanied this exhortation, stating his view of the superintendent's conduct, in contumaciously resisting his commands, and requiring him to give up the opium. For once, these commands were obeyed, and after intimating his readiness to comply, Capt. Elliot issued a circular, on the 27th of March, which from its important results is quoted entire.

"I, Charles Elliot, chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China, presently forcibly detained by the provincial government, together with all the merchants of my own and the other foreign nations settled here, without supplies of food, deprived of our servants, and cut off from all intercourse with our respective countries (notwithstanding my own official demand to be set at liberty that I might act without restraint), have now received the commands of the high commissioner, issued directly to me under the seals of the honorable officers, to deliver into his hand all the opium held by the people of my own country. Now I, the said chief superintendent, thus constrained by paramount motives affecting the safety of the lives and liberty of all the foreigners here present in Canton, and by other very weighty causes, do hereby, in the name and on the behalf of her Britannic majesty's government, enjoin and require all her majesty's subjects now present in Canton, forthwith to make a surrender to me for the service of her said majesty's government, to be delivered over to the government of China, of all the opium under their respective control: and to hold the British ships and vessels engaged in the opium trade subject to my immediate direction: and to forward me without delay a sealed list of all the British owned opium in their respective possession. And I, the said chief superintendent, do now in the most full and unreserved manner, hold myself responsible for, and

on the behalf of her Britannic majesty's government, to all and each of her majesty's subjects surrendering the said British owned opium into my hands, to be delivered over to the Chinese government. And I, the said chief superintendent, do further especially caution all her majesty's subjects here present in Canton, owners of or charged with the management of opium the property of British subjects, that failing the surrender of the said opium into my hands at or before six o'clock this day, I, the said superintendent, hereby declare her majesty's government wholly free of all manner of responsibility in respect of the said British owned opium. And it is specially to be understood that proof of British property and value of all British owned opium, surrendered to me agreeable to this notice, shall be determined upon principles, and in a manner hereafter to be defined by her majesty's government."—*Chi. Rep.*, Vol. II., p. 633.

The guarantee offered in this notice was deemed sufficient by the merchants, though Captain Elliot had no authority to take such a responsibility, and exceeded his powers in giving it; being the authorized agent of the crown, however, his government was responsible for his acts, though the notice left it the power to set its own price upon the surrendered property.

At the time it was given, it could hardly be said that the *lives* of the foreigners were in jeopardy, and Lin had promised to reopen the trade as soon as the opium was delivered up and the bonds given. What the other "very weighty causes" were must be guessed, but the requisition was promptly answered, and before night, 20,283 chests of opium had been surrendered into Captain Elliot's hands, which were tendered to the commissioner on the next day. The market value of this property at the time, was not far from nine millions of dollars, and the cost price nearly eleven millions. It was on board twenty-two vessels, and directions were sent for them to anchor near the Bogue, to await orders for its delivery to the Chinese officers, the commissioner and the governor themselves going down to superintend the transfer. These dignitaries were no doubt greatly astonished at the success of their measures, and somewhat puzzled what to do with the enormous amount of property so unexpectedly obtained. On the 2d of April, the arrangements for delivering the opium were completed, and on the 21st of May, the whole amount was safely stored in buildings erected for it near the Bogue. The authorities had agreed that the servants should be allowed to return when one-fourth had been received, which was done; but the passage-boats were still prohibited when one half had been trans-

ferred, and the deliveries were stopped, until the commissioner held to his word.

When the guard was placed about the factories, no native came near them for three days, but on the 29th a supply of sheep, pigs, poultry, and other provisions, was "graciously bestowed" upon their inmates, most of whom refused them as gifts, which impressed Lin with the belief that they were not actually suffering for food. Three of the four streets leading into the square were blocked up, and the pleasure-boats hauled ashore, both being intended as precautionary measures against their escape.

One half of the opium having been delivered, a few of the schooners were allowed to run, and on the 5th of May, the guards and boats were removed, and communication resumed with the shipping. Sixteen persons, English, Americans, and Parsees, named as principal agents in the opium trade, were ordered to leave the country and never return. On the 24th, Captain Elliot left Canton, accompanied by the ten British subjects mentioned in the list of sixteen, having previously issued an injunction that no British ships should enter the port, nor any British subject stay in Canton, on the ground that both life and property were insecure; there were, however, no serious apprehensions felt by other foreigners remaining there; and the propriety of the order was questioned by those who were serious sufferers from its action.

This success in getting the opium, encouraged Lin to demand the bond, but although the captains of most of the ships signed it when the port was first opened, it was not required long after. The British merchants at Canton prepared a memorial to the foreign secretary of their government, recapitulating the aggressive acts of the Chinese government in stopping the legal trade, detaining all foreigners in Canton until the opium was surrendered, and requiring them to sign a bond not to bring it again, which involved their responsibility over those whom they could not control; but nothing was said in it of the causes of these acts of aggression. Its burden was, however, to urge the government to issue an immediate notice of its intentions respecting the pledge given them by the superintendent in his notice demanding the opium; and their concern on this head was not premature, for the delay in doing so was so serious to the Parsees in Bombay, that many were ruined, and a few committed suicide. This plan of

requiring a bond was in accordance with Chinese notions of responsibility, and the commissioner, ignorant of the ideas of foreigners in such matters, thought it the surest mode of attaining his end, the bonds heretofore given by the hong-merchants being utterly futile.

Lin referred to Peking for orders concerning the disposition of the opium, and his majesty commanded the whole to be destroyed by him and his colleagues in the presence of the civil and military officers, the inhabitants of the coast, and the foreigners, "that they may know and tremble thereat." In a dispatch to his government, of April 22d, Captain Elliot on the other hand, expressed his belief that the Chinese intended to sell it at a high price, remunerating the owners, and pocketing the difference, preparatory to legalizing the traffic in it, and making some arrangements to limit the annual importation to a certain number of chests; consequently he recommended an "immediate and strong declaration to exact complete indemnity for all manner of loss" from the Chinese. He calls Lin "false and perfidious," though it is difficult to see why he applies these epithets to one who seems to have, according to the best of his knowledge and ability, sincerely endeavored to carry out instructions, while his own communications to him certainly tended to mislead him. The unpleasant circumstances of confinement under which it was written, account, in a measure, for some of the expressions.

The mode of destroying the opium was described by an eye-witness, as performed in the most thorough manner by mixing it in parcels of two hundred chests in trenches, with lime and salt water, and then drawing off the contents into the adjacent creek at low tide. Overseers were stationed to prevent the workmen or villagers from purloining the opium, and one man was summarily executed for attempting to carry away a small quantity; and no doubt remained in the minds of the persons who visited the place, and examined every part of the operation, that the entire quantity of 20,291 chests received from the English (eight more having been sent from Macao) was completely destroyed:—a solitary instance in the history of the world of a pagan monarch preferring to destroy what would injure his subjects than to fill his own pockets with its sale.

The course of events during the remainder of the year 1839, presents a strange mixture of traffic and hostility. The British

merchants, wishing to dispose of the cargoes which had arrived in ignorance of all these acts, endeavored to make some arrangements for sending to Canton from Chuenpí; but this plan failed, and recourse was then had to ships sailing under other flags, in which, in fact most of the British trade was conducted during the year. The vexation of the commissioner at this detention of British shipping outside was very great, and he issued placards, exhorting the captains to enter the port, which brought out a rejoinder from Captain Elliot, stating the reasons why he forbade English ships putting themselves within the power of the government. In this paper, Captain Elliot complained of his own unjust imprisonment as unbecoming treatment to the "officer of a friendly nation, recognized by the emperor, who had always performed his duty peacefully and irreproachably;" but there is no evidence to show that either the emperor or Lin knew him to be any more than a *taipan;* they certainly had never *recognized* him, or anybody else, according to the acceptation of that phrase among western nations, as is fully shown by Capt. Elliot's own correspondence.

While this matter of trade was pending, a drunken affray occurred at Hongkong with some English sailors, in which an inoffensive native, named Lin Weihí, lost his life. The commissioner, on hearing of it, ordered an inquest to be held upon the body, and demanded the murderer, according to Chinese law. The superintendent immediately repaired to Hongkong, and impanelled a court of criminal and admiralty jurisdiction, with a grand and petit jury, in order to try the seamen who had been arrested. He also offered a reward of $200 for such evidence as would lead to the conviction of the offenders; and advanced in all $2000 to the friends of the deceased as some compensation for their heavy loss, and to the villagers for injuries done them in the riot. Having formed the court, he sent a polite invitation to the provincial officers for them to attend the trial; and when it was over, dispatched a second note, declaring that he had been unable to ascertain the perpetrator of the deed. Five sailors were convicted and punished for riotous conduct, by fine and imprisonment, and sent to England under arrest, but to everybody's surprise were all liberated on their arrival. The proceedings in this matter were perfectly fair, and the commissioner, if he received the invitation and note, should have been satisfied; and his subsequent violent

proceedings really placed the dispute on an entirely new ground, though in his own apprehension, he was simply exercising the same prerogative of entire control over foreigners in both cases. Finding his demand for the murderer disregarded, though he endeavored to take advantage of the circumstance of a corpse floating in the harbor of Hongkong to show that the guilty man had made away with himself, he took active measures against the English in Macao, intending not only to injure them, but calculated to bring serious loss upon the Portuguese population. He forbade all persons furnishing food to them, and commanded their servants to leave them. Troops were stationed in the vicinity, and that no one might plead the excuse of ignorance, criers were sent into the markets to proclaim the prohibitive orders, as they were hung on their backs. The irritation of the foreign community on account of these proceedings was increased by an attack of Chinese soldiers upon a small schooner called the Black Joke on her way to Hongkong, in which five of the crew were killed or wounded, and a passenger on board barbarously wounded and left for dead, with his ears cut off and stuffed into his mouth. Nearly every British subject left Macao, August 26th, and retired on board ship at Hongkong, chiefly out of compassion to the Portuguese, whom the commissioner threatened with his anger for harboring them. This move placed the English beyond the reach of the commissioner, but did not advance his efforts to drive the opium ships from the coast, or induce the regular traders to enter the port. The sales of opium had begun again even before the destruction of the drug at the Bogue, and rapidly increased when it was known that that immense quantity had really been destroyed. Lin now began to see that his plan of proceedings might not ultimately prove so successful as he had anticipated, for he was bound to remain at Canton until he could report the complete suppression of the contraband, and safe continuance of the legal, trade. He and governor Tăng visited Macao, attended by a large body of Chinese soldiers, and escorted by a detachment of Portuguese troops, both of them retiring from the settlement the same day.

Finding that the British fleet at Hongkong was too well defended for him to drive it away, he forbade the inhabitants supplying the ships with provisions. This led to a collision. Captain Elliot sent a note to the local officers at Kaulung by the hands of Mr.

Gutzlaff, who explained to the officers in command of some junks the condition of affairs, and requested them to forward the note. This they declined to do, but said they would state the matter verbally, though meanwhile the soldiers, seeing two small schooners approaching, began to man the guns in a battery near by. Captain Elliot sent a gig ashore to purchase provisions, which the police stopped just as they were going off, whereupon he fired upon the three junks, and was immediately answered by them and the fort. The skirmish continued till night, when the junks retired without much loss. A boat's crew missed a day or two after, having been supposed to be cut off, Captain Smith of the Volage gave notice of a blockade of the port, but on their reappearance shortly after, he withdrew the notice. Captain Elliot on the same day, Sept. 11th, having ordered all British vessels engaged in the opium trade to leave the harbor and coast, they mostly proceeded to Namoh. A Spanish vessel, the Bilbaino, was burned the next day at her anchors in the Typa, by the Chinese, under the impression that she was English; and the Portuguese government in consequence armed a small ship to cruise around the settlement to drive off all such vessels: all the opium in the city had been reshipped, but the inhabitants were still engaged in the trade.

The two parties were now engaged in actual hostilities, yet negotiations for continuing trade near the Bogue were entered into in October, between the British merchants and Captain Elliot on one side, and the hong-merchants, sub-prefect, and other officers, on the other; the details of the arrangements were nearly completed, Captain Elliot had given security for its being carried on fairly, and the commissioner himself had signed the agreement, when the unauthorized entrance of the English ship Thomas Coutts, whose captain signed the bond, led to the rupture of all negotiations, and the renewed demand for the murderer of Lin Weihí. Coercive measures were again taken against the English families at Macao, and Captain Elliot ordered all British ships to re-assemble at Tungku under the protection of the ships of war, Volage and Hyacinth. He also proceeded to the Bogue, to request a withdrawal of the threats against the British, and unmolested residence at Macao, until the two governments could arrange the difficulties, when an engagement ensued between Admiral Kwan with a fleet of 16 junks and the two ships of war;

three junks were sunk, one blown up, and the rest scattered Active measures were taken by the Chinese against the fleet at Hongkong, and the ships there went to Tungku. The commissioner on his part, finding every effort to induce the British ships to re-enter the port unsuccessful, two only having gone in, declared the trade with that nation at an end after December 6th., and forbade their goods to be imported in other vessels. Near the close of the month, Captain Smith issued another notice of a blockade to commence January 15th, but neither was this carried into effect, as Mr. Gribble, the person seized by the Chinese in the act of disobeying their laws, was restored. The great losses attending the detention of cargoes afloat, led to the request that English goods might be stored in Macao, but the Portuguese felt themselves obliged to refuse.

The close of the year 1839 saw the two nations involved in serious difficulties, and as the events which have here been briefly recounted were the cause of the war, it will be proper to compare the opinions of the two parties, in order to arrive at a better judgment upon the character of that contest. The degree of authority to be exercised over persons who visit their shores is acknowledged by Christian nations among themselves to be nearly the same as that over their own subjects; but none of these nations have conceded this authority to unchristian powers, as Turkey, Persia, or China; mainly because of the little security and justice to be expected. The Chinese have looked upon foreigners resorting to their ports as doing so by sufferance; they entered into no treaty to settle the conditions of living in their borders, though they gave facilities for carrying on trade in a certain manner. Their right to prohibit the introduction of saltpetre and opium was acknowledged; and the propriety of making regulations as to the duties to be paid, allowed. But traders from western nations often set light by the fiscal regulations of such countries as China, Siam, &c., if they can do so without personal detriment, or loss of character; and where there is a want of power in the government, joined to a lack of moral sense in the people, all laws are imperfectly executed. No one, acquainted with these countries, is surprised at frequent and most flagrant violations of all law, order, and justice, both among rulers and ruled; yet the obligation of foreigners to obey just laws made known to them, surely is not to be measured solely by the degree of obedience

paid by a portion of the people themselves. A systematic violation of the Chinese laws against opium cannot be excused, because the people themselves contrive to evade them, and because officers possessed of no more moral principle than the people, also connive at, and participate in the infraction.

The Chinese government discussed the measure of legalizing a trade it could not suppress, but no law was published; and before doing so resolved to make a stronger and last effort to put it down if possible. Might makes right, or at least enforces it, and if the Chinese had had the power to destroy every ship found violating their laws, although the loss of life would have been dreadful, no voice would have been raised against the proceeding. "Her majesty's government," said Lord Palmerston, "cannot interfere for the purpose of enabling British subjects to violate the laws of the country to which they trade." But this power would not then have been dared; the known weakness of the government emboldened both sellers and buyers, until Captain Elliot told the foreign secretary that "it was a confusion of terms to call the opium trade a smuggling trade."

Lin probably wished to get Mr. Dent merely as a hostage for the delivery of the opium in the hands of his countrymen, and not punish him for disobedience to previous orders; not expecting any opposition to this demand, he seems to have been unwilling to seize him immediately, preferring to try persuasion and command longer, and detain him and other foreigners until he was obeyed. He viewed Captain Elliot as a mere head merchant; when, therefore, the attempt was made as he supposed, to take Mr. Dent out of his hands, he was apprehensive of a struggle, and instantly took the strongest precautionary measures to prevent the prey escaping. Considerate allowance should be made for the serious mistake he made of imprisoning the innocent with the guilty; but if Captain Elliot took Mr. Dent thus under his protection, the commissioner felt that his purpose would be defeated, and no opium obtained, if he began to draw a distinction. Besides, conscious that he possessed unlimited power over a few defenceless foreigners, nearly all of whom were in his eyes guilty, he cared very little where his acts fell. There is no good evidence to show that *he* seriously meditated anything which would hazard their lives. When he had received this vast amount of property, success evidently made him careless as to

his conduct, and judging the probity and good faith of foreigners by his own standard, he deemed it safest to detain them until the opium was actually in his possession. Concluding that Captain Elliot did attempt to abscond with Mr. Dent, it is less surprising, therefore, that he should have looked upon his offers to "carry out the will of the great emperor," when set at liberty, as a lure rather than a sincere proposition. In imprisoning him he had no more idea he was imprisoning, insulting, threatening, and coercing the representative of a power like Great Britain, or violating rules western powers call *jus gentium*, than if he had been the envoy from Siam or Lewchew. Whether he should not have known this is another question, and had he candidly set himself on his arrival at Canton, to ascertain the power, position, and commerce of western countries, he would have found Captain Elliot sincerely desirous of meeting him in his endeavors to fulfil his high commission. Let us deal fairly by the Chinese rulers in their desire to restrain a traffic of which they knew and felt vastly more of its evil than we have ever done, and give Lin especially his due, whose endeavors failed so signally.

The opium was now obtained; no lives had been lost, nor any one endangered, but the British government was bound to pay for it to its own subjects. The only source Captain Elliot suggested was to make the Chinese pay for it. The emperor ordered it to be destroyed, and the commissioner after executing that order, next endeavored to separate the legal from the contraband trade by demanding bonds; they had been taken in vain from the hong-merchants, but there was more hope if demanded from foreigners. The first contained nothing very objectionable, but the second involved the penalty of death. The bonds were not made a pretext for war by the English ministry; that, on the part of England, according to Lord John Russell, was "set afoot to obtain reparation for insults and injuries offered her majesty's superintendent and subjects; to obtain indemnification for the losses the merchants had sustained under threats of violence; and lastly, get security that persons and property trading with China should in future be protected from insult and injury, and trade maintained upon a proper footing." Looking at the war, therefore, as growing out of this trade, and waged to recover the losses sustained by the surrendry to the British superintendent, it was an opium war, and eminently an *unjust* one, more especially

as carried on by a Christian power like Great Britain against a pagan monarch, who had vainly endeavored to put down a vice so hurtful to his people. The war was looked upon in this light by the Chinese.

On the other hand, the war was felt by every one in China, to involve far higher principles than the mere recovery of the opium; and if it was really so by the English ministry, they would have done well to have alluded to them. The reiterated demands of the commissioner for the murderer of Lin Weihí, though told that he could not be found, was only one form of the supremacy the Chinese arrogantly assumed over other nations. In all their intercourse with their fellow-men, they maintained a haughty, patronizing, unfair, and contemptuous position, which left no alternative but withdrawal from their shores, or a humiliating submission that no one, feeling the least independence, could endure. Not unjustly proud of their country in comparison to those around it, her emperor, her rulers and her people, all believed her to be impregnably strong, portentously awful, and immensely rich in learning, power, wealth and territory. None of them imagined they could learn or gain anything from other nations; for the "outside barbarians" were dependent for their health and food upon the rhubarb, tea, and silks of the Inner Land. They had had, indeed, bad specimens of western power, knowledge, and people, but there were equal opportunities for them to have learned the truth on these points. The reception of the religion of the Bible, the varied useful branches of science, and the many mechanical arts known in western lands, with the free passage of their own people abroad, were all forbidden to the millions of China by their supercilious rulers; and they thereby compelled to remain the slaves of debasing superstitions, ignorant of common science, and deprived of everything which Christian benevolence, philanthropy, and knowledge could and wished to impart to them. This assumption of supremacy, and a real impression of its propriety, was a higher wall around them than their long pile of stones; it not only led them to restrict foreign intercourse, but enabled them to carry it out in the most thorough manner, except in the single article of opium. Force seemed to be the only effectual destroyer of such a barrier (though other means had never been thoroughly tried), and in this view, the war may be said to have been *necessary* to compel the Chinese

government to receive western powers as its equals or at least make it treat their subjects as well as it did its own people. There was little hope of an adjustment of difficulties until the Chinese were compelled to abandon this erroneous assumption; the conviction that it was unjust, unfounded, and foolish in itself could safely be left to the gradual influences of religion and knowledge.

The report of the debate in the British parliament on this momentous question, hardly contains a single reference to this feature of the Chinese government. It turned almost wholly upon the opium trade, and whether the hostilities had not proceeded from the want of foresight and precaution on the part of her majesty's ministers. The speeches all showed ignorance of both principles and facts; Sir James Graham asserted that the governors of Canton had sanctioned the trade; and Sir G. Staunton that it would not be safe for British power in India, if these insults were not checked, and that the Chinese had far exceeded in their recent efforts the previous acknowledged laws of the land! Dr. Lushington maintained that the connivance of the local rulers acquitted the smugglers; while Sir John Hobhouse truly stated the reason why the government had done nothing to stop the opium trade, was that it was profitable; and Lord Melbourne, with still more fairness, said, "We possess immense territories peculiarly fitted for raising opium, and though he would wish that the government were not so directly concerned in the traffic, he was not prepared to pledge himself to relinquish it." The Duke of Wellington thought the Chinese government was insincere in its efforts, and therefore deserved little sympathy; and Lord Ellenborough spoke of the million and a half sterling revenue "derived from foreigners," which if the opium monopoly was given up and its cultivation abandoned, they must seek elsewhere. No one advocated war on the ground that the opium had been seized, but the majority were in favor of letting it go on because it was begun. This debate was, in fact, a remarkable instance of the way in which a moral question is blinked even by the most conscientious persons, when politics or interest come athwart its course. No declaration of war was ever published by Queen Victoria, further than an order in council to the admiralty, in which it was recited that "satisfaction and reparation for the late injurious proceedings of certain officers of the emperor of China against certain of our

officers and subjects shall be demanded from the Chinese government;" the object of this order was, chiefly, to direct concerning the disposal of such ships, vessels, and cargoes belonging to the Chinese as might be seized. Perhaps the formality of a declaration of war against a nation which knew nothing of the law of nations was not necessary, but if a minister plenipotentiary from Peking had been present at the debate in Parliament in April, 1840, he would have declared the proceedings of his government strangely misrepresented. It is to be hoped the day is not distant when there will be such a minister at St. James, as well as at all other Christian courts.

The clipper Ariel, dispatched by Captain Elliot on his release from Canton, returned in April, 1840, announcing the determination of the British government to appeal to arms in case the emperor refused to settle the difficulties without bloodshed. The Chinese apparently foresaw the coming struggle, and began to collect troops and repair their forts; and Lin, now governor-general of Kwangtung, purchased the Chesapeake, a large ship, and appointed an intendant of circuit near Macao, to guard the coasts. The English residents had mostly returned to Macao by the month of January, and carried on their trade under neutral flags. No further efforts were made to annoy them, and since the stoppage of their trade in December, Lin had no wish to increase his difficulties by fruitless endeavors to harass them. He, however, wrote two official letters to Queen Victoria, desiring her assistance in putting down the opium trade, in which the peculiar ideas of his countrymen, respecting their own importance, and their position among the nations of the earth, were singularly exhibited.* Notwithstanding the causes of complaint he had against the English and Captain Elliot in particular, he behaved kindly to the surviving crew of the Sunda, an English vessel wrecked on Hainan, and sent them on their arrival at Canton, to their countrymen.

* Chinese Repository, Vol. VIII., pp. 9–12, 497–503.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Progress of the War, and Opening of China.

The advance of the English forces arrived off Macao, June 22d, 1041, when Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer published a notice of the blockade of the port of Canton. The Americans had already informed Lin of this intention, and requested that all their ships arriving before it was laid on, might be allowed to come directly into port; he replied in his edict, granting their petition, "that it was an egregious mistake, analogous to an audacious falsehood, that the English contemplate putting on a blockade." Captain Elliot also issued a manifesto to the people generally, setting forth the grievances suffered by the English at the hands of Lin and his colleagues during the past year, and stating that no harm would come to them while pursuing their peaceful occupations, for the quarrel was entirely between the two governments, and the Queen had deputed high officers to make known the truth to the Emperor. Sir Gordon moved northward in the Wellesley, 74, his fleet consisting of five ships, three steamers, and twenty-one transports; and on anchoring in the harbor of Tinghai, July 4th, sent a summons to surrender the town and island, stating the grounds of the attack. The Chinese officers in command of the place and its defences, though confessing their inability to cope with such a force, declared they should do their best; and during the night placed the town and shipping in the best position for defence. They complained of the hardship of being made answerable for wrongs done at Canton, upon which the blow should properly fall, and not upon those who had never injured the English. It was a sad interview for them, and the peril of their position was more fully seen when they had gone aboard the Wellesley. On Sunday, July 5th, the Commodore's ship fired at the tower, which was answered by the junks and batteries, when the broadsides from all the vessels opened, and in a few minutes silenced them; about 3000 men then landed, and took up a posi-

tion commanding the town, whose walls were seen to be filled with troops. A few shells were thrown into it, but the attack was delayed till the next morning, by which time most of the citizens and troops had evacuated it, and possession was taken without resistance. Many of the principal Chinese officers were killed, which disheartened their troops, already sufficiently dispirited at seeing the force brought against them; the English had few or none wounded. The respectable inhabitants went across to Ningpo, or scattered themselves over the island. General Burrell was appointed governor.

On the 6th, Admiral G. Elliot, and Captain Elliot, joint plenipotentiaries, arrived at Chusan, in the Melville, 74. They sent a copy of Lord Palmerston's letter to the emperor, setting forth the grounds of complaint, to the authorities at Amoy and Ningpo, for them to forward it to Peking; both of whom declined taking the responsibility. The visit to these two cities showed that the Chinese were preparing for defence, by arming the forts, making rafts, and posting troops. The prefect of Ningpo, within whose jurisdiction Tinghai lies, took measures to prevent the people of Chusan from "aiding and comforting" their conquerors, by sending police-runners to the various villages to mark those who supplied them, who seized a purveyor from Canton. An erroneous idea, that the Chinese people wished to throw off the Manchu yoke, and a desire to conciliate the islanders, led the English to take less stringent measures for supplying themselves with provisions, than they otherwise would. A small party was sent to recapture the purveyor, but its unsuccessful trip over the island showed the unwillingness of the people to have anything to do with their invaders, while their dread was increased by the arrest of several village elders. Mr. Gutzlaff was stationed at Chusan, and did his best to reassure the people, stating the peaceful desires of the English; but they, judging European warfare by their own usages, knew no alternative between complete subjugation by force, and continued hostilities as they had power and opportunity. As he went around exhorting them to act peaceably, some of them asked him, "If you are so desirous of peace, why did you come here at all?"

After arranging the government of the island, stationing the troops on shore, and blockading Amoy and Ningpo, and the mouths of the Min and Yangtsz' kiang, the two plenipotentiaries

sailed for the Pei ho, where they anchored, August 11th, and Captain Elliot went ashore to deliver the letter. It was immediately taken to Taku, where Kíshen, the governor-general of the province was waiting, by an aid, known to the English as Captain White (this being a translation of *Shaupí Peh*), who returned with a request for ten days' delay to lay it before the emperor. During this interval, the ships dispersed to visit the coast of Liautung to procure provisions, which they obtained with some difficulty, and returned on the 27th. No message coming off, a strong boat-force was sent ashore next day with a menacing letter to Kíshen, when it was ascertained that a reply had gone off, and no ships were at the anchorage to receive it. A meeting was now arranged at Taku between Kíshen and Captain Elliot, which took place on Sunday, the 30th of August, in a large tent; the number of attendants on both sides was large, but the interview was nearly a personal one. Kíshen argued his side of the question with great tact and ability, bringing forward in the sincerest manner the argument that his master had the most unquestionable right to treat the English as he had done, for they were, and had enrolled themselves, his tributary subjects. He could not treat definitely on all the points in dispute, and after a second meeting requested a further delay of six days in order to refer again to Peking, which was granted. The conclusion of the negotiations was the reasonable arrangement that Kíshen should meet the English plenipotentiaries at Canton, where the truth of the treatment their countrymen had received could be better examined; the season was too far advanced, moreover, to admit much longer tarrying in the Gulf, and on the 15th of September the squadron returned to Chusan.

While these things were going on at Taku, a few skirmishes had taken place elsewhere. Several prisoners had fallen into the hands of the Chinese at Ningpo, among whom were the surviving crew of the Kite transport, lost on the quicksands off the mouth of the Tsientang river. The prisoners, among whom was Mrs. Noble, the captain's widow, were carried to Ningpo in small cages, according to the usual practice of the Chinese; and although this was both cruel and unnecessary, there was no peculiar hardship exercised towards them more than to common prisoners. Two or three captures were also made at Tinghai; and a foraging party from the Conway on Tsungming I. was roughly handled.

At Amoy, an attack was made upon one of the blockading ships, and every effort made to increase the efficiency of the forts and defences.

Large rewards were early offered by Lin for the capture of English ships and people, which incited some heroes among his followers to attempt to take such defenceless persons as they could seize, and one Englishman, Mr. Stanton, was carried off by a party from Macao. A force of about 1200 men was at this time stationed in and around the Barrier, and several sand batteries thrown up near it. Accordingly Captain Smith, the senior naval officer, moved two sloops and a steamer near their position, and soon drove the soldiers away, and silenced the guns; a detachment then landed and set fire to the buildings used as barracks. This service was attended with little loss of life to the Chinese troops, and rid the settlement of a grievous nuisance to both natives and foreigners.

Mr. Stanton was carried prisoner to Canton; and the commissioner had it in his mind at one time to immolate him as a sacrifice to the god of War, to insure the success of the imperial troops, but learning that he had never been engaged in the opium trade, he wisely delayed. Lin was busy during the summer in enlisting volunteers and preparing the defences of Canton, but he was soon after ordered to return "with the speed of flames" to Peking. His majesty, judging his measures by their results, was unnecessarily severe upon his servant: "You have not only proved yourself unable to cut off their trade," he says, "but you have also proved yourself unable to seize perverse natives. You have but dissembled with empty words, and so far from having been any help in the affair, you have caused the waves of confusion to arise, and a thousand interminable disorders are sprouting; in fact you have been as if your arms were tied, without knowing what to do: it appears, then, you are no better than a wooden image. When I think to myself on all these things, I am filled with anger and melancholy." Trade was carried on notwithstanding the blockade, by sending tea and goods through Macao; and many ships loaded for England and the United States.

Admiral Elliot entered into a truce with Îlípu, governor-general of Chehkiang, by which each party agreed to observe certain boundaries. Sickness and death had made sad inroads into the health and numbers of the troops stationed at Tinghai, more than

400 out of the 4000 landed in July having died, and three times that number being in the hospitals; the European regiments suffered much more than the Indian troops. This mortality was ascribed to malaria, heat, and improper provisions. The people did not recover their confidence sufficiently to reöpen their shops till after the truce, when the intercourse was more frank, and provisions more abundant. Doct. Lockhart's missionary hospital was resorted to by hundreds; and the visits paid to various parts of the island better informed the inhabitants of the personal character of their temporary rulers, and a profitable trade in provisions encouraged them to still farther acquaintance.

The two plenipotentiaries arrived off Macao, Nov. 20th, and immediately sent a steamer to the Bogue with a dispatch from Ílípu to Kíshen, which was fired upon; an apology was immediately made by Kíshen, and there was reason for believing the act to have been done by an officer unacquainted with the meaning of a white flag, whose intent and privileges were after this understood. Admiral Elliot resigned his office at this time in consequence of ill health, and returned home, leaving the management of affairs to Captain Elliot. Negotiations were resumed during the month of December, but the determination of the Chinese to resist rather than grant full indemnity and security was more and more apparent. Kíshen probably found more zeal among the people for a fight than he had supposed, but his own desires were to settle the matter "more soon, more better." What demands were made as a last alternative are not known, but one of them, the cession of the island of Hongkong, he refused to grant, and broke off the discussion Commodore Bremer thereupon moved his forces up the bay, and on the 7th of January attacked and took the forts at Chuenpí and Taikoktau. Further progress was stayed by the Chinese proposing an armistice, for Kíshen, who was present, saw enough to convince him of the folly of resistance, resumed the negotiations, and memorialized his master, stating the ineffectiveness of the defences.

On the 20th of January they had proceeded so far that Captain Elliot issued a notice to British subjects announcing the conclusion of preliminary arrangements upon four points. These were the cession of the island and harbor of Hongkong to the British crown, an indemnity of six millions of dollars in annual instalments, direct official intercourse upon an equal footing, and the

English trade at Canton resumed. He also adverted to the "scrupulous good faith" of Kíshen in this negotiation, and there had been nothing at this date to show a change of policy or sentiment in him, though the Chinese must have been well aware that strong influences were at work at court against him, and he did wrong in not intimating them to Captain Elliot. By these arrangements Chusan and Chuenpí were to be immediately restored to the Chinese, the prisoners at Ningpo released, and the English to occupy Hongkong. One evidence of Kíshen's sincerity is the edict he put up on Hongkong, telling the inhabitants they were now under English authority. Two interviews took place near the Second Bar pagoda, at the last of which, on Feb. 13th, it was plain that some stipulations of the treaty, viz., the first instalment of a million of dollars, and opening of trade by Feb. 1st, would not be fulfilled. It is probable, in fact, that the intimations of the designs of the court were so evident that the treaty was never even presented to the emperor for ratification.

Kíshen carried his negotiations as far as he could, with the hope perhaps that an adjustment of the difficulties on such terms would be accepted by his imperial master. On the other hand, Lin and his colleagues memorialized the emperor as soon as Kíshen came to Canton against the peaceful measures of that statesman, and their recommendations as to the necessity of resistance were strongly backed by the mortifying loss of Chusan. The approach of a large force to the Pei ho alarmed his majesty, and conciliatory measures were taken, and a reference to Canton proposed before settling the dispute; when the men of war left, he was inclined for peace, and issued orders not to attack the foreign ships while the discussions were going on. On arriving at Canton, Kíshen liberated Mr. Stanton, and proceeded with his negotiations; but the memorials had already changed the emperor's mind, and war was by this time determined on. It is highly probable, if instead of seizing Chusan, which had given no cause of provocation, the English had gone up the Yangtsz' kiang and Pei ho, and stationed themselves there until their demands were granted, peace would have been soon made. But, in that case, would the vain notion of their supremacy have left the Chinese? It must not be forgotten that the whole field was new and untried, and the object being to press upon the government enough to compel it to treat other nations with civility, rather than conquest, no

safe decision could be made, *a priori*, of the effect which a dozen modes of action would produce.

A higher Hand should be recognized in the failure of this treaty. The great desire of Christian people, who believed that China was finally to receive the gospel, was that she might be opened to their benevolent efforts, but this treaty confined the trade to Canton, and left the country as closed as ever to all good influences, commercial, political, social and religious, while the evils of smuggling, law-breaking, and opium-smoking along the coast were unmolested. The crisis which had brought an expedition to the country was not likely soon to recur, if this failed to break down its seclusiveness; and no other nation would attempt it if England retired. The opening of the empire was not contemplated in this treaty, and that this should be one result of the quarrel, was ardently desired by every wellwisher of China. Captain Elliot appreciated the unfortunate dilemma the emperor had been brought into by the violent acts of Lin, and knew that ignorance was much more the misfortune than the fault of both; he acted humanely, therefore, in pursuing a mild course at first, until the points at issue had been fairly brought before the people as well as the cabinet. Some parts of his conduct are open to criticism, but this great feature of it is praiseworthy, though few men ever received such a torrent of abuse for taking it. His countrymen would have had him burn, kill, and destroy, as soon as the expedition reached the coast, before even stating his demands at court; and during his negotiations with Kíshen, and when Chusan was restored, a general smile of contempt at his supposed gullibility was everywhere seen. The treaty of the Bogue, though formed in good faith by both commissioners, did not open China, nor accomplish this great end of the war, and was rejected by both sovereigns, though for opposite reasons; by Victoria, because it did not grant enough, by Taukwang, because it granted too much.

On the 27th of January, the emperor issued orders to resume the war, collect troops from the provinces upon Canton and Tinghai, in order to "destroy and wipe clean away, to exterminate and root out the rebellious barbarians," and encouraged the people to regard them with the same bitterness they did their personal enemies. His mandate is couched in the strongest terms, saying that his enemies have been rebellious against heaven, opposing

reason, one in spirit with the brute beasts, "beings that the overshadowing vault, and all-containing earth can hardly suffer to live," obnoxious to angels and men, and that he must discharge his heaven-conferred trust by sweeping them from the face of the earth. This decree exhibited the true principles of action of this proud government, and left it less excusable; the emperor deliberately rejected the offer of peace, and determined to uphold his fancied supremacy to the utmost. China must now bend or break.

These hostile intentions had become so evident, that on the 19th of February, Captain Elliot announced that Commodore Bremer would return to the Bogue with the force; the boats of the steamer Nemesis were fired upon while sounding, and on the 24th, the battery near Anunghoy was attacked,—the same day that Chusan was evacuated. Rewards of $50,000 were offered for Elliot, Bremer, Morrison, and other ringleaders, and all the defences put in the best condition. On the 26th, the Bogue forts were all taken, Admiral Kwan falling at his post. It is said that Kíshen, Lin, and other high officers, were in the fort on North Wangtong, and left the troops there to their fate, as the English ships moved up the river, the incensed men firing upon their boats as they left. The number of ships of war engaged in this attack was nine, assisted by less than 500 troops, and two steamers. The Chinese force on the hills behind the forts was probably over 3000, but it made no resistance after the batteries were taken. Many lost their lives while attempting to swim across the river, the sipahis shooting them in the water; their total loss was supposed to be not far from a thousand; the prisoners were set at liberty after they had buried their fallen comrades. The forts were built so solidly that few were killed by the broadsides of the ships, and their magazines so well protected, that no explosions took place; the powder found in them was used to demolish the walls. Admiral Kwan's body was exhumed at the request of his relatives, who sent a flag of truce for it; and the Blenheim fired a salute of minute guns as it was carried away. The emperor afterwards pensioned his mother, and promoted his son. At night, the blaze of the burning encampments of the discomfited imperialists on the hills, illuminated the surrounding country, and intimated to all the destruction of these strong fortifications. There were in all, eight large forts on the sides of the river and Wang.

tong island, forming altogether a line of batteries which would have been impregnable in the hands of European troops, and not without reason deemed to be so by the Chinese themselves.

The next day, the small ships moved up to the First Bar, where a long fortification on the river bank, and an intrenched camp of 2000 troops, defended by upwards of a hundred cannon, with a strong raft thrown across the river, showed a resolution to make a stand. The ships and steamers opened a hot fire upon the batteries and camp, which returned it as well as they could, but the loss of life was greatest when the English landed. Many instances of personal bravery showed that the Chinese were not all destitute of courage, but without discipline it was of no avail. Nearly one fourth of their force was killed, their camp burned, and the Chesapeake and all her stores blown up, and most of the crew killed. The removal of the raft was easily effected by grappling the steamers to it, to the great mortification of the Chinese, who had trusted to it to prevent the approach of ships to the city. From this point the way was open to within five miles of Canton, and when the forts at that place were taken, the prefect met Captain Elliot on March 3d, with a flag of truce proposing a suspension of hostilities for three days.

Kíshen had already been disgraced and ordered to return to Peking to await his trial; his memorial on hearing of his degradation on account of his ill-success does him great credit; Íliang the licut.-governor was left in command of the province until four general officers, with large bodies of troops from the interior, should arrive. The highest of these was Yihshan, a nephew of the emperor, assisted by Yang Fang, Lungwăn, and Tsíshin. On the part of the English, major-gen. Sir Hugh Gough arrived from India to take command of the land forces, and Sir Gordon Bremer sailed for Calcutta to procure additional recruits. Bodies of troops were gathering in and around Canton to the amount of 5000 or 6000, most of which had come from the north-west provinces, and were not less strange and formidable to the citizens than were their foreign enemies.

After the truce had expired, the English moved towards Canton by both the channels leading to it, the vengeful Nemesis proceeding up the Inner Passage, where no foreign ship had before been, subduing all obstacles in her way, until every fort, raft, battery, camp and stockade, between the ocean and Canton had been

destroyed or taken, and the city lay at their mercy. The factories were occupied by British troops just two years after Lin had imprisoned the foreigners in them. A second truce was agreed upon, March 20th, by which trade was allowed to proceed on the old mode; the ships accordingly proceeded up the river, and for about six weeks trade went on uninterruptedly. The new governor Kí Kung, and the "rebel-quelling general" Yihshan, arrived, and the people thinking that a slight cause would disturb the truce, took advantage of it to remove their effects, well aware how much they would suffer from their own army in case of trouble. The progress of hostilities even thus far had greatly weakened the native government, and if Canton should be sacked, the province would be thrown into confusion, and robbers "swarm like wasps."

About the middle of May, the intentions of the Chinese generally were manifest, though cloaked under professions of amity. A British guard was stationed in the factories, and the ships of war anchored near them, but it was not till the 21st that Captain Elliot notified all foreigners to go aboard ship. A significant intimation was given a fortnight previous in the punishment inflicted upon a native who had presumed to speak on public affairs. Two flags were stuck through his ears, his arms pinioned, and he publicly whipped through the streets, while a crier proclaimed his offence. The secret preparations for attacking the unguarded English were very extensive. Large fire-boats and rafts were prepared, masked batteries erected along the river, troops quartered in the temples, and large cannon placed in the streets. The notice of Captain Elliot was issued none too soon, and yet the prefect had the impudence to publish a proclamation the day before, assuring all classes of the peaceful intentions of the commissioners, and that they need be under no alarm. The hong-merchants also reiterated the same assurances next day, but these official falsehoods deceived no one. Finding their prey gone, a night attack was made by land and water, May 21st, on the ships, but none were seriously injured. As daylight advanced, the Nemesis went in pursuit of the fire-boats and junks, and burned upwards of sixty, while three men-of-war silenced the batteries along shore. Two Americans, Messrs. Morss and Coolidge, and a boat's crew of the American ship Morrison, were the only foreigners in the factories, and the latter with Mr. Coolidge were

taken prisoners; a boy named Sherry belonging to the boat was drowned in the capture. While the ships were silencing the forts and burning the rafts, the Chinese troops were searching the factories for guns; three of the hongs were pillaged even to their marble pavements; and it is supposed they desisted from plundering the whole only at the petition of the hong-merchants and prefect, who told the commissioner he would be obliged to pay for the losses sustained.

On the 24th, the land and naval forces under Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Fleming Senhouse, arrived from Hongkong, and prepared to invest the city. Most of the troops were debarked above it, on the northern side of the river, at Neishing, under the personal directions of Sir Fleming, who had provided many boats holding from 50 to 200 men each, in which the whole force of 2600 men, besides followers, guns and stores, were towed about twelve miles. A detachment landed and took possession of the factories, releasing Mr. Coolidge and his fellow-prisoners, after 60 hours' detention and suffering. Sir Hugh Gough remained near the place of debarkation till the morning of the 25th, when the whole body moved onwards to attack the forts and camps behind the city, distant upwards of three miles, over ground consisting of rice fields or barren hills, some of which command the walls. As the English advanced, the Chinese motioned them to come on; their fire did not reach so far as the English artillery, and they uselessly spent their ammunition. After an hour's firing, they began to collect outside of the forts, preparatory to retiring, when the advance pushed on, and sent them scampering down the hills toward the city. The intrenched camp was carried with considerable loss to its defenders, who everywhere ran as soon as the fight came to close quarters; but in the forts, there were many furious struggles. The camp was burned, and the victors bivouacked during the night in the open air.

On the 26th, preparations were made for firing the city, but before the proper ammunition could be brought up, a driving rain put a stop to all operations. A parley was also requested from the now deserted city walls by two officers, who agreed to send a deputation to make arrangements for surrender. Night came on before it appeared, and the English deferred their attack until morning. The troops were then placed in position, the guns loaded and primed, port-fires lighted, and everything in readiness

for opening the fire, when a messenger arrived from Captain Elliot, desiring further operations to be delayed until he had concluded his negotiations. The terms were, the forces to remain in their present position until a ransom of $6,000,000 was paid, and the three imperial commissioners, and all their troops, had marched 60 miles from the city. Compensation for the loss of property in the factories, and burning the Spanish brig Bilbaino, was paid or secured within a week, and the troops, nearly 50,000 in number, evacuated the city; but Captain Elliot should have demanded a personal interview and apology from Yihshan and his colleagues, for their infamous treachery. The disappointment of the troops on the heights was great, but it was probably the wisest policy to ransom Canton, since its destruction would have broken up the whole foreign trade for an indefinite period; a failure in the receipt of the duties at home was also a consideration in the mind of the plenipotentiary, in favor of sparing the city. To save the terrible slaughter which would have ensued, not only from the enemy without the walls, but from the great number of troops pent up inside, with an exasperated populace, was a merciful motive for accepting the ransom; the subsequent ill conduct of the people of that city towards foreigners has, however, poorly requited the kindness shown them on this occasion.

While the English forces were occupying the heights, the commissioners closed most of the city gates, and the disappointment caused by the detention of the departing crowds, soon broke out into open fighting. The lawless soldiers from Kweichau and Kwangsí began to plunder the citizens, who retaliated with blows, and blood was shed, the forces and rancor on each side increasing till more than a thousand persons were killed in the streets; and, in some instances, the troops actually devoured the bodies of the citizens. One or two fires added to the confusion and alarm. On the outskirts of the city, the dispersed troops began to arouse the villagers to join and drive off the invaders. Two days after the truce, a tumultuous force of nearly fifteen thousand advanced on the hills north-west of the city, rather to the surprise of the English, who, though now reduced to about five hundred, soon placed themselves in order, and checked their progress by a discharge of rockets. Sir Hugh ordered an advance, and the valiant villagers,—"patriot soldiers," as they called themselves,—were chased about three miles by this handful. The heat of the day

was intense, and in the afternoon a terrific thunder-storm almost deluged the country; the English troops were unable to see each other, and one company of sipahis separated from their comrades, and were surrounded by the Chinese. The superiority of a disciplined body over an immense unorganized mob, was never more apparent than in the successful stand made for three hours by this handful of 90 men; they were relieved without the loss of a man, and only 14 wounded. The villagers assembled the next day in a still more menacing attitude, when Sir Hugh told the prefect that if they were not instantly dispersed, he should fire on the city; whereupon one of the commissioners and the prefect, accompanied by an English officer, went out and coaxed them to retire.

On the 31st, the prefect furnished five hundred coolies to assist in transporting the guns and stores to the river side, the British flag was hauled down from the forts, and everything restored to the Chinese. The casualties among their forces were 14 killed and 112 wounded, but the deaths which took place from fevers contracted on the heights and river were not far from three hundred. The losses of the Chinese, from the time the Bogue forts were taken in February, to the retirement of the troops in June, could hardly have been much under five thousand. The number of cannon taken was not less than 1,200, besides a great number of ginjals. In posting their forces, and placing their masked batteries, and equipping their troops and forts, the Chinese showed greater command of means and knowledge of war, than it was supposed they possessed; but their lack of discipline and confidence rendered every defence unavailing. The imperial commissioner, Yihshan, whose moral turpitude and ridiculous bravado brought upon him the contempt and detestation of his own countrymen, proclaimed a victory, and rewarded the troops he was forced to disband with medals, in testimony of their valor for driving the English out of the river. He and his associates memorialized the emperor, detailing their reasons for ransoming the city, and requesting an inquiry into their conduct.*

Sir Fleming Senhouse died of fever at Hongkong, June 13th, and the sickness of the troops generally compelled the force to

* Chinese Repository, Vol. X., p. 402; in which, and in Vols. VIII., IX., X., and XI., most of the official papers issued from the Chinese and English authorities during the war, are contained.

remain there to recruit, and wait for reinforcements from Calcutta. Commodore Bremer returned as joint plenipotentiary, with additional forces from Calcutta, and the expedition was on the point of sailing northward, when both Captain Elliot and Sir Gordon Bremer were wrecked in a tyfoon south-west from Macao, and narrowly escaped with their lives; this detained the ships a few days longer, during which a new plenipotentiary, Sir Henry Pottinger, bart., and Admiral Sir William Parker arrived on the 10th of August, direct from England by steam in 67 days, to supersede them both. Sir Henry publicly announced his appointment and duties, and also sent a communication to the governor of Canton, assuring him that the existing truce would be observed as long as the Chinese did not arm their forts, impede the regular trade, which had been lately reopened to British ships by imperial command, or trouble the merchants residing in the factories. The trade went on at Canton, after this, without any serious interruption during the war, the usual duties and charges being paid as if none existed.

The expedition moved northward, August 21st, under the joint command of Sir Hugh Gough and Admiral Parker, consisting of two 74's and seven other ships of war, four steamers, twenty-three transports, and two other vessels, one of them a surveying vessel, carrying in all about 3500 troops. Six men of war, and four or five hundred Indian troops, remained off Canton and at Hongkong to compel the observance of the truce. The combined force reached Amoy on the 25th, and after a hasty reconnoissance, attacked all its defences the next day, which were carried without much loss of life on either side. The city was taken on the 27th, and all the arms and public stores found in it, consisting of powder and materials for making it, wall-pieces, ginjals, matchlocks, shields, uniforms, bows, arrows, spears, and other articles in great quantities, were destroyed; 500 cannon were found in the forts. When the Blonde came into this harbor fourteen months previous to deliver the letter for Peking, the fortifications consisted only of two or three forts near the city, but in the interval they had been increased very largely. Every island and protecting headland overlooking the harbor had been occupied and armed, and a continuous line of stone wall more than a mile long, with embrasures roofed by large slabs covered with earth to protect the guns, had been built, and batteries and bas-

tions erected at well chosen points. The broadsides of the ships had little effect on these stone walls, and it was not until the troops landed and drove out their garrisons, who "stood right manfully to their guns," that the fire slackened, and the Chinese retreated. The Wellesley and Blenheim each fired upwards of twelve thousand rounds, besides the discharges from the frigates and steamers, and this tremendous cannonading was continued for four hours without the least real damage to the fortifications, and killing only twenty-five or thirty people. The city was completely pillaged by native robbers after the authorities had left, and it was not till several weeks after that they resumed their functions. The island of Kulang su was garrisoned by a detachment of 550 troops, and three ships left to protect them. The English did not have a man killed in the attack on these works, and only a few wounded; nor was there evidence of any great slaughter of the Chinese; their force was estimated at about 8,000 troops and 26 war junks, all of which were either scattered or burned; one two-decker, built on the foreign model, and carrying 30 guns, was found launched and ready for sea. Several instances of determined heroism were exhibited, and the naval officer in command, Kiang Kíyun, seeing the day lost, deliberately walked into the water and drowned himself. As usual, they claimed a victory on the departure of the enemy.

The English fleet left for Chusan, and entered the harbor of Tinghai the second time, Sept. 29th, and found the beach very much altered since it was evacuated in February, a line of stone wall and fortifications extending two miles in front of the suburbs having been built, besides many defences of sand-bags and redoubts thrown up on well selected positions. The suburbs were occupied as a military station, and every part of the extensive works were fully manned and garrisoned. They were attacked Oct. 1st, and taken after a defence marked with unusual courage, on the part of the Chinese, who waved their flags and fired incessant vollies upon the advancing enemy. The general commanding the battery and all his suite were killed at their posts, and many hand to hand conflicts took place. But their courage and numbers were unavailing, and in two hours their defences were cleared, the walls of the town escaladed, the whole force scattered, and the island subdued, with the estimated loss of a thousand men. Great quantities of ordnance, among which were 40

brass guns made in imitation of some taken from the Kite, with military stores and provisions in abundance, were found, all of them brought from the mainland. A detachment was soon after sent throughout the island to drive off the scattering bodies of the enemy's troops, and announce to the inhabitants that they were now under English authority, and would remain so until all demands were fully complied with. The people evinced none of the alarm they had done the year before, and provisions came in, shops were opened, and confidence in these proclamations generally exhibited. A military government was appointed, and a garrison of 400 men left to protect the island.

The military operations in Chehkiang were conducted by Yukien, an imperial commissioner appointed in place of Ílípu, and Yu Puyun, general of the land forces; both these men had urged war, and had done all they could to fortify Tinghai and Chinhai, whose batteries and magazines showed the vigor of their operations. The English fleet proceeded to Chinhai, Oct. 9th, and a force of about 2200 men, with twelve field pieces and mortars landed next morning to attack the citadel and intrenched camp. There were nearly 5000 men in this position, who formed in good order as the English advanced, opening a well directed fire upon the front column, but quite neglecting the two lesser bodies sent to turn their flanks; and as the three opened upon them nearly simultaneously, their whole force was completely bewildered, and soon broke and fled in all directions. Knowing nothing of the mode of asking for quarter, while some fled into the country, the greater part retreated towards the water, pursued by the three columns, hundreds being shot and hundreds drowned. Sir Hugh Gough sent out a flag with Chinese written upon it, to inform them that their lives would be spared if they yielded, but not more than five hundred either could or would throw down their arms. The water was covered with dead bodies, and fully 1500 lost their lives. The town and its defences on the north side of the river were bombarded by the ships, and the troops driven out. Yukien endeavored to drown himself on seeing the day was lost, but being prevented he retreated to Yüyau, beyond Ningpo, where he committed suicide, as was said, by swallowing gold leaf. He was a Manchu, and could not brook his master's displeasure; and his atrocious cruelty to two foreigners who fell into his hands, one of whom was flayed and then burnt to death,

had aroused general detestation, and none regretted his death. About 150 pieces of brass ordnance, besides great quantities of gunpowder, iron cannon, matchlocks, and other military stores, were taken and destroyed. The guns and carriages in the fort and batteries were so well made and placed, that in some cases the victors on entering turned them against the flying Chinese. The frame of a wheel vessel, intended to be moved by human power was found near Chinhai, showing as did the brass guns, traversing carriages, and frigate at Amoy, that the Chinese were learning the machinery of war from their foes.

Ningpo was taken without resistance on the 13th, General Yu having retired on Hangchau. The people left the city in considerable numbers, and those who remained shut themselves in their houses, writing *shun min*, i. e. submissive people, on the doors. Captain Anstruther took possession of his old prison, where he found the identical cage he had been carried in, and released all the inmates to make way for his detachment of artillery. About £20,000 in sycee were found in this building, upwards of $70,000 in the treasury, many tons of copper cash in the mint, and rice, silk and porcelain in the public stores, forming altogether the most valuable prizes yet taken. Sir Henry Pottinger intended at first to burn the city, but on deliberation it was determined to occupy it as winter quarters, a garrison being left at Chinhai, and two or three ships in the river to keep open the communication. The plenipotentiary returned to Hongkong in February, 1842, leaving Sir Hugh and the admiral at the north, as the new colony required his presence.

The fall of Amoy, Tinghai, Chinhai, and Ningpo, instead of disheartening the emperor, served rather to inspirit him. His commissioners, generals, and high officers generally, did the best their knowledge and means enabled them to do, and when defeated, endeavored to palliate the discomfiture they could not entirely conceal by misrepresenting the force brought against them, and laying the blame upon the common people, the elements, or the inefficiency of the naval armaments. The troops sent home with tokens of victory from Canton, stimulated the war spirit in the western provinces. After they had gone, Yihshan concocted such measures of defence as he could, one of which was to enlist two or three thousand volunteers, or "village braves," near the city, and place them under their own officers. The people hav-

ing been taught to despise foreigners, were easily incensed against them, and several cases of insult and wantonness which occurred during the occupation of the heights were repeated and magnified in order to stir up a spirit of revenge. These patriots supposed, moreover, that if the great emperor had called on *them*, instead of intrusting the conduct of the quarrel to truckling traitorous poltroons like Kíshen and the prefect, they could have avenged him of his enemies. This spirit was chiefly confined to Canton, and the defeats and losses experienced the year before had rather irritated than humbled it.

Consequently the truce was soon broken in an underhand manner by sinking hundreds of tons of stones in the river, some in boats, but mostly thrown into the water between hurdles. The Royalist levelled the fortifications at the Bogue, and Captain Nias destroyed a number of boats at Whampoa, and threatened the authorities in case they did not observe the stipulations. After the destruction of these forts and his retirement from the river, Yih-shan directed his attention to erecting forts near the city, casting guns, and drilling the volunteers, who numbered nearly 30,000 at the new year. He also gave a public dinner to the rich men of the city, in order to learn their willingness to contribute to the expenses of these measures. However, since no serious obstacles were placed in the way of shipping teas by the provincial officers, from the duties on which they chiefly derived the funds for these undertakings, it was deemed advisable to let them alone. This supineness of their rulers did not please the people, and manifestoes were now and then issued expressive of their dissatisfaction, specially directed against the prefect, who was forced to resign his office. Bands of thieves on shore and in boats aggravated these troubles, and showed the weakness of their government to the well disposed, as well as the attendant evils of war.

The case was different at other points. The government supposed Amoy would be attacked, because the visit of the Blonde showed that the barbarians, "sneaking in and out like rats," knew of its existence; but the people thereabouts, except in the city and suburbs, took no particular interest in the dispute, and knew far less probably, within a hundred miles of it, than was known in most parts of England and the United States; no newspapers, with "own correspondents" to write the "latest accounts from the seat of war," circulated the progress of this struggle,

which to them was like the silent reflection of distant lightning in their own quiet firmament. The sack of Amoy was a heavy blow to its citizens, but the plunderers were mostly their countrymen; and when Captain Smith of the Druid had been there a short time in command, and his character became known, they returned to their houses and shops, supplied the garrison with provisions, and even brought back a deserter, and assisted in chasing some pirates. Rumors of attack were always brought to him, and his endeavors to allay their apprehensions were successful, so that, after the *haifang*, or sub-prefect, had resumed his authority no disturbance occurred. The explanations of the missionaries on Kulang su, in diffusing a better understanding of the object in occupying that island also contributed to allay their fears.

The loss of Chinhai and Ningpo, threw the eastern parts of Chehkiang open to the invaders, and alarmed the court far more than the destruction of Canton would have done. The emperor immediately appointed his nephew Yihking "majesty-bearing generalissimo," and with him Tih-í-shun and Wănwei, all Manchus, to command the grand army, and arouse the dwellers on the seacoast to arm and defend themselves. "Ministers and people! Inhabitants of our dominions! Ye are all the children of our dynasty! For two centuries, ye have trod our earth and eaten our food. Whoever among you has heavenly goodness must needs detest these rebellious and disorderly barbarians even as ye do your personal foes. On no account allow yourselves to be deceived by their wiles, and act or live abroad with them." Such was the closing exhortation of an imperial proclamation issued to encourage them. In order to raise funds for its operations, the government resorted to the sale of office and titles of nobility, and levied benevolences from rich individuals, and contributions from the people; which when large in amount were noticed and rewarded. Kíshen, who had been tried at Peking and sentenced to lose his life, was for some reason reprieved to be associated with Yihking as an adviser, but never proceeded beyond Chihlí. Lin was also recalled from Íli, if indeed he ever went beyond the Great Wall, and Ílípu, whose treatment and release of the prisoners at Ningpo had gained him the goodwill of the English, was also sentenced to banishment, but neither did he go beyond the Desert. Yen Pehtau, the governor of Fuhkien,

was summarily dismissed from the public service for the loss of Amoy, and his inefficiency in devising measures of protection.

Defences were thrown up at Tientsin and Taku, to guard the passage to the capital, but the bar at the mouth of the Pei ho was its sufficient protection. The great object of immediate attention, however, was the city of Hangchau, and fearing that the English would immediately advance upon it, the troops of the province and all its available means were put into requisition. An advance upon this opulent city would probably have been made by Sir Hugh Gough if he had had troops, but as it could only be approached by a land march from Ningpo, he deemed it advisable to wait for reinforcements, his small force being reduced to 600 men on entering that city. Chapu, the port of Hangchau, and Tsienshan, another seaport near by, were garrisoned by the governor. Hu Chau, a brave general from Shensí, was dispatched to his assistance with 300 troops, but on the appointment of Yih-king, his destination was changed to Tientsin. The rewards given to the families of those who had fallen in battle, and the posthumous honors conferred upon them by the emperor, stimulated others to deeds of valor, and a determination to accomplish their master's vengeance. Yukien, "who gave his life for his country, casting himself into the water," received high titular honors in the hall of worthies, and his brother was permitted to bring his corpse within the city of Peking, while the local officers were ordered to pay it due honor on the route to the capital. The names of humbler servants were not forgotten in the imperial rescripts, and a place was granted them among those whom the "king delighteth to honor." Thus did the Chinese endeavor to reassert their supremacy, though their counsels and efforts to chastise the rebellious barbarians were not unlike the deliberations of the rats as to the best mode of restraining the devastations of their enemy, the cat.

The occupation of Ningpo was an eyesore to the Chinese generals, whose movements were easily learned through native spies, one of whom in particular, nicknamed Blondell by his employers, was conspicuous for his services in this respect, and the fearlessness he exhibited. The genius of the people was often illustrated in their contrivances to carry off plunder. Secreting valuable articles in coffins and ash-baskets, wrapping them around corpses, packing them under vegetables or rubbish, were a few

of the means taken to elude the sentries. One party overtook two persons near Ningpo, running off with a basket between them; on overtaking and recovering it, a well dressed lady was found coiled up, who, however, did not scream when detected. On another occasion, a female was found in a locker on board a junk near Chinhai, and as the captain was desirous of examining the mode of bandaging her feet, he told his men to lift the body out of the closet, when a scream explained the trick;- she was dismissed, and the money she had endeavored to hide put into her hands. Opium was found in boats and most of the official residences, showing how extensive its use had become; the sale of it received little check from the war, and no reference was made to it by either party.

Towards the end of the year 1841, information was received of the collection of a large force at Yūyau, about forty miles beyond Ningpo; and the general resolved to anticipate its movements. Two iron steamers soon landed seven hundred men there who took up a position for the night, intending to escalade the walls in the morning; but before the attack, the townspeople came out to say that their defenders had evacuated the place. The marines and seamen, who had just landed, took the circuit of the walls, and found the troops, about a thousand strong, drawn up in array; and the two, after exchanging their fire, almost immediately started on the run. The snow had fallen just enough to cover up the pathways, which enabled the Chinese to distance their pursuers, who were now and then bemired in a half-frozen rice field. The public stores were destroyed, and the town left to the care of its citizens, without much loss of life on either side. On his return, the general visited Tsz'kí, but it was found unoccupied, the troops and the authorities both having fled. The rice found in the granaries having been distributed to the townsmen, the detachment returned to Ningpo, Dec. 31st, much refreshed by the expedition. In a week, preparation was made for a similar visit to Funghwa, where it was found, on arrival, that the authorities and troops had fled; so that to destroy the government stores, and distribute the rice in the granaries to the people, was all that remained to be done. These two expeditions so terrified the "majesty-bearing generalissimo," Yihking, and his colleagues, that they fled to Suchau, in Kiangsu, to assure themselves of safety. With such leaders, it is not strange

that the villagers near Ningpo wished to enrol themselves under British rule; and the effect of the moderation of the English troops was seen in the people giving them little or no molestation after the first alarm was over, and supplying their wants as far as possible.

The force had become settled in its quarters at Ningpo, after returning from Funghwa, when the Chinese opened the campaign, March 10th, by a well-concerted night attack on the city. During the preceding day, many troops entered the city in citizen's clothes, and stationed themselves near the gates; and about three o'clock in the morning, the western and southern gates were attacked and driven in. Colonel Morris ordered a party to retake the south gate, which was soon done, with considerable loss to the enemy; for the moment the Chinese were opposed, their main object was forgotten, and every man sought his own safety, thereby exposing himself more fully to destruction. On the approach of daylight, the garrison assembled at the western gate, where the main attack had been made with more than usual vigor, and two or three howitzers taken through the gate, when the main force of the enemy was met approaching in a compact form along the street, headed by an officer on horseback. The volleys of musketry and chain-shot poured into this dense mass, mowed them down so that the street was choked with dead bodies, and the horse of the leader actually covered with corpses, from which he was seen vainly endeavoring to release himself. Those who escaped the fire in front were attacked in rear, and at last every man fled as he best could into the open country, the English following in hot pursuit. About 600 were killed, and the whole force of 5000 completely scattered by less than two hundred Europeans, with the loss of one man killed and six wounded.

The general and admiral then prepared to attack an intrenched camp of 8000 troops near Tsz'kí, and about twelve hundred were embarked in the steamers. The Chinese had chosen their ground well, on the acclivity of two hills behind the town, and in order to confound and disperse them completely, the attacking force was divided so as to fall upon them on three sides simultaneously, which was done with great slaughter. The Chinese did not run until they began to close in with their opponents, when they soon found that their intimidating gesticulations and cheers, their tiger-faced shields and two-sided swords, were of no avail in terrifying

the barbarians, or resisting their pistols, bayonets, and furious onset. In these cases, emulation among the different parties of English troops to distinguish themselves, occasionally degenerated into unmanly slaughter of their flying enemy, who were looked upon rather as good game than fellow-men, and pursued in some cases several miles. Most of the Chinese troops in this engagement, and the attack on Ningpo, were from the western provinces, and superior in size and bodily strength to those hitherto met; they had no intention of sparing their foes themselves, and consequently were not easily persuaded to surrender. They had been encouraged to attack Ningpo by a bounty to each man of four or five dollars; and pieces of sycee were found on the bodies of the slain at Tsz'kí. The match-fires carried in the belt frequently ignited the cotton clothes of the dead and wounded, producing most revolting spectacles of half-burned bodies. The loss of the Chinese was not far from a thousand slain on the field, many by their own act, besides the wounded they were seen carrying off: the English casualties were six killed and thirty-seven wounded.

The conquerors remained over night in the Chinese camp, and set fire to it in the morning, consuming all the houses used as arsenals, with arms and ammunition of every kind found around it. The force then proceeded to the Changkí pass, a defile in the mountains, where Sir Hugh heard several thousand troops were strongly intrenched, but the imperialists had abandoned their camp, leaving only "a considerable quantity of good bread," which was properly disposed of; and, after setting fire to the works and adjacent buildings, he returned to Tsz'kí. In his dispatch, he speaks of the forbearance shown by his men, during their march, towards the inhabitants; and efforts were taken by the English, throughout the war, to spare the people, and respect their property. The pawnbrokers' shops and government granaries at Tsz'kí, were plundered or given to the populace, which also seized much private property in the town. The English returned on the 17th, having dispersed that part of the Grand Army chiefly depended on by the emperor and his "majesty-bearing generalissimo," to annihilate the rebels. The fugitives spread such dismay among their comrades near Hangchau, that the troops began to desert, and exhibit symptoms of disbanding altogether, which was increased by the dissatisfaction of the

people at being obliged to support their unsuccessful defenders, as well as submit to their tyrannous exactions.

A move on Hangchau fu was now contemplated, but reinforcements for both arms arrived during the months of April and May, and the plan of operations for the campaign was changed. The Chinese near Ningpo and Chinhai had so much confidence in the English, and were moreover so much profited by their presence, that no disturbances took place between the two. The rewards offered by the Chinese generals for prisoners, induced the people to lay in wait for stragglers, and several soldiers were taken to Hangchau. One of them, sergeant Campbell, was seized near Tinghai, and put into a bag to be carried to the coast, where he was shipped in a junk, and landed at Chapu, before he was relieved of his hood. One of his ears was cut off with a pair of scissors, but after reaching Hangchau he was well treated. His prison was on an eminence outside of the city, and during his captivity there of two months and a half, he was often questioned by the Chinese officers as to the movements, forces, and arms of his countrymen, and received a high idea of their intelligence from the character of their inquiries. He and his fellow-prisoners, most of whom were Indians, were liberated by Ilipu.

Ningpo was evacuated, May 7th, and all the troops which could be spared from Amoy, Chinhai, and Tinghai, joined the force, then about to move on Chapu. The entire strength with Sir Hugh Gough, consisted of parts of four English regiments, viz., the 18th, 26th, 49th, and 55th, and a few Indian troops, in all about 2,200 men, exclusive of a naval brigade of 250 men; the fleet comprised seven ships of war and four steamers, with troop ships and transports. On the 17th, the whole anchored in the harbor of Chapu, a strongly fortified city, about forty miles above Chinhai, and a place of considerable trade. About 6,300 Chinese troops and 1700 Manchus were posted here in forts and intrenched camps along the beach and adjacent heights. The English landed in three columns, as usual without opposition, and had turned the orderly arranged army and garrisons of their opponents into a mass of fugitives, throwing away their arms and uniforms, and flying in every direction, when 300 Manchus, seeing their retreat cut off, retired into an inclosed temple. The entrance to this building was both narrow and dark, and every one who attempted to enter it was either killed or wounded, one of

whom was lieut.-colonel Tomlinson, which highly exasperated the party sent against it, unused as all were to any serious resistance. At length, a part of the wall was blown in, which exposed the inmates to the rifles of their foes, and a rocket or two set the building on fire, by which they were driven from their position in the upper part of it to the rooms below; when resistance ceased, out of the whole number only fifty were taken prisoners, who were tied together by their cues and marched off, the others having been burned to death or suffocated. The discomfited troops were pursued as far as practicable, but a Chinese soldier can easily slip off his uniform jacket, and mix himself with a crowd, and thus elude pursuit. The total loss of the invaders was 13 killed and 52 wounded.

The defences of Chapu being carried, and their troops entirely dispersed with the loss of about 1500 slain, the English moved on to the city, and took possession of it. A powder manufactory and several arsenals full of ammunition were destroyed, and speedily pillaged by the mob. This was the first time the Manchus had come in contact with the English; and either fearing that indiscriminate slaughter would ensue on defeat, as it would if *they* had been the victors, or else unable to brook their disgrace, they destroyed themselves in great numbers, first immolating their wives and children, and then cutting their own throats. Scores of bodies were found in their quarters, some not entirely dead; others were prevented from self-destruction, and in many instances, young children were found attending upon their aged or infirm parents, awaiting in dread suspense the visit of the conquerors, from whom they expected little less than instant destruction. Ten or twelve new brass cannon, a few ponies, and a supply of provisions, were the proceeds of the capture of Chapu and its fortifications. The English surgeons endeavored to bind up the wounds of such Chinese as fell in their way, and these attentions had a good effect upon the high Chinese officers, Ilípu himself, lately appointed to the command of Chapu, sending a letter to the general and admiral, in which he thanked them for their kindness in giving the hungry rice to eat, and caring for the wounded. The old man endeavored to requite it by making the condition of his prisoners as easy as he could; and paid them money on their release. The English generals having destroyed all the government stores, ammunition, guns, and batteries, at

Chapu, re-embarked; the prisoners were released with a small present, and on their return to Hangchau fu, loudly proclaimed their praises of the foreigners.

The expedition proceeded northward to the mouth of the Yangtsz' kiang, and reached the embouchure of the Wusung on the 13th of June, piloted by the iron steamers, whose small draft of water enabled them to search and sound every creek and shallow. The ships took their allotted positions in the Wusung river, June 16th, before the well-built stone batteries which defended the entrance to both rivers, and extended full three miles along the western banks of the river. One of them inclosed the town of Paushan and mounted 134 guns; a few forts, and another line of sea wall on the opposite side, mounted some large pieces, making altogether 175 guns, 42 of which were brass. These defences were manned by a well selected force, under the command of Chin Hwaching, and the Chinese had encouraged themselves with the delusive hope that they would prevent the expedition reaching Shanghai. The ships had scarcely taken their stations when the batteries opened, and both sides kept up a cannonading for about two hours, the Chinese working their guns with more skill and effect than had been before seen. When the marines landed and entered sword in hand, they bravely measured weapons with them, and died at their posts. The war junks opened their fire upon the steamers, but the crews soon sought safety in flight. Among them were several new wheel-boats, constructed in imitation of steamers, having two wooden paddle-wheels turned by a capstan, which interlocked its cogs into those upon the shaft, and was worked by men on the gun-deck. These were paddling out of danger, when the steamers overtook and silenced them. The number of Chinese killed was about 100, and there were not less than five thousand men composing the garrison and army. The governor Niu Kien, who was present, in reporting the loss of the forts and dispersion of the troops, says he braved the hottest of the fight, "where cannon-balls innumerable, flying in awful confusion through the expanse of heaven, fell before, behind, and on either side of him; while in the distance he saw the ships of the rebels standing erect, lofty as the mountains. The fierce daring of the rebels was inconceivable; officers and men fell at their posts. Every effort to resist and check the onset was in vain, and a retreat became inevitable."

Among the killed was General Chin, who had taken unwearied pains to drill his troops, appoint them their places, and inspirit them with his own courageous self-devotion. In a memoir written after his death, it is said that on the morning of the attack, "he arrayed himself in his robes of state, and having prayed to heaven and earth, ordered all his officers and soldiers to get their arms and ammunition ready." The governor-general, Niu Kien, was posted in the rear of the batteries, but his conduct was not such as to cheer them on, and most of the officers "came forward and begged to retire," when they saw the dilapidated state of the batteries. Chin's second suggested the propriety of their retreat when the marines entered the battery, but he drew his sword upon him, saying, "My confidence in you has been misplaced." He then inspirited his men to the attack, himself loading and firing the ginjals. He fell pierced with wounds on the walls of the fort, bowing his head as he died in the direction of the emperor's palace. His majesty paid high honors to this brave man, by erecting shrines to him in his native village and at the place where he fell; in the *Ching-hwang miau* at Shanghai, there is a sitting image of him in his robes of state, before which incense is burned. A reward of a thousand taels was given his family, and his son was made a *kŭ-jin* by special patent. In this notice, it is stated as a current rumor in Shanghai, that about a fortnight after his death, Chin sent down the news through the divining altar at Sungkiang fu that he had been promoted by the supreme Ruler of heaven to the rank of second general in chief of the Board of Thunder, so that, although he could not while alive, repay the imperial favor by exterminating the rebels, he could still afford some aid to his country.

The stores, camps, ammunition, and guns at the mouth of the river were all destroyed, except the brass pieces. There was one Spanish gun of old date, and one Chinese piece more than three centuries old, both of them of singular shape, the latter being like a small mouthed jar. The steamers moved up the river the next day to reconnoitre, and the ships took two forts, when the troops landed on the 19th, and proceeded to Shanghai, twelve miles by land. After the capture of Wusung, Mr. Gützlaff, who accompanied the admiral as interpreter, endeavored to reassure the people, and induce them to stay in their dwellings; he was also successfully employed in procuring provisions for the expe-

dition. The ships as they neared the city, silenced two small batteries with a single broadside, and the English troops, 2000 in number, entered the city without resistance. The good effects of previous kindness shown the people in respecting their property were here seen. Captain Loch says, that on the march along the banks, he passed through two villages, where the shops were open with their owners in them, and that groups of people were assembled on the right and left to see them pass. The troops occupied the arsenals, the pawnbrokers' shops, and the temples, destroying all the government stores, and distributing the rice in the granaries among the people. The total number of cannon taken, was 388, of which 76 were of brass; some of the latter were named "tamer and subduer of the barbarians;" others, "the robbers' judgment," and one piece 12 feet long, was called the "Barbarian." The citizens voluntarily came forward to supply provisions, and stated that there had been a serious affray in the city a few days before between them and their officers, who wished to levy a subsidy for the defence of the city, which even then they were on the point of abandoning. The boats before the walls were crowded with inhabitants flying with their property, many of whom returned in a few days. The admiral proceeded up the Wusung, nearly 50 miles beyond Shanghai, but having entered a wrong channel he could not reach Suchau.

The troops retired from Shanghai, June 23d, leaving it less injured than any city yet taken, owing chiefly to the efforts made by the people themselves to protect their property. The eight hundred junks and upwards, lying off the town, were unharmed, but their owners no doubt were made to contribute towards the $300,000 exacted as a ransom. Sir Henry Pottinger rejoined the expedition on the twenty-second, accompanied by Lord Saltoun, with large reinforcements for both arms, and immediate preparations were made for proceeding up the Yangtsz' kiang, to interrupt the communication by the Grand canal across that river at Chinkiang fu. The Chinese officers, unable to read any European language, learned the designs of their enemy chiefly by rumors, which natives in the employ of the English brought them, and consequently not unfrequently misled his majesty unwittingly, in mentioning the wrong places likely to be attacked, but wilfully as to their numbers and conduct in the hour of victory. The fall of Shanghai, and the probable march upon Sungkiang

and Suchau, greatly alarmed him, and he now began to think the rebels really intended to proceed up to Nanking and the Grand Canal, which he had been assured was not their purpose.

He accordingly concentrated his troops at Chinkiang fu and Nanking, Tientsin, and Suchau, four places which he feared were in danger, and associated Kíying and Ílípu, as commissioners with the governor-general, Niu Kien, to superintend civil affairs; the military matters were still left under the management of the imbecile Yihking. Only a few places on the Yangtsz' kiang offered eligible positions for forts, and Niu Kien declined to stake the river at Chinkiang, lest it should alarm the inhabitants. Fire-rafts and boats were, however, ordered for the defence of that city, as soon as the enemy's intentions were evident, and reinforcements of troops collected there and at Nanking, some of whom were encamped without the city, and part incorporated with the garrison. The tone of the documents which fell into the hands of the English showed the anxiety felt at court regarding the result of this movement up the river. One of the members of the Inner Council, Wang Ting, who had always been a strenuous advocate for war, died about this time, and at Canton it was rumored that he perished by his own hand, because he could not carry some of his favorite plans.

Just before leaving Wusung, the British plenipotentiary published and circulated a manifesto for "the information of the people of the country." In this paper, he recapitulates, in much the same manner as Captain Elliot had done, the grievances the English had suffered at Canton, from the spoliations, insults, and imprisonment, inflicted upon them by Lin in order to extort opium, which was given up by the English superintendent to rescue himself and his countrymen from death. The duplicity of the Chinese government, in sending down Kíshen as a commissioner to Canton to arrange matters, and then, while he was negotiating, to break off the treaty, and treacherously resort to war, was another "grand instance of offence against England." The bad treatment of kidnapped prisoners, the mendacious reports of victories gained over the English, which misled the emperor and retarded the settlement of the war, was another cause of offence. The restriction of the trade to Canton, establishment of the monopoly of the hong-merchants, the oppressive and unjust exactions imposed upon it through their scheming, and many other minor

grievances which need not be enumerated, formed the last count in this indictment. Three things must be granted before peace can be made; viz. the cession of an island for commerce, and the residence of merchants; compensation for losses and expenses; and allowing a friendly and becoming intercourse between the officers of the two countries on terms of equality. This proclamation, however, makes no mention of the real cause of the war, the opium trade, and in that respect was not altogether an ingenuous, fair statement of the whole question. While Sir Henry Pottinger knew that the use of this drug was one of the greatest evils which afflicted the people, he should have, in a document of this nature, left no room for the supposition, on the part of either ruler or subject, that the war was undertaken to uphold and countenance the opium trade. He could not have been ignorant that the emperor and his ministers supposed the unequal contest they were waging was caused by their unsuccessful efforts to suppress the traffic; and that if they were defeated, the opium trade must go on unchecked. The question of supremacy was set at rest in this proclamation; it must be given up; but no encouragement was held out to reassure the Chinese government in their lawful desire to restrain the tremendous scourge. Why should he? If he encouraged any action against the trade, he could expect little promotion or reward from his superiors, who looked to it for all the *revenue* it could be made to bring; or consideration from the merchants, who would not thank him for telling the Chinese, they might attack the opium clippers wherever they found them, and seize all the opium they could, and English power would not interfere.

The emperor issued a proclamation about the same time, recapitulating his conduct, and efforts to put a stop to the war, stating what he had done to ward off calamity, and repress the rebels. The opium trade, and his efforts for a long time to repress it, and especially the measures of Lin, are in this paper regarded as the causes of the war, which concludes by expressing his regret for the sufferings and losses occasioned his subjects by the attacks of the English at Amoy, Chusan, Ningpo, and elsewhere, and exhorting them to renewed efforts. It is a matter of lasting regret, that the impression should have been left to remain upon the minds of the Chinese authorities, that the war was an opium war, and waged chiefly to uphold it. But nations, like individuals, must

usually trust to might more than right to maintain their standing; and when conscious weakness leads them to adopt underhand measures to regain their rights, the temptation which led to these acts is rarely thought of in the day of retribution. The demands of England were not exacting, but she should, and could at this time, in an effectual manner, through her plenipotentiary, have cleared herself from all sanction of this traffic. If Lord Melbourne could wish it were a less objectionable traffic, Sir Henry Pottinger might surely have intimated in as public a manner his regret at its existence.

The number of ships, steamers, transports, and all, in the Expedition, when it left Wusung, July 6th, was seventy-two, most of them large vessels. They were arranged in five divisions, with an advanced squadron of five small steamers and tenders, to survey the river, each division having a frigate, or seventy-four, at its head. The world has seldom seen a more conspicuous instance of the superiority of a small body, possessing science, skill, and discipline, over immense multitudes of undisciplined, ignorant, and distrustful soldiers, than was exhibited in this bold manœuvre. Not to speak alone of the great disparity in numbers, the distant quarters of the globe whence the ships were collected, the many languages and tribes found in the invading force, the magnitude of their ships, abundance of their supplies, and superiority of their weapons of war, the moral energy and confidence of power in this small troop, over its ineffective adversary, was not less conspicuous. The sight of such a fleet, sailing up their great river, struck the inhabitants with mingled astonishment and dread.

A small fort near Tungshu was destroyed by a party, accompanied by Mr. Gutzlaff, the garrison making no defence. At Sïshan, two new batteries had been hastily constructed in a well chosen position, which opened their fire upon the advanced squadron, but they were silenced, taken, and destroyed, with all the stores and ammunition found in them, in a very short time. The fleet reached Chinkiang fu, and the vicinity of the Grand Canal, July 20th, its passage having been delayed by adverse winds, and the rapidity of the current near Silver Island. A survey of the ground was taken on the preceding days, by the heads of the expedition, preparatory to the attack.

Chinkiang fu, i. e. Mart-river city, lies half a mile from the southern bank of the Yangtsz' kiang, eligibly situated for trade

and surrounded by a high and solid wall four miles in circuit, and having hills of considerable elevation in its rear. The canal comes in from the south, close to the walls on its western side, and along the shores of both river and canal are extensive suburbs—at this time completely under the command of the guns of the ships, which could also bombard the city itself from some positions. A bluff hill on the north partly concealed the town itself from the ships, and it was not till this hill-top had been gained, that a full view of the three Chinese encampments behind the city were had. The general divided his small force of seven thousand men into three brigades, under the command of major-generals Lord Saltoun, Schoedde, and Bartley, besides an artillery brigade of five hundred and seventy rank and file, under lieutenant-colonel Montgomerie. The Chinese encampments contained more than three thousand men, most of them soldiers from Hupeh and Chehkiang provinces. The force within the city consisted of 1200 regular troops belonging to the Manchu garrison, and 800 Mongols sent from Koko-nor, together with 835 Chinese troops, making altogether from 2600 to 2800 fighting men; the entire force was under the command of Hailing, who had made such a disposition of his troops, and strengthened his means of defence as well as the time allowed, but was unable to accomplish all that he wished: he closes his last communication to the emperor with the assurance, that "he can do no otherwise than exert his whole heart and strength in endeavors to repay a small fraction of the favors he has enjoyed from his government."

The right brigade under Lord Saltoun soon drove the imperialists out of their camp, who did not wait for his near approach, but broke and dispersed after firing three or four distant volleys from their jingals and matchlocks; the camp and its stores were burned, and the enemy allowed to escape, as the country was wooded and the day too hot to pursue them far. Capt. Loch, who accompanied the general as an aide, says that while the party of volunteers were approaching the camp, they passed through a small hamlet on the hills; "the village had not been deserted; some of the houses were closed, while the inhabitants of others were standing in the streets staring at us in stupid wonder; and although they were viewing a contest between foreigners and their fellow-countrymen, and in danger themselves of being shot, were coolly eating their meals."

The centre brigade under major-general Schoedde landed on the northern corner of the city to escalade the walls on that side, and prevent the troops from the camp entering the gates. He was received by a well sustained fire, his men placing their ladders and mounting in the face of a determined resistance; as soon as they gained the parapet, they drove the Tartars before them, though their passage was bravely disputed. While they were mounting the walls, a fire was kept up on the city by another part of the same brigade stationed on the hills on the northern and eastern sides, and after clearing the ramparts, they proceeded to the western gate, conquering all opposition in the northern part of the city, and driving the Tartars to the southern quarter.

The left brigade under major-general Bartley did not reach the western side of the city as soon as was expected; being delayed by the canal, here between seventy and eighty feet broad, which formed a deep ditch on this side. Preparations were soon made to blow the western gate in, which was done with great skill and precision, the blast carrying before it a high pile of sand-bags, piled on the inside to strengthen the bars. While this work was going on, seven boats from the Blonde carrying artillerymen entered the canal to proceed up to the gate, but when nearly opposite were repulsed by a severe fire from the walls, and the men compelled to abandon the three leading ones, and take refuge in the houses along the banks; the other boats, seeing the danger, halted under cover of some houses, until their comrades rejoined them, when all returned to the ship. Two hundred marines were instantly landed, and with three hundred sipahis soon recovered the boats, and carried the wounded men aboard ship. The party then planted their ladders in the face of a spirited fire from the walls, and succeeded in carrying them against all opposition, and burning a guardhouse on the ramparts.

All resistance at the three gateways having been overcome, it was supposed that the city was pretty much subdued, but the Tartars, now driven into the southern part of it, still held out. The heat was so great, that Sir Hugh ordered a halt for his men, and dispatched a small force to proceed along the western ramparts to occupy the southern gate. This body had proceeded about half a mile, when it encountered a sudden resistance from a body of 800 or 1000 Tartars drawn up in an open space, in

military array, headed by an officer on horseback. They fired with steadiness and regularity, but their bravery was of no avail, for the party, giving them one volley, charged down the bank and scattered them immediately, though not without some resistance. The firing brought up the general, who resolved to sweep the city from house to house before quitting it; the southern gate was occupied without further opposition, and all systematic resistance ceased. The dispersed Tartars, however, kept up a scattering fire along the streets and from the houses, which served chiefly to irritate their enemies and increase their own loss.

The heat of the day having passed, the commander-in-chief, guided by Mr. Gutzlaff and some Chinese, marched with two regiments into the southern quarter of the city. The scenes of desolation and woe, which he met in this march, seem to have sickened the greyhaired warrior, for he says in his dispatches, "finding dead bodies of Tartars in every house we entered, principally women and children, thrown into wells or otherwise murdered by their own people, I was glad to withdraw the troops from this frightful scene of destruction, and place them in the northern quarter." It was indeed a terrific scene. Capt. Loch, who accompanied Sir Hugh, says they went to a large building, thought to be the prefect's house, which was forced open and found entirely deserted, though completely furnished and of great extent; "we set fire to it, and marched on." What the object or advantage of this act was he does not say. Leaving the general, he turned down a street and burst open the door of a large mansion; the objects which met his view were shocking.

"After we had forced our way over piles of furniture placed to barricade the door, we entered an open court strewed with rich stuffs and covered with clotted blood; and upon the steps leading to the hall of ancestors, there were two bodies of youthful Tartars, cold and stiff, who seemed to be brothers. Having gained the threshold of their abode, they had died where they had fallen from loss of blood. Stepping over these bodies we entered the hall, and met face to face, three women seated, a mother and two daughters, and at their feet lay two bodies of elderly men, with their throats cut from ear to ear, their senseless heads resting upon the feet of their relations. To the right were two young girls, beautiful and delicate, crouching over and endeavoring to conceal a living soldier. In the heat of action, when the blood is up and the struggle is for life between man and man, the anguish of the wounded and the sight of misery and pain is unheeded: humanity is partially

obscured by danger: but when excitement subsides with victory, a heart would be hardly human that could feel unaffected by the retrospection. And the hardest heart of the oldest man who ever lived a life of rapine and slaughter, could not have gazed on this scene of woe unmoved. I stopped, horror-stricken at what I saw. The expression of cold unutterable despair depicted on the mother's face changed to the violent workings of scorn and hate, which at last burst forth in a paroxysm of invective, afterwards in floods of tears, which apparently, if anything could, relieved her. She came close to me and seized me by the arm, and with clenched teeth and deadly frown, pointed to the bodies, to her daughters, to her yet splendid house, and to herself; then stepped back a pace and with firmly closed hands and in a husky voice, I could see by her gestures spoke of her misery, her hate, and, I doubt not, her revenge. I attempted by signs to explain, offered her my services, but was spurned. I endeavored to make her comprehend that, however great her present misery, it might be in her unprotected state a hundredfold increased; that if she would place herself under my guidance, I would pass her through the city gates in safety into the open country; but the poor woman would not listen to me, and the whole family was by this time in loud lamentation. All that remained for me to do was to prevent the soldiers bayoneting the man, who, since our entrance, had attempted to escape."

The destruction of life was frightful. Some of the Manchus shut the doors of their houses, while through the crevices persons could be seen deliberately cutting the throats of their women, and destroying their children by throwing them into wells. In one house, a man was shot while sawing his wife's throat as he held her over a well, into which he had already thrown his children; her wound was sewed up, and the lives of the children saved. In another house, no less than fourteen dead bodies, principally women, were discovered; while such was their terror and hatred of the invaders, that every Manchu preferred resistance, death, suicide, or flight, to surrender. Out of a Manchu population of four thousand, it was estimated that not more than five hundred survived, the greater part having perished by their own hands.

The public offices were ransacked, and all arms and warlike stores destroyed; only $60,000 in sycee were found in the treasury, and the additions to the prize fund were not great. The populace began to pillage the city and suburbs, and in one instance, fearing a stop might be put to their rapacity, they set fire to the buildings at each end of a street in order to plunder a pawnbroker's shop without interference. The streets and lanes both in and out of the walls were strewed with silken fur, and other rich dresses

which these robbers had thrown away when they saw something more valuable, and the sipahis and camp-followers belonging to the army took what they could find. It was no mercy to the real owners to prevent them, and parties were accordingly stationed at the gates to take everything from the natives as they went out, or which they threw over the walls, and in this way the thieves were in their turn stripped. Within twenty-four hours after the troops landed, the city and suburbs of Chinkiang fu were a mass of ruin and complete destruction; part of the eastern wall was subsequently blown in, and all the gates dismantled to prevent any treachery. The total loss of the English was thirty-seven killed and one hundred and thirty-one wounded. The chiefs of the expedition left general Schoedde's brigade on the hills with a few ships near by, and moved up the river to Nanking, the channel having been carefully examined by the blockading vessels placed along each bank at intervals to interrupt the trade of both the river and canal, and detain the junks.

A curious contrast to the terrible scenes going on at Chinkiang fu, was seen at Íching hien on the northern side of the river. Four days before, the approach of the steamer Nemesis had caused no little consternation; and in the evening a Chinese gentleman came off to her with a few presents to learn if there was any intention of attacking it. He was told that if he would send supplies of meat and provisions to the vessel no harm would be done, and all he brought should be paid for. In the morning, he and others returned with provisions, and remained on board to see the steamer chase junks and bring them to; being much amazed at these novel operations, which gave them a new idea of the energy of their invaders. In the evening, commands were given him to bring provisions in larger quantities to the ships stationed there, and three boats went up to the town by a branch of the canal to procure them. The people showed no hostility, and through his assistance the English opened a market in the court-yard of a temple near the canal, at which abundant supplies were purchased. They were put aboard small junks, and conveyed to the fleet. On the 21st, the same person came according to agreement to accompany a large party of English from the ships to his house, where he had prepared an entertainment for them. Through the medium of a Chinese boy, communication was easily carried on, and the alarms of the townspeople

quieted; a proclamation was also issued, stating that every peaceable person would be unharmed. This gentleman had invited a large company of his male relatives and friends, and served up a collation for the assembled guests; all this time the firing was heard from Chinkiang fu, where the countrymen of those so agreeably occupied were engaged in hostile encounter. On returning to their boats an additional mark of respect was shown them by placing a well dressed man each side of every officer to fan him as he walked. At the market-temple, another entertainment was also served up. No injury was done to this town, and the forbearance of the English was not without good effect.

Some of the large ships were towed up to Nanking, and the whole fleet reached it August 9th, at which time the heads of the expedition had already made preparation for the assault; but desirous of avoiding a repetition of the sad scenes of Chinkiang fu, had also sent a communication to Niu Kien, stating that they would ransom the city for three millions of dollars. It was thought advisable, however, to make a demonstration; and the ships of war were placed in position to bombard the suburbs, while the troops were detailed for their respective services, and some of them landed.

This celebrated city lies about three miles south of the river, but the north-east corner of an outer wall reaches within 700 paces of the water; the western face runs along the base of wooded hills for part of its distance, and is then continued through flat grounds around the southern side, both being defended by a deep ditch. The suburbs are on this low ground. The eastern part of the city is irregular and less thickly settled, entered by three gates to be reached by well paved causeways. Sir Hugh intended to bombard the suburbs, and make an entrance on the eastern side, while diversions at other points perplexed the garrison. His force consisted of only 4,500 effective men; there were, as near as could be learned, 6,000 Manchu and 9,000 Chinese troops within the city. On the 11th, Lord Saltoun's brigade landed at a village, from whence a paved road led to one of the eastern gates, and other detachments were stationed in the neighborhood, while their advance upon the city was covered by the artillery on the Chungshan range, the base of which commanded the ramparts. Everything was in readiness for the assault by daylight of the 15th of August, and the governor-gene-

ral was told that it would assuredly be made unless the commissioners produced their authority for treating.

In the interval between the downfall of Chinkiang fu and investment of Nanking, several communications were received from the Chinese officers, and one from Kíying, couched in the most conciliatory language, and evincing a great desire for peace. Sir Henry Pottinger replied to this in the same strain, deploring the war and calamities caused by its progress and continuance, but stating that he could have no interview with any individual, however exalted, who was not properly commissioned to treat for peace. It is probable that the emperor did not receive any suggestion from his ministers in regard to making peace until after the fall of Chinkiang, and it was a matter of some importance, therefore, for Ílípu and his colleague to delay the attack on Nanking until an answer could be received from the capital. The usual doubts in the minds of the English as to their sincerity led them to look upon the whole as a scheme to perfect the defences, and gain time for the people to retire; consequently, the preparations slowly went on for taking the city, in order to deepen the conviction that if one party was practising any deception, the other certainly was in earnest.

On the night of the 14th, scarcely three hours before the artillery was to open upon the ancient capital of China, Ílípu, Kíying, and Niu Kien, addressed a joint letter to Sir Henry Pottinger requesting an interview in the morning, when they would produce their credentials, and arrange for further proceedings. This request was granted with some reluctance, for the day before, the *puching sz'* and Tartar commandant had behaved very unsatisfactorily, refusing to exhibit the credentials, or discuss the terms of peace or ransom. The distress ensuent upon the blockade was becoming greater and greater; more then seven hundred vessels had been stopped at Chinkiang coming from the south, and a large fleet lay in the northern branch of the canal, so that no slight probability existed of the whole province falling into anarchy if the pressure was not removed. The authorities of the city of Yangchau on the canal, had already sent half a million dollars as the ransom of that place, while governor Niu would only offer a third of a million to ransom the capital.

The emperor's authority to treat with the English was, however, exhibited at this meeting, and in return Sir Henry's was

fully explained to them. The delegates on the part of the commissioners were Hwang Ngăntung, secretary to Kiying, and Chin, the Manchu commandant, while Major Malcom, secretary of legation, and Mr. Morrison, acted on the part of the plenipotentiary. Captain Loch, who was present at this meeting, humorously describes the solemn manner in which the emperor's commission was brought out from the box in which it was deposited, and the dismay of the lower attendants at seeing the barbarians irreverently handle it, and examine its authenticity with so little awe. The skeleton of the treaty was immediately drafted for Hwang to take to his superiors. General Chin laughingly remarked, that though the conditions were hard, they were no more so than would have been demanded by them if they had been the victors, and referred to the ships and steamers of the English as their glory and stronghold. The bearing of these officers in their present humiliating position was courteous, and Hwang especially, found favor with all who were thrown into his company. Another meeting was appointed for the 16th, to arrange the articles of the treaty, and the company separated.

The utmost care being requisite in drawing up the articles, most of the work falling upon Mr. Morrison, it was not till late at night on the 17th that the final draft was sent to the Chinese. The plenipotentiary announced the progress of negotiation, on the 18th, and desired the general and admiral to suspend hostilities, at which time arrangements were also made for an interview the next day between the Chinese and English plenipotentiaries on board the Cornwallis. The English officers in the meantime amused themselves in exploring the vicinity of the city, and the demand for provisions of all kinds to supply the force, caused a brisk trade highly beneficial to the Chinese, and well calculated to please them.

On the 19th, Kíying, Ílípu, and Niu Kien, accompanied by Hwang, Chin, and a large suite, paid their first visit to the English. The steamer Medusa brought them alongside the Cornwallis, and Sir Henry Pottinger, supported by the admiral and general, received them on the quarter-deck. The ship was dressed with flags, and the crowd of gaily dressed officers in blue and scarlet contrasted well with the bright crapes and robes of the Chinese. This visit was one of mere ceremony, and after partaking of refreshments and examining the ship in all its parts, the

commissioners retired, expressing their gratification at what they saw. They conducted themselves with decorum in their nove position, and no one, unacquainted with the circumstances, would have thought that it was the first time they had met foreigners. Kíying and Ílípu, though both brought up in the full persuasion of the supremacy of their sovereign over the rulers of all other nations, and particularly over the English, yet manifested no ill-concealed chagrin. They had previously sent up a report of the progress of the expedition after the capture of Chinkiang fu, requesting in it that the demands of the invaders might be conceded; in this memorial the inefficiency of their troops is acknowledged, and a candid statement of the impossibility of effectually resisting any longer, laid before his majesty with cogent reasons for acceding to the demands of the English, as the easiest and cheapest course of procedure. The further disasters which will ensue if the war is not brought to a close are hinted at, and the concession of the points at issue considered in a manner least humbling to imperial vanity. The sum of twenty-one million dollars to be paid is regarded by them as a present to the soldiers and sailors before sending them home; partly as the liquidation of just debts due from the hong-merchants, whose insolvency made them chargeable to the government; and partly as indemnification for the opium. Trade at the five ports was to be allowed, because the foreigners had already seized four of them, and held other places, and this was the only way to induce them to withdraw, while Hongkong could be ceded inasmuch as they had already built houses there. The memorial is a curious effort to render the bitter pill more palatable to themselves and their master.

The English plenipotentiary, accompanied by the commanders-in-chief, and a large concourse of officers, returned the visit on shore in a few days, and were met at the entrance of a temple by the commissioners, who led them through a guard of newly uniformed and unarmed soldiers into the building, the bands of both nations striking up their music at the same time. This visit passed off in compliments and courtesies, and continued the good understanding which prevailed; the room had been carpeted and gaily ornamented with lanterns and scrolls for the occasion, while it and the adjacent grounds accommodated a crowd of natives. A more important meeting for discussing the points of the treaty was held between the plenipotentiaries in the college hall

on the 26th. Sir Henry Pottinger and his suite, consisting of his secretary, Major Malcom, Messrs. Morrison, Thom, and Gutzlaff, the three interpreters, and three other gentlemen, proceeded up the canal about four miles in a barge to the landing-place, where they were met by a brigadier and two colonels; the banks of the canal were lined with troops. The party then took their horses, and, preceded by a mounted escort, were received at the city gate by the secretaries of Ílípu; the procession advanced to the place of meeting, guarded by a detachment of Manchu cavalry, whose shaggy ponies and flowing dresses presenting a singular contrast to the envoy's escort mounted on beautiful Arabs. He himself was conducted through the outer gate up the court, and through the second gateway ascending the steps into the third entrance, where he dismounted, and entered the building with the commissioners and governor-general. The room had been elegantly fitted up, and a crowd of official attendants dressed in their ceremonial robes stood around. Sir Henry occupied the chief seat between Kíying and Ílípu, their respective attendants being seated in proper order, with small tables between every two persons, while dinner was served up in the usual Chinese style.

These formalities being over, the articles of the treaties were discussed. 1. Lasting peace between the two empires. 2. The Chinese government to pay twenty-one millions of dollars by the end of 1845, twelve being for the expenses of the war, three for debts due the English merchants, and six for the opium. 3. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Fuhchau, Ningpo, and Shanghai, to be thrown open to British trade and residence, and trade conducted according to a well understood tariff. 4. The island of Hongkong to be ceded to the queen. 5. All British prisoners to be unconditionally released. 6. All Chinese in the service of the English to be pardoned and held guiltless. 7. Correspondence hereafter to be conducted on terms of perfect equality. 8. When the treaty receives the emperor's assent, and six millions of dollars are paid, the English forces shall withdraw from the river and the places now occupied, but Chusan and Kulang su to be retained till all provisions of the treaty are completed. These items had been already discussed by the Chinese, so that no serious objection was made to them; the importance of the points relating to commerce was also fully stated, and it was intimated that any delay or refusal to settle the tariff satisfactorily would

lead to a renewal of hostilities. When these matters were arranged, Sir Henry proposed to say a few words upon "the great cause that produced the disturbances which led to the war, viz. the trade in opium." When this was translated to them, Capt. Loch says they unanimously declined entering upon the subject, until they were assured that he had introduced it merely as a topic for private conversation.

"They then evinced much interest, and eagerly requested to know why we would not act fairly towards them by prohibiting the growth of the poppy in our dominions, and thus effectually stop a traffic so pernicious to the human race. This, he said, in consistency with our constitutional laws could not be done; and he added, that even if England chose to exercise so arbitrary a power over her tillers of the soil, it would not check the evil so far as the Chinese were concerned, while the cancer remained uneradicated among themselves, but that it would merely throw the market into other hands. It, in fact, he said, rests entirely with yourselves. If your people are virtuous, they will desist from the evil practice; and if your officers are incorruptible and obey your orders, no opium can enter your country. The discouragement of the growth of the poppy in our territories rests principally with you, for nearly the entire produce cultivated in India travels east to China; if, however, the habit has become a confirmed vice, and you feel that your power is at present inadequate to stay its indulgence, you may rest assured your people will procure the drug in spite of every enactment; would it not, therefore, be better at once to legalize its importation, and by thus securing the co-operation of the rich and of your authorities, from whom it would thus be no longer debarred, thereby greatly limit the facilities which now exist for smuggling? They owned the plausibility of the argument, but expressed themselves persuaded that their imperial master would never listen to a word upon the subject.

"To convince them that what he said was not introduced from any sinister wish to gain an end more advantageous for ourselves, he drew a rapid sketch of England's rise and progress, from a barbarous state to a degree of wealth and civilization unparalleled in the history of the world; which rapid rise was principally attributable to benign and liberal laws, aided by commerce, which conferred power and consequence. He then casually mentioned instances of governments having failed to attain their ends, by endeavoring to exclude any particular objects of popular desire; tobacco was one of those he alluded to, and now that it was legalized, not only did it produce a large revenue to the crown, but it was more moderately indulged in in Britain than elsewhere."—*Loch's Events*, p. 173.

To the wellwisher of his fellow-men, this narrative suggests many melancholy reflections. On the one hand, were four or five high Chinese officers, who, although pagans, and unacquainted with the principles of true virtue, had evidently sympathized with and upheld their sovereign in his fruitless misdirected endeavors to save his people from a vicious habit. "Why will you not act fairly towards us by prohibiting the growth of the poppy?"—is their anxious inquiry; for they knew that there was no moral principle among themselves strong enough to resist the pipe. "Your people must become virtuous, and your officers incorruptible, and then you can stop the opium coming into your borders,"—is the reply; just the same kind of reply, that the callous rumseller gives the broken-hearted wife of the besotted drunkard, when she beseeches him not to sell liquor to her enslaved husband. "Other people will bring it to you, if we should stop the cultivation of the poppy; if England chose to exercise so arbitrary a power over her tillers of the soil, it would not check the evil;" adds the envoy; "you cannot do better than legalize it." Although nations are somewhat different from individuals in respect to their power of resisting and suppressing a vice, and Sir Henry did right to speak of the legal difficulty in the way of restraining labor, yet how heartless was the excuse, that if we do not bring it to you others will. How favorable the opportunity then presented to the representative of Christendom to refer the representatives of civilized heathendom to the true source of the wealth and civilization of England—the Bible and the religion it inculcated—not to her commerce, or her benign and liberal laws, and assure them, that until they admitted that only safe guide and instructor in morals, all their endeavors to put down the use of opium, as well as other evils, would be ineffectual. Nor was any suggestion made to them, as to the most judicious mode of restraining what they were told they could not prohibit; no hint of the farming system, which would have held out to them a medium path between absolute freedom and prohibition, and probably been seriously considered by the court; nor was any frank explanation made as to the real position the English government itself held in respect to the forced growth of this pernicious article. How much nobler would that government have stood in the eyes of mankind in this war, if its head and ministers had instructed their plenipotentiary, that when their other demands were all paid and

conceded, no indemnity should have been asked for smuggled opium entirely destroyed by those who had, it may be, illegally, but with honest intention, seized it. That government and ministry, which had paid a hundred millions for the emancipation of slaves, could surely afford to release a pagan nation from such an imposed obligation, instead of sending their armies to exact a few millions, which the revenue of one year, derived from *this very article alone*, would amply discharge to their own subjects. For this pitiful sum, must the great moral lesson to the emperor of China and his subjects, which could have been taught them at this time, be lost; and might again overcome the immutable principles of right.

It may be that the full report of this conversation is not given, and Mr. Gutzlaff, who acted as the interpreter, might have suggested something of this kind, for the envoy himself was not likely to speak of it. His reference to tobacco was very unhappy, since it would be likely to leave the wrong impression upon the minds of the Chinese, that he thought opium was no worse than that narcotic, which they knew was not true.

Sir Henry inquired if an envoy would be received at Peking, if he should be sent from England, which Kiying assured him would no doubt be a gratification to his master, though what ideas the latter connected with such a suggestion must be inferred. The conference lasted three or four hours, and when the procession returned to the barges, through an immense crowd of people, nothing was heard from them to indicate dislike or dread; all was merged in overpowering curiosity. It was also remarkable, that this was the anniversary of the day when English subjects, among whom were the three interpreters here present, left Macao in 1839, by order of Lin; on the 26th August, 1840, the plenipotentiaries entered the Pei ho to seek an interview with Kishen; that day, the next year, Amoy and its extensive batteries fell; and now, the three years' game is won, and China is obliged to bend, her magnates come down from their eminences, and her wall of supremacy, isolation, and conceit, shattered beyond the possibility of restoration. Her rulers apparently submitted with good grace to the hard lesson, which seemed to be the only effectual means of compelling them to abandon their ridiculous pretensions; though it cannot be too often repeated that the effect of kindness, honorable dealing, and peaceful missions, had not

been fairly tried, and the war did do what those means would perhaps have done with less carnage.

Arrangements were made on the 29th, to sign the treaty on board the Cornwallis. Kíying and Niu Kien came in the admiral's barge, and Ílípu, who was very infirm and ill, arrived soon after in his own boat, and was lifted on board; Sir Henry, the admiral, and general, all went out to support him into the cabin, for he could not walk, and a couch was arranged for his accommodation. Four copies of the treaty were prepared in both languages, and Mr. Morrison, as the envoy's secretary, first sealed it with his seal, and then Wang, the treasurer of the province, sealed it with the seal of the imperial commissioners. The table was then drawn up for their superiors to sign it; Kíying, Ílípu, and the governor, put their names under their seals, and lastly Sir Henry wrote his name under his seal. After it was signed, all sat down to table, and the admiral, as the host in his flag-ship, gave the healths of their majesties, the Queen of England and the Emperor of China, which was announced to the fleet and army by a salute of twenty-one guns, and hoisting the Union Jack, and a yellow flag, at the main and mizen. The treaty was forwarded to Peking that evening, for the emperor's ratification, and the steamer Sesostris dispatched to Bombay the next day, by which communications were sent announcing the conclusion of the war. The embargo on the rivers and ports was taken off, the troops reëmbarked, and preparations made to return to Wusung. The six millions were paid without much delay, and on the 15th of September the emperor's ratification was received. The secretary of legation, Major Malcom, immediately left to obtain the Queen's ratification, going by steam the entire distance from Nanking to London.

The imperial assent was also published in a rescript, dated September 8th, addressed to Kíying, in reply to his account of the settlement of affairs, in which he gives directions for disbanding the troops, rebuilding such forts as had been destroyed, and cultivating peace, as well as providing for the fulfilment of the articles. It is, on the whole, a dignified approval of the treaty, and breathes nothing of a spirit of revenge, or intention to prepare for future resistance. The officers at Canton, Amoy, and elsewhere, on its receipt, republished it, and soon after dismissed the volunteers to their homes, and restored the garrisons to their

quarters. Preparations for rebuilding the Bogue forts were shortly after begun, and the injury done to the defences in other places was gradually repaired.

The fleet of ships and transports returned down the river, and reassembled at Tinghai, without losing a vessel, at the end of October. Even before leaving Nanking, and in the passage down the river, the troops and sailors, especially the Hindus, were greatly afflicted by cholera, fever, and other diseases, some of the transports being nearly disabled; the deaths amounted to more than a thousand before reaching Hongkong.

On reaching Amoy, the plenipotentiary was highly incensed, on hearing of the melancholy fate of the captive crews of the Nerbudda and Ann, wrecked on Formosa. The first was a transport, containing two hundred and seventy-four souls, and when she went ashore, all the Europeans on board made their way over to the main, abandoning two hundred and forty Hindus to their fate, most of whom fell into the hands of the Chinese. The Ann was an opium vessel, and her crew of fifty-seven souls were taken prisoners, and carried to Taiwan fu. The prisoners were divided into small parties, and had little communication with each other during their captivity, which was aggravated by want of food and clothing, filthy lodgings, and other hardships of a Chinese jail, so that many of the Indians died. The survivors, on the 13th of August, with the exception of ten persons, were carried out to a plain near the city, one of whom, Mr. Newman, a seacunnie on board the Ann, and the last in the procession, gave the following account.

"On being taken out of his sedan, to have his hands shackled behind his back, he saw two of the prisoners with their irons off, and refusing to have them put on. They had both been drinking, and were making a great noise, crying out to him that they were all to have their heads cut off. He advised them to submit quietly, but they still refusing, he first wrenched off his own, and then put them into theirs, to the great pleasure of the soldiers, but when the soldiers wished to replace his, he declined. As they were on the point of securing him, he accidentally saw the chief officer seated close to him. Going before him, he threw himself on his head, and commenced singing a few Chinese words which he had frequently heard repeated in a temple. The officer was so pleased with this procedure, that he turned round to the soldiers, and ordered them to carry him back to the city. All the rest, 197 in number, were placed at small distances from each other on their knees, their feet in irons, and

hands manacled behind their backs, thus waiting for the executioners, who went round, and with a kind of two-handed sword cut off their heads without being laid on a block. Afterwards, their bodies were thrown into one grave, and their heads stuck up in cages on the seashore."—*Ch Rep.*, Vol. XII., p. 248.

Three Chinese were executed a few days after, and the remainder kept to be sent to Peking as trophies, but were delivered up on the publication of the treaty. This slaughter was said to have been done by orders from court, grounded on a lying report of a severe contest in which several natives were killed, sent up by the Manchu commandant Tahungah, and his colleagues. When their sad fate was learned, Sir Henry Pottinger published two proclamations in Chinese, in which the principal facts were detailed, so that all might know the truth of the matter; and a demand made for the degradation and punishment of the lying officers who had superintended it, and the confiscation of their property for the use of the families of the sufferers. Íliang, the governor-general, expressed his sincere regret to the English envoy at what had transpired, and examined into the facts himself, which led to the degradation and banishment of the commandant and intendant. While the prisoners were still at Taiwan fu, the Serpent was sent over from Amoy to reclaim them, by which the truth of the tragedy was first learned. She afterwards went there again, to receive the shipwrecked crew of the Herculaneum transport, who were all restored.

The citizens of Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai, hailed the cessation of the war, and the opening of their ports to foreign trade; but not so at Canton. The volunteers, discharged about the middle of October, still remained about the city, ready for any evil work, notwithstanding the orders of their rulers to return home and resume their usual employments, most of whom probably had neither. Scheming demagogues took advantage of a rumor, that the English army, on its return from the north, intended to form a settlement on Honan, and issued a paper in the name of the gentry, calling upon all to combine and resist the aggression. This was extensively circulated, and the enthusiasm it caused worked up to a higher pitch by an inflammatory manifesto (given Vol. I., p. 389) sent forth by the leaders, in which desperate measures were plainly intimated; but the district magistrates took no steps against them. An invitation was circulated, De-

cember 2d, for the citizens and gentlemen from other provinces, to meet at the Public Assembly hall, to consult upon public affairs. A counter, but less spirited manifesto, was pasted up in the hall, which had the effect of inducing about half the people to disperse. The writers of this paper dissuaded their countrymen from hasty measures, by telling them that no land could be taken, or dwellings occupied, without permission from the provincial authorities, and urged upon them to live at peace with the English, in accordance with the injunctions of their wise sovereign.

The other party, taking advantage of the fact that the English superintendent had already engaged carpenters to repair the British Consulate, pillaged in 1841, made it a pretext for further violence. The magistrates merely issued an edict on the 6th, denouncing these seditious assemblages, and requiring all well disposed people not to aid or abet them; but this indecisive step encouraged the movers, and the next morning they gathered about the factories, ready for any violence. A brawl occurred in Hog lane between some hucksters and lascars, who were pursued into the Square, where the mob rapidly increased, and about 2 o'clock began pulling down a brick wall around the Company's garden, and forcing open one of the factories, which was speedily pillaged, the inmates escaping through the back doors. The British flagstaff was fired by a party which kept guard around it, and the flames communicating to the verandah of the factory, other parts of the establishment soon caught, and by midnight the three hongs east of Hog lane were burning furiously. Only a few of the houses were occupied; the inmates of one, Messrs. A. Heard & Co., American merchants, defended themselves by strewing the court with broken glass, and firing upon every person who entered the door; five Chinese were killed, when the advancing flames compelled them to retire through a back passage.

The ringleaders held the ground at first, and satisfied with firing the Consulate, endeavored to prevent thieves carrying away the plunder; but they were overcome, and forced to escape about midnight, leaving the ruins in possession of the mob. These wretches soon began to quarrel among themselves for the dollars found in the ruins, and it was not till noon that the police and soldiers ventured to attack the knotted groups of struggling desperadoes, and arrest the most conspicuous, and with the aid of

boats' crews from the shipping, recapture some of the specie. This outbreak showed most conclusively the ascendency of lawlessness, and the weakness of the government, though the governor, Kí Kung, took strong measures to arrest the rioters, and succeeded in imparting confidence, so that the foreigners returned to their dwellings in a short time. Full compensation was subsequently made for the losses sustained, amounting to $67,397, and some of the instigators in the movement were executed.

The largest part of the expedition left Hongkong for India, with Sir Hugh Gough, in December. In a valedictory address to the force he remarks, "that the warm anticipations which he had entertained on assuming the command had been amply fulfilled." A large part of the officers in the army and navy engaged in the war received promotion, or honorary titles, some during its progress, and others at its close. Sir Hugh was first made a baronet, and, after more service in India, elevated to the peerage, with the title of Lord Gough, Baron of Chinkiang fu; the plenipotentiary and the admiral were made Grand Crosses of the Bath. The three interpreters, Messrs. Morrison, Thom, and Gutzlaff, whose services had been arduous and important, received no distinctive reward from their government. The amount of prize money distributed among the soldiers and sailors was small, considering the length of the war and amount of force engaged Troops were left at Chusan, under major general Schoedde, amounting to 1989 rank and file; at Kulang su, under lieutenant-colonel Cowper, there were 980; and at head quarters, at Hongkong, under lord Saltoun, 1753; in all 4822, rank and file, one third of whom were sipahis. About the same number returned to India. The losses of the English, from shipwreck, sickness, and casualties, during the war, amounted to more than 3000; the mortality was greatest among the Indian regiments and the European recruits, especially after the operations behind Canton, and the capture of Chinkiang.

While the English government rewarded its successful officers, the emperor expressed his displeasure at the conduct of his generals who survived, and distributed posthumous honors to those who had died at their posts. Hailing, with his wife and grandson, were honored with a fane, and his sons promoted. Kíying was appointed governor-general of Kiangnan and Kiangsí. Yihking, Yihshan, and Wänwei, were degraded, and condemned to death

for cowardice, but the sentences were never executed. Tih-í-shun and Tsíshin were banished. All these were Manchus. The Chinese dignitaries were treated in the same manner; but although many civil and military officers were condemned to death, none actually lost their lives, except Yu Puyun, the governor of Chehkiang, who fled from Ningpo in October, 1841.

The settlement of the duties, and regulations for carrying on foreign commerce, immediately engaged the attention of the plenipotentiary. He called on the British merchants for information, but such had been the miscellaneous way in which the duties had been formerly levied, that they could give him little or no information as to the proportion of duties paid the government, and those pocketed by the local authorities. The whole matter was placed by both parties in the hands of Mr. Thom, who had been engaged in business at Canton, and Hwang Ngăntung, secretary to Kíying. To settle these multifarious affairs, and restore quiet to the disturbed province, Ílípu was sent to Canton as commissioner. On his arrival, he set about repressing the popular discontent at the treaty, and his edict was a good instance of the mixture of flattery and instruction, coaxing and commanding, which Chinese officers frequently resort to, when they are not sure of gaining their end by power alone, and do not wish to irritate. In this instance it was well timed, and did much to remove the misapprehension, and allay the excitement, which kept the whole region in a ferment. He had not long been engaged in these arduous duties before he "made a vacancy," by death, aged seventy-two, having been more than half his life engaged in high employments in his country's service; his conduct and foresight in the last two years, not only did credit to himself, but elevated his nation in the opinion of foreigners. His old associate, Kíying, was appointed in his place, whose nomination to this station was sufficient intimation of the peaceful intentions of the court, and the emperor's desire to fulfil the treaty. Towards the last of June, the ratifications of the treaty of Nanking were exchanged at Hongkong with Sir Henry Pottinger, ten months after it had been signed by the same persons. The island was then taken possession of on behalf of the Queen by proclamation, and the warrant read appointing Sir Henry governor of the colony. The usual colonial officers were subsequently nominated by the

governor, most of them selected from among those connected with the expedition.

The tariff and commercial regulations being prepared, they were published July 22d, by the English and Chinese authorities, in both languages. In this tariff, all emoluments and illegal exactions superimposed upon the imperial duties, were taken off, and a permanent duty put on every article, which seldom exceeded five per cent. on the cost; all kinds of breadstuffs were free. Commercial dealings were placed on a well understood basis, instead of the former immethodical, loose way of conducting business; the monopoly of the hong-merchants was done away, the fees exacted at Whampoa, under the names of cumshaw and measurement duty, were abolished, and a tonnage duty of five mace per ton substituted; the charge for pilotage was reduced so much, that the pilots were nearly stripped of all they received, after paying the usual fees to the tidewaiters along the river. Disputes between English and Chinese were to be settled by the consuls, and in serious cases by a mixed court, when, upon conviction, each party was to punish its own criminals.

The proclamation, giving effect to the tariff and commercial regulations, was one of the most important documents ever issued by the Chinese government; for by it China fully opened her ports and people to foreign intercourse. After referring to the war, and treaty of peace, Kiying goes on to say respecting the tariff, that as soon as replies shall be received from the Board of Revenue, "it will then take effect with reference to the commerce with China of all countries, as well as of England. Henceforth, then, the weapons of war shall for ever be laid aside, and joy and profit shall be the perpetual lot of all; neither slight nor few will be the advantages reaped by the merchants, alike of China and of foreign countries. From this time forward, all must free themselves from prejudice and suspicions, pursuing each his proper avocation, and careful always to retain no inimical feelings from the recollection of the hostilities that have before taken place. For such feelings and recollections can have no other effect than to hinder the growth of a good understanding between the two people." The paper then states the day when the new arrangements are to take effect at Canton, and announces the regulations, referring more particularly to Chinese vessels trading to Hongkong, and to the liberation of all natives engaged in the

service of the English during the war; and it is to the credit the imperial government, that none of the many hundreds, who served the English on ship and shore against their country, were molested in any way for so doing. Many were apprehended, but the commissioner says, "he has obtained from the good favor of his august Sovereign, vast and boundless as that of heaven itself, the remission of their punishment for all past deeds; . . . . they need entertain no apprehension of being hereafter dragged forward, nor yield in consequence to any fears or suspicions."

These new arrangements pleased the leading Chinese merchants far better than they did the hoppo and his underlings in the custom-house, and others, who had lined their pockets and feed their friends with their illegal exactions. The never failing sponge of the co-hong could no longer be sucked, but for a last squeeze, the authorities called upon the merchants for five millions of dollars, which they refused to pay, and withdrew from business with so much determination and union that the hoppo and his friends were foiled. The avowed object of this demand was to pay that portion of the $21,000,000, alleged to be for their debts, and they finally contributed among themselves about $1,700,000 towards it, the remainder coming out of the consoo fund. Howqua, the leading member of the body during thirty years, died about this time, aged seventy-five; he was one of the most remarkable men known to foreigners, and while he filled the difficult station of senior merchant, exhibited great shrewdness and ability in managing the delicate and difficult affairs constantly thrown upon him. His property, perhaps over-estimated at four millions sterling, passed quietly into the hands of his grandchildren.

The foreign community also suffered a great loss at this time in the death, by the prevailing fever, of John Robert Morrison, son of the Rev. Dr. Morrison, at the age of twenty-nine. He was born in China, and had identified himself with the best interests of her people, and their advancement in knowledge and Christianity. At the age of twenty, on his father's decease, he was appointed Chinese secretary to the British superintendents, and filled that responsible situation with credit and efficiency during all the disputes with the provincial authorities and commissioner Lin, and of the war, until peace was declared. His intimate acquaintance with the policy of the Chinese government,

and the habits of thought of its officers, eminently fitted him for successfully treating with them, and enlightening them upon the intentions and wishes of foreign powers, while his unaffected kindness to all natives assured them of the sincerity of his professions. The successful conduct of the negotiations at Nanking, under God, depended very much upon him, and the manner in which he performed the many translations to and from Chinese, connected with that event, was such, as to impart the utmost confidence to the imperial commissioners that they were fairly dealt with. The benevolent societies at Canton found in him a ready coöperator, and the Morrison Education Society, established in honor of his father, depended not a little upon his efforts and aid for its success and popularity.

Above all, he was eminently a Christian man, and whenever opportunity allowed, failed not to speak of the doctrines of the Bible to his native friends, among whom he ardently wished to see the Gospel introduced. The projected revision of the Chinese version of the Scriptures by the Protestant missionaries, engaged his attention, and it was expected would receive his assistance. With his influence, his pen, his property, and his prayers, he contributed to the welfare of the people, and the confidence felt in him by natives who knew him was often strikingly exhibited at Canton during the commotions of 1841, and the negotiations of 1843. He died at Macao, August 29th, a year after the treaty of Nanking was signed, and was buried by the side of his parents in the Protestant burying-ground. Sir Henry Pottinger announced his death as a "positive national calamity," and it was so received by the government at home. He also justly added, "that Mr. Morrison was so well known to every one, and so beloved, respected, and esteemed by all who had the pleasure and happiness of his acquaintance or friendship, that to attempt to pass any panegyric upon his private character would be a mere waste of words;" while his own sorrow was but a type of the universal feeling in which his memory and worth are embalmed. As a testimony of their sense of his worth, the foreign community, learning that he had died poor, leaving a maiden sister who had been dependent upon him, and that his official accounts were in some confusion, immediately came forward, and contributed nearly fourteen thousand dollars to relieve his estate and relatives from all embarrassment.

The negotiations between the English and Chinese plenipotentiaries were concluded by signing a supplementary treaty of seventeen articles on the Sabbath, Oct. 8th (the day was a lucky one in the Chinese calendar), at the Bogue. This treaty provided for the settlement of debts, treatment of criminals, restraint of British subjects, registry of Chinese vessels at Hongkong, and the small foreign craft plying between Canton and that colony, &c. The VIIIth article, providing for the admission of all foreigners who had previously traded to Canton, to the other ports on the same terms as English subjects, was inserted at the special request of Kiying, that all might know the intentions of his government; for neither he nor his master knew anything of that favorite phrase in western diplomacy, "the most favored nation," and expected and wished to avoid all controversy by putting every ship and flag on the same footing.

It might have been expected that the Chinese government would have now taken some action upon the opium trade, which was still going on unchecked and unlicensed. Opium schooners were going in and out of Hongkong harbor, though the drug sold by government at Calcutta was not allowed by the same government at Hongkong to be stored on shore; and the article was landed along the whole coast even to the Pei ho, and publicly smoked at Macao and Canton. Yet no edicts were issued, few or no seizures made, no notice taken of it, no proposition to repress, legalize, or manage it, came from the imperial commissioner. The old laws, denouncing its use, purchase, or sale, under the penalty of death, still remained on the statute book, but no one feared or cared for them. This conduct can be explained only on the supposition that having suffered so much, the emperor and his ministers thought safety from future trouble lay in enduring what was past curing; they had already suffered greatly in attempting to suppress it, and another war might be caused by meddling with the dangerous subject, since too it was now guarded by well armed vessels. Public opinion was still too strong against it, or else consistency obliged the monarch to forbid legalization; which he could hardly avoid acknowledging was the least of two evils.

Sir Henry Pottinger, hearing that persons were about sending opium to Canton under the pretence that unenumerated articles were admissible by the new tariff at a duty of five per cent., issued a proclamation in English and Chinese, to the intent that

such proceedings were illegal, and would meet no protection from British officers or ships. He also forbade British vessels going beyond lat. 32° N., and intimated to the Chinese that they might seize all persons and confiscate all vessels found above that line, or anywhere else on the coast beside the five ports; and, moreover, published an Order in Council, which restricted, under penalty of £100 for each offence, all British vessels violating the stipulations of the treaty in this respect. Yet this was done chiefly to throw dust in their eyes, and put the onus of the contraband traffic on the Chinese government, and the violation of law on those who came off to the smuggling vessels; and these proclamations and orders, like their edicts, were to be put "on record." This was shown when Capt. Hope of H. M. S. Thalia, for stopping two or three of the opium vessels proceeding above Shanghai, was recalled from his station and ordered to India, where he could not "interfere in such a manner with the undertakings of British subjects,"—to quote Lord Palmerston's dispatch to Capt. Elliot. This effectually deterred all others from meddling with it.

Yet the commercial bearings of this trade were clearly seen in England, and a memorial to Sir Robert Peel, signed by 235 merchants and manufacturers, was drawn up, in which they proved that the "commerce with China cannot be conducted on a permanently safe and satisfactory basis so long as the contraband trade in opium is permitted. Even if legalized, the trade would inevitably undermine the commerce of Great Britain with China, and prevent its being, as it otherwise might be, an advantageous market for our manufactures. It would operate for evil in a double way: first, by enervating and impoverishing the consumers of the drug, it would disable them from becoming purchasers of our productions; and second, as the Chinese would then be paid for their produce chiefly as now in opium, the quantity of that article imported by them having of late years exceeded in value the tea and silk we receive from them, our own manufactures would consequently be to a great extent precluded." The memorial shows that between 1803–08, the annual demand for woollens alone was nearly £150,000 more than it was for *all* products of British industry between 1834–39; while in that interval, the opium trade had risen from 3,000 to 30,000 chests annually. Nothing in the annals of commerce ever

showed more conclusively how heartless a thing trade is when it comes in contact with morality or humanity, than the discussions respecting the opium traffic. These memorialists plead for their manufactures, but the East India Company would have been sorry to have had their market spoiled: what could Sir Robert Peel, or even Wilberforce, if he had been premier, do against them in this matter? The question was which party of manufacturers should be patronized. Yet none of these "merchants and manufacturers of the highest standing and respectability" refer to the destruction of life, distress of families, waste of mind, body, and property, and the many other evils connected with the growth and use of opium, except as connected with the sale of *their* goods. One paper, in order to compound the matter, recommended the manufacture of morphine to tempt the Chinese, in order that if they *would* smoke it, they might have a delicate preparation for fashionable smokers.

The conduct of the ministry in remunerating the merchants and other subjects, who had surrendered their property to Capt. Elliot, was appropriate to the character of the trade. The six millions of dollars received from the Chinese, instead of being divided in China among those who were to receive it, which could have been done without expense, was carried to England to be coined, which, with the freight, reduced it considerably. Then by the manner of ascertaining the market value at the time it was given up, and the holders of the opium scrip got their pay, they received scarcely one-half of what was originally paid to the East India Company, either directly or indirectly, thereby reducing it nearly a million sterling. Furthermore, by the form of payment, they lost nearly one-fifth even of the promised sum, about £240,000 more. Then they lost four years' interest on their whole capital, or about £800,000 more. While the merchants lost, the government profited. The Company gained, during these four years, at least a million sterling, by the increased price of the drug, while Sir Robert Peel also transferred that amount from the pockets of the merchants to the public treasury. However, those who gave up their opium in March, 1839, also realized much greater profits in the latter part of that year, than they would have done had the opium trade gone on as usual; though this had nothing to do with the justice of their claims to full compensation from government.

The war was brought to a close by the signing of the supplementary treaty of the Bogue, and the conduct of England in it fully exhibited to the world. Public opinion will ever characterize it as an *opium war*, entered into and carried on to obtain indemnity for opium seized; and, setting aside the niceties of western international law, which the Chinese government knew nothing of, most justly seized. The British and American merchants who voluntarily subscribed 1,037 chests to commissioner Lin, acknowledged themselves to be transgressors by this very act. Yet war seemed to be the only way to break down the intolerable assumptions of the court of Peking; and that a war would do it, was almost plain to every one acquainted with the character of that court and the genius of the people, and the result has shown the expectation to be well based. Members of Parliament expressed their gratification at being at last out of a bad business; and their desire, frequently uttered, that the light of the Gospel, and the blessings of Christian civilization, might now be introduced among the millions of China, seemed very like a kind of peace-offering of good wishes, somewhat in the manner of the Hebrews offering a kid when they had committed a trespass.

The announcement of the treaty of Nanking caused considerable sensation in Europe and America, chiefly in commercial circles. M. Auguste Moxhet, the Belgian consul at Singapore, was sent on to China to make such inquiries for transmission to his government as would direct it in its efforts to open a trade, which heretofore had been very trifling. The Netherlands government sent orders to the authorities at Batavia on this subject, who dispatched M. Tonco Modderman, as their special agent for the same purpose. The king of Prussia appointed M. Grube to proceed to China as his councillor of commerce, to prosecute researches as to the prospect of finding a market for Prussian or German manufactures. The Spanish ministry, through the authorities at Manila, designated Don Sinibaldo de Mas as their agent in this new sphere. The governor of Macao, M. Pinto, having been superseded, was also appointed commissioner on behalf of Her Most Faithful Majesty to treat respecting the rights and privileges of Macao under the new order of things, and succeeded in obtaining some important modifications for the trade of the place. These gentlemen arrived in China during the latter part of 1843, and most of them had

interviews or communication with Kiying before he returned to court in December.

The governments of the United States and France early directed their attention to this matter, and appointed ministers extraordinary to the court of Peking. The Hon. Caleb Cushing was appointed commissioner on behalf of the United States, and the President sent by him the following letter to the emperor, which explains the object of his mission.

Letter to the Emperor of China from the President of the United States of America.

I, JOHN TYLER, president of the United States of America—which States are: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, and Michigan—send you this letter of peace and friendship, signed by my own hand.

I hope your health is good. China is a great empire, extending over a great part of the world. The Chinese are numerous. You have millions and millions of subjects. The twenty-six United States are as large as China, though our people are not so numerous. The rising sun looks upon the great mountains and great rivers of China. When he sets, he looks upon rivers and mountains equally large in the United States. Our territories extend from one great ocean to the other; and on the west we are divided from your dominions only by the sea. Leaving the mouth of one of our great rivers, and going constantly towards the setting sun, we sail to Japan and to the Yellow sea.

Now, my words are, that the governments of two such great countries should be at peace. It is proper, and according to the will of heaven, that they should respect each other, and act wisely. I therefore send to your court Caleb Cushing, one of the wise and learned men of this country. On his first arrival in China, he will inquire for your health. He has strict orders to go to your great city of Peking, and there to deliver this letter. He will have with him secretaries and interpreters.

The Chinese love to trade with our people, and to sell them tea and silk, for which our people pay silver, and sometimes other articles. But if the Chinese and the Americans will trade, there shall be rules, so that they shall not break your laws or our laws.—Our minister, Caleb Cushing, is authorized to make a treaty to regulate trade. Let it be just. Let there be no unfair advantage on either side. Let the people trade not only at Canton, but also at Amoy, Ningpo, Shanghai, Fuhchau, and all such other places as may offer profitable exchanges both to China and the United States, provided they do not break your laws nor our laws. We shall

not take the part of evil-doers. We shall not uphold them that break your laws. Therefore, we doubt not that you will be pleased that our messenger of peace, with this letter in his hand, shall come to Peking, and there deliver it; and that your great officers will, by your order, make a treaty with him to regulate affairs of trade—so that nothing may happen to disturb the peace between China and America. Let the treaty be signed by your own imperial hand. It shall be signed by mine, by the authority of our great council, the Senate.

And so may your health be good, and may peace reign.

Written at Washington, this twelfth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-three. Your good friend.

Mr. Cushing and his suite arrived in China in the frigate Brandywine, commodore Parker, February 24th, 1844, and took up their residence in Macao. The announcement of the general purposes of his mission, and the directions he had to proceed with this letter to Peking, was made to lieutenant-governor Ching, who instantly informed the court of his arrival; and with a promptitude indicative of the desire of the emperor to give no cause of offence, Kíying was reappointed commissioner, with higher powers than before. During the interval between the arrival of the Brandywine and the entry of Kíying into Canton, that ship went up to Whampoa, but Ching, a timid old man, refused the polite invitation of commodore Parker to visit her. The frigate had brought out a flagstaff and vane for the Consulate at Canton, which was erected in the garden before the factories; the vane was in the form of an arrow, and as it turned its barb to the four points of the compass, the superstitious people thought it conveyed destructive influences around, transfixing all the benign operations of heaven and earth, and thereby causing disease and calamity among them. An unusual degree of sickness prevailed at this time in the city and its environs, which the geomancers and doctors declared would not cease until the deadly arrow was removed. The people accordingly waited on the consul, Mr. Forbes, to request the removal of the arrow, which he acceded to, and substituted a vane of another shape. An unsuccessful attempt was made to get possession of it for some superstitious purpose, and the gentry issued a placard the next day, commending its removal, and requesting the people to harbor no ill-will towards the Americans as the cause of the sickness, for the mortality would no doubt now soon diminish.

Kíying having announced his appointment and powers to the people, proceeded to the Bogue to meet Sir Henry Pottinger, and be introduced to governor Davis, from whence he went to Macao, and took up his residence in the village of Wanghia, in the suburbs of that city. He had associated three assistants with himself in the commission, viz. Hwang Ngăntung, already well known for his affability and intelligence in the conduct of the negotiations with the English; Pwan Sz'shing, one of the late hong-merchants; and Chau Changling, a prefect, then out of employ. The American plenipotentiary, H. E. Hon. Caleb Cushing, was sole commissioner and envoy extraordinary. Fletcher Webster, Esq., was secretary to the special mission; Rev. E. C. Bridgman, D.D., and Rev. Peter Parker, M.D., were joint Chinese secretaries, and Dr. Bridgman, chaplain; Messrs. J. H. O'Donnell, R. McIntosh, S. Hernisz, T. R. West, and John R. Peters, Jr., Esqs., were attached to the legation.

Visits between the plenipotentiaries having been exchanged, negotiations commenced, the details being conducted by a deputation of three persons from each party. Mr. Cushing had already prepared the general outline of the treaty, which greatly abridged the negotiations, and the few disputed or doubtful points in the draft having been modified and settled, it was signed at Wanghia on the third of July, 1844, by the two plenipotentiaries, commodore Parker and a few other Americans, and a large crowd of Chinese, being present.

Soon after Kíying left Canton, the populace began to show signs of disturbance, for since the death of Kí Kung, they had had little to fear from his inefficient successor, and the prospect of plundering the factories prompted them to make further commotions. A party of gentlemen were walking in the Company's garden one evening, when the gate was burst open by a mob, and they were obliged to escape by boats. On the next evening, the mob again collected with the intention of getting possession of the large garden, but were driven out of the passage without much opposition. Two or three Americans, in escorting one of their countrymen to his house, through the crowd, were attacked by stones and missiles on their return; whereupon one of them fired low, to drive the people back, but unhappily killed a native, named Sü Amun. The case was investigated by the district magistrate, and a report made by the lieut.-governor to Kíying; but he took

no pains to send a sufficient force to repress the excited populace, nor did the inefficient man seem to know what to do. In a communication to the American consul, he says, after ordering him to deliver up the murderer, "It has been ascertained that the man who was killed was from the district of Tsingyuen, having no relatives in Canton. But if he had been a citizen, it would have become at the moment an occasion for attack, for it would have been told to the populace, and they would have revenged it by again setting fire to the factories and plundering their contents, or something of that sort. The people are highly irritated against the offender, and it is impossible but that they have constant debates among themselves until they are revenged." Nothing could show more conspicuously how strong the mob at Canton had become since the commencement of the war, and his own impotency, than such a document.

A party of marines from the corvette St. Louis, came up to Canton the next day, and quiet was restored. Kiying brought the case before Mr. Cushing, stating it to be his conviction that "the murderer ought to forfeit his life," and begging him to give orders for a speedy and clear examination of the case, which was accordingly made. In his reply, Mr. Cushing expressed his regret at what had occurred, his willingness to institute an inquiry into the truth of the case, and added a few remarks upon the necessity of better protecting the foreigners at Canton from the insults of the mob, in order to prevent the recurrence of such scenes, and embroiling the two countries. Kiying replied to these communications in a friendly, considerate manner, still upholding the authority of his government and laws. A few extracts will exhibit the character of the man. Speaking of the general subject under consideration, he says:—"It seems from this, that regarding our nations and their subjects, the people of our land may be peaceful, and the citizens of the United States may be peaceful, and yet, after their governments have become amicable, that then their people may become inimical; and albeit the authorities of the two governments may day after day deliberate upon friendship, it is all nothing but empty words. Thus, while we are deliberating and settling a treaty of peace, all at once the people of our two countries are at odds, and taking lives." He also speaks of the overbearing and violent character of the people of Canton; "fiery banditti are numerous," who

being destitute of employment, do little else than gamble and skulk about to steal in order to get a livelihood :—

"Since the period when the English brought in soldiers, these ladrones have been banding together and forming societies; and while some, taking advantage of their strength, have plundered and robbed, others have called upon the able-bodied and valiant to get their living. Therefore, employing troops, which is the endangering of the authorities and [peaceable] people, is the profit of these miscreants; peace and good order, which traders, both native and foreign, desire, is what these bad men do not at all wish. . . . . I have heard that usually the citizens of Canton have respected and liked the officers and people of the United States, as they were peaceable and reasonable; that they would, even when there was a cause of difference, endeavor to settle it, which is very unlike the English. But, unexpectedly, on the 16th instant, a cause for animosity was given in the shooting of Sü Amun. I have heard different accounts of this affair; I judge reasonably in thinking that the merchants of your country causelessly and rashly took life. But the populace are determined to seek a quarrel, and I very much fear lest they will avail of this to raise commotion, perhaps under the pretence of avenging his death, but doubtless with other ideas too."

The American minister referred in a subsequent communication to the death of Sherry, in May, 1841, when the boat's crew from the ship Morrison was attacked and captured. This affair had been already brought to the notice of the Chinese government by Commodore Kearny, and a sum of $7,800 received from it for losses and damages sustained; but the present was a fitting opportunity for reviving it, since it and the case of Sü Amun furnished a mutual commentary upon the necessity of securing better protection for foreigners. Kíying, on his return, made an investigation of the case, and reported the successive actions of his predecessor Kí Kung in a business-like manner, and so much was his reply divested of all the rhodomontade usually seen in Chinese state papers, that one could hardly believe it was written by a governor-general of Canton. The exciting circumstances of that casualty did indeed go far to extenuate it; though now, both Kíying and his master could not but see that the time for demanding life for life had passed away. The parallel between the two casualties could not fail to be most instructive to them, and lead them to put more importance upon human life. The commissioner was, however, in a dilemma. He could only appease the populace by stating in his

proclamations, that he was making every effort to ascertain who was the murderer and bring him to justice, and they must leave the management of the case in the hands of the regular authorities. On the other hand, the arguments of Mr. Cushing and the stipulations in the English treaty, both convinced him that foreign nations would not give up the right of judging their own countrymen, much less would they submit to have homicide treated as murder. He finally escaped the trouble by deferring the petitioners and relatives of the deceased awhile, and then appeasing them by a small donation. The American gentleman who had been the unwitting cause of the unhappy result, also made some provision for the family of the deceased before he left China.

In conducting these negotiations, and settling this treaty "between the youngest and oldest empires in the world," Mr. Cushing exhibited both ability and knowledge of his subject. In his instructions, he was directed to deliver the President's letter to the emperor in person, or to an officer of rank in his presence; and, therefore, on his arrival, he informed the governor that he had been sent to the imperial court, and being under the necessity of landing and remaining a few weeks at Macao, before he continued his journey, he improved the first opportunity which presented itself to inquire after the health of his majesty. Whether he regarded the mere going to court as important, cannot be inferred from his correspondence, but if so, instead of communicating with the governor at Canton, he should have gone directly to the mouth of the Pei ho, and waited there for a commissioner to be sent to meet him. Yet the real advantages of such a proceeding at this time would have been trifling; and as the emperor was not disposed to forego that homage required of all who appeared before him, however willing he might be to grant commercial privileges, it was undesirable to excite discussions on this point. Moreover, the appointment of Kíying with such unusual powers indicated a favorable disposition towards the Americans, and a desire to treat their envoy with due respect. As it happened, it was fortunate the two plenipotentiaries were at hand, when the riot and homicide of the 15th of June occurred; and the discussion which grew out of those events was no small benefit to the local government. The secret of much of the power of the emperor of China consists in the acknowledgment by his subjects of his vice-heavenly character; and although

that lofty assumption must come down before the advance of truth and religion, and will erelong crumble of itself, still to rudely shock it by forcing him to receive an ambassador without the usual mark of respect, is to irritate him, weaken his authority, and displease his subjects, before a corresponding benefit would accrue. In opening the negotiations, the first two letters from Kíying were returned for correction, since, when referring to the United States, he had placed the characters one line lower than those for China; the error was immediately rectified, and the correspondence afterwards conducted on terms of perfect equality and courtesy.

The treaty of Wanghia embodied all the important stipulations of the two English treaties and commercial regulations; and provided further for the erection of hospitals, chapels, and cemeteries at the five ports, and the visits of ships-of-war to any part of the coast. The duty on lead and ginseng was reduced, and tonnage duty was not to be demanded a second time from a vessel going to another port to clear off her cargo. These privileges also extended to all nations as well as the United States. Mr. Cushing, having accomplished the object of his mission, left China without seeing the other ports, making only a transient visit at Canton and Hongkong, and embarked in the U. S. brig Perry, Aug. 27th, direct for San Blas. The emperor ratified the treaty, and commodore Parker published a circular Sept. 14th, announcing that all the provisions in it had been agreed to by the Chinese. The President and Senate accepted it without alteration, and the ratifications were exchanged on the last day of December, 1845, at the country seat of Pwan Sz'shing by Commodore Biddle and Kíying. Since that date, the Hon. Alexander H. Everett has been sent to China as minister plenipotentiary from the United States; though in our humble opinion, it is somewhat demeaning to a government like that of the United States to send a resident minister to a nation which will not reciprocate the courtesy, nor even allow him to reside in the capital, but keeps him at a distance in one of the provincial towns. Under such circumstances, a chargé-d'affaires, with sufficient powers, would better comport with dignity and be equally beneficial.

The French ambassador, H. E. Th. de Lagrené, and his suite, arrived in China, Aug. 14th, to negotiate a commercial treaty with the Chinese. In addition to the two secretaries MM. le

Marquis de Ferrière le Voyer and le Comte d'Harcourt, and other attachés of the embassy, five other gentlemen were sent out by the government to make investigations into the commerce, arts, and industrial resources of the Chinese. M. de Lagrené landed at Macao under a salute, and took possession of the lodgings prepared for him in the same building which Mr. Cushing and his suite had occupied. Kíying was immediately informed of these events, and made arrangements for opening the negotiations at Macao by sending his three associates to congratulate the French minister on his arrival; and reached that place himself, Sept. 29th. The gratification of the Chinese statesmen at finding that the missions from the American and French governments were not sent to their borders like the English expedition to demand indemnity and the cession of an island on the coast, was great. The anticipated arrival of these embassies had been rumored among the people of Canton, the number of ships of war and force in them had been largely exaggerated, and the design of the ambassadors strangely misrepresented as including the seizure of an island. These reports could hardly fail to reach, and have some effect upon the highest officers in the land. The time, therefore, was favorable to the arrangement of a treaty, not merely to obtain the same political and commercial advantages which had been granted to England, but also to explain to the Chinese officers something of the relations their nation should enter into with the other powers of the earth. The first interviews between Kíying and M. de Lagrené were held in October, and the negotiations continued nearly the whole month. His excellency took the treaty of Wanghia as the basis of his own, and on the 23d of October, having settled all the preliminaries, proceeded to Whampoa in the steamer Archimede with Kíying, where the treaty was signed. It was subsequently ratified by the sovereigns of both countries, and the ratifications duly exchanged. Twelve years were agreed upon, both in the French and American treaties, as the time which should elapse before any alterations were made; and in the latter, it was stipulated that none of the individual states of the American Union should ever send embassies to form separate treaties for themselves.

The signing of the treaty of Whampoa may be said to have concluded the opening of China, so far as its government was prepared for the extension of this intercourse. The instalments

to be paid the English, according to the treaty of Nanking, were not yet all paid, but the Chinese had shown their desire to fulfil the provisions of that engagement; and the twenty-one millions of dollars were all paid over within a short period of the specified time. This was a minor consideration, however, in comparison with the great advantages gained by England for herself and all Christendom over the seclusive and exclusive system of former days, which had now received such a shock that it could not only never recover from it, but was not likely even to maintain itself where the treaties had defined it. The intercourse begun by these treaties will extend as fast as the two parties find it for their benefit, despite of all enactments and restrictions; and faster than this it ought not to extend. The war between England and China, as has been remarked, though eminently unjust in its cause as an opium war,—and even English officers and authors do not try to disguise that the seizure of the opium was the real reason for an appeal to arms, though the imprisonment of Capt. Elliot and other acts was the pretext—was still, so far as human sagacity can perceive, a wholesome infliction upon a government, which haughtily refused all equal intercourse with other nations, or explanations regarding its conduct, and forbade its subjects having free dealings with their fellow-men.

If in entering upon this war, England had published to the world her declaration of the reasons for engaging in it, the merits of the case would have been better understood. If she had said at the outset, that she commenced the struggle with the emperor, because he would not treat her subjects resorting to his shores by his permission with common humanity, allowing them no intercourse with his subjects, nor access to his officers; because he contemptuously discarded her ambassadors and consular agents, sent with friendly design; because he made foolish regulations, which his own subjects did not observe, an occasion of offence against others, when it suited him, and had despoiled them of their property by strange and arbitrary proceedings, weakening all confidence in his equity; and lastly, because he kept himself aloof from other sovereigns, and shut out his people from that intercourse with their fellow-men which was their privilege and right: if England had said these were the grounds of an appeal to arms, her character in this war would have appeared rather better. But it is the prerogative of the Governor of na

tions to educe good out of evil, and make the wrath, the avarice, and the ambition of men to serve his purposes, and advance his own designs, although their intentions may be far otherwise. In this view the last act in the negotiations which ended with the treaty of Whampoa, the qualified permission obtained for the reception and exercise of Christianity, was one of the most important. Its effects will be greater, there can hardly be a doubt, than the commercial stipulations and political arrangements in all the treaties; and its ultimate consequences of the highest moment.

The external and internal relations of the Chinese empire at the close of the year 1844, were in a far better state than one would have supposed they could have become in so short a time after such a convulsion. The cities and provinces where the storm of war had beat most violently were reviving, the authority of the officers was becoming re-established, the bands of lawless desperadoes were gradually dispersing, and the people resuming their peaceful pursuits. No ill-will was manifested in Amoy on account of the losses its citizens had sustained, nor at Ningpo or Shanghai for their occupation by English troops. The English consuls at the five ports had all been received, and trade was commencing under favorable auspices. The opium trade, for this dark feature everywhere forces itself into the prospect, was also extending, and opium schooners plying up and down the coast, and lying on the outside limits of every port to deliver the drug.

From the close of the year 1844 to the present period, nothing has occurred to disturb the amicable relations existing in general between China and other nations, except the opposition of the citizens of Canton to granting foreigners a larger space for residences there, and freedom to enter the city and ramble in its vicinity. Their hostility proceeded to such a length that the local government became utterly powerless to carry the stipulations of the treaties in these particulars into effect; Governor Davis consequently proceeded to Canton in May, 1847, with several vessels of war, capturing all the guns at the Bogue in his progress up the river, and compelled the authorities to grant a larger space for residences and warehouses, on the south side of the river opposite the factories, to be occupied as soon as arrangements could be made, and also provide for the prospect-

ive fulfilment of the other stipulations of the treaty. The dislike to foreigners exhibited by the people of Canton is owing to a variety of reasons, chiefly growing out of the war; and there is danger that it will not be removed or concealed without some violent outbreak and dreadful example. The well-known wishes of the government to maintain peace, and the good disposition manifested at the other ports, strengthen the hope that collisions there will not involve the whole country.

The present position of the Chinese empire is both interesting and critical; and whether the present government has most to fear the internal or external causes of disturbance, is hard to say, though perhaps the elements of discord within are more likely to cause a revolution than any movement from without. The ignorance of the government respecting its own rights in its intercourse with other nations, and a full understanding of the nature and extent of the demands of western powers for greater privileges and freedom, is to be regretted, since it excites suspicions of their designs, and a fear that to grant one privilege is only establishing a precedent for another. This ignorance not only disables the officers from proper action when the time for acting arrives; leads them into rash measures and false positions, which they would avoid if they were better informed; and makes them hesitate as to the course of conduct when they are forced to do something; but it prevents them from wishing to learn anything, because they suppose there is nothing worth learning. Their course of classical education does not enlarge or stimulate the mind, and as the student comes into the busy scenes of life, his prospects, ideas, and conclusions, being bounded by his own country and literature, are all cramped, inconclusive, and erroneous, when applied to affairs beyond that sphere.

The mass of people being likewise ignorant, are also easily induced, as at Canton, to resist innovation, and oppose the execution of the stipulations of treaties, or any other plans which their rulers may see to be absolutely necessary. It has been, in some degree, owing to the almost total want of books from which either people or ruler could learn the truth about other countries; for the Chinese student, who might wish to investigate such subjects, had no dictionaries or guides, nothing to aid in understanding other languages, or assist him in his pursuit.

Another source of future difficulty in the intercourse of China

with western nations is the long-established notion of the emperor's supremacy; which, though it has received a stunning blow by the war with England, in the minds of both the sovereign and his people, is not yet given up, nor even seen to be foolish. Wounded pride easily winces at what, under other circumstances, would be passed by with contempt. The emperor receives nearly divine adulation and homage from his subjects; and even the Romish missionaries, who well knew the meaning of the ceremony, did not hesitate to make the nine prostrations. For a subject to omit this homage, even before his picture, is tantamount to rebellion, and a disavowal of his character, and would be sufficient cause for dismission and disgrace. For the emperor to give up this ceremony, which involves his religious character, would be, in some measure, to part with a portion of his power; for in this case the ceremony itself is power, as, apart from religious scruples, no subject would object to it. If the emperor could not do away with it to his own subjects and tributaries without impairing his influence, he would feel humbled in their sight by admitting despised foreigners to an audience without requiring it; nor could he allow the repetition of such audiences without weakening it in some degree. He would feel mortified at this continual disavowal of his own imperial character on the part of a few foreigners, and decline the audiences altogether, if, in his irritation, he did nothing more unbecoming. This is a fundamental part of the Chinese system of government, which must, so far as can be seen, undergo an entire change, before it is given up. If western powers should require the emperor to receive resident ministers, difficulties would almost unavoidably arise touching the etiquette of his court.

No acknowledged representative of any foreign power has ever resided in his borders. Consuls are regarded as headmen over their countrymen, and are not invested with any representative character by the Chinese government; being appointed simply to guide and restrain their own people. A resident minister at Peking from the court of St. Cloud evidently requires that a Chinese envoy live at Paris; but the emperor would be puzzled to know what use either of them could be, since there were no Frenchmen in his capital, nor Chinese at Paris for them to restrain and control. Until the court of Peking places its ceremonies on a different basis, and accepts obeisance instead of

requiring worship, respectful etiquette instead of tributary fealty, and becomes better acquainted with its relations to foreign powers, ministers and ambassadors from abroad had better not be forced on it, though their desirableness and necessity should be constantly impressed on it. The result of the withdrawal of the English resident from Ava has been a cessation of unpleasant feelings on the part of the Burmese; while he was there, he was looked upon as a spy and busybody, making inquiries into everything, which, in their view, could have no other motive than with reference to ulterior conquest. Such would be the case in China. The novelty of his position inciting the minister to examine into everything, would excite suspicions, and the train of ill consequences likely to spring from them, nurtured as they would be by past experience of the power of one nation, and strengthened by ignorance and misapprehension of the designs of all. A man can judge of what he does not know only by what he does know, and in such a case the conclusion would of course be very incorrect. The irresistible progress of the intercourse now commenced will probably be such as in a few years to lead the court to see the advantage of having the envoys of other powers nearer to it; and then they can be received, too, on well-understood grounds. The three treaties were, it is highly probable, more satisfactorily negotiated, because the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and America, did not make it an indispensable preliminary that they should go to the capital.

Another probable cause of collision is the recurrence of popular tumults at the five ports. The citizens of these places once prejudiced by designing persons, it would not be difficult to excite them against the foreign residents, and a riot ensue in which the loss of life and property might be dreadful, before the local authorities could effectually interpose. In such a case, the consul and his government would call on them for indemnification for the past, and security for the future. The Chinese government cannot restrain every outbreak of popular indignation among those whom it can hardly govern itself; nor, when its intentions are peaceable, can it be held in the same measure guilty for the violence of its subjects, and visited with general war because of the misdeeds of a few. In Asia, if any disturbance occur between the native princes or their subjects and foreigners, a resort to force is the first thing talked of. No for-

bearance is to be shown the offending party, but they must be chastised, or they will never learn to treat their visitors well. Little or no allowance is made for the ignorance, the prejudices, the suspicions, and the excitability of the weaker party; nor for the effect of unfounded rumors as to the intentions and conduct of the stronger. Such things are likely to occur often between people so ignorant of each other's habits, and foreigners from Christian countries are usually least ready to respect the prejudices of the heathen. Sir John Davis mentions an instance where the passage of a corpse at the public landing-place in Macao was resisted by the custom-house tidewaiters stationed there, and the sailors immediately prepared to resent the indignity, and a row would have ensued if they had not been told on the spot that no insult was intended, and that it was considered both unlucky and illegal for a dead body to pass over any place appropriated to imperial use. The coffin was consequently landed at another jetty without any opposition. Cases of collision from similar causes are constantly liable to arise, and their repetition breeds a settled dislike, which vents itself in many ways, and grows by its own exhibition.

The opium trade is, however, more likely than anything else soonest to give rise to collision. The manner in which this traffic has been left by the treaties apparently allows the Chinese authorities great freedom of action; but whenever attacked, the vessels engaged in it have resisted, under the plea of defending themselves against pirates. It is impossible to say what course of action the government will take in relation to it, but the emperor will be obliged to do something before many years. The prospect in this direction is dark in the extreme, both as respects internal peace, and the continuance of amicable relations with England. Her rulers at home would be sorry to see the trade lessened, and every official effort of the Chinese to stay the dreadful scourge is likely in some way or other to be resisted.

The introduction of Christian truth, of liberal principles, of free discussion, of sound knowledge, and of pure religion, among the millions of China, will also tend to break up the long existing state of society. The people will erelong understand and assert their rights; at first the rulers will oppose them, until the pressure becomes too strong, when they will either quietly yield, or be overwhelmed in their own opposition. There are many rea-

sons for thinking that these changes may take place without gene ral convulsion and disorganization; but they will, almost necessa rily, be attended with many evils. The internal condition of the country is now so bad that the people are restive under their misgovernment and oppression; how much more intractable will they be when they see the antidotes of their calamities, and find that their rulers will not adopt them!

On the other hand, the result of these powerful principles working upon the rulers first, and leading them to propose new measures before the people are ready for them, is almost as likely to work disturbance. It is not easy, nor is it necessary, to speculate upon the chances of the peaceable or violent introduction of such mighty causes of change into the social and political system of China, for in practice there are so many modifying causes to alleviate the shock upon existing institutions, and weaken the power of resistance of the various parts of society, that nothing can be predicated. It may be safely asserted that the extension of these principles will carry with them in some degree their own safeguards; and that those who are most fully imbued with the true spirit of Christianity, and best instructed in the real welfare of their country, will prove the best preservers of peace and the guardians of life and property. There is more to fear from the insensate anger of the excited, ignorant populace stirred up by designing men, than from the indiscreet acts of those who are desirous to benefit their country.

Connected with the opium trade as likely to prove a source of collision, is the presence of an armed force at Hongkong. The nearness of this force is a matter of annoyance to the Chinese authorities, and tends to restrain their free action. They are afraid to act against the opium vessels on the coast, most of whom sail under English colors, lest the governor of that colony demand reparation for the seizure, and require that those who insulted the British flag be condignly punished. It is difficult for the Chinese officers to oppose force to force in putting down this traffic, and when they resort to cunning and deceit to compass their ends, they are very likely to transgress some of the "laws of nations," and straightway down comes the vengeance of England to teach them their meaning. It is the settled policy of that government to strain every nerve to extend her manufactures and trade; and if it is believed that the possession of another island on the coast

of China, or a lodgment on the mainland, will benefit their trade, the "occasion for amending their position," as an English editor terms it, will not long be wanting. There are so many motives operating to excite another war with China, if the English government find that the trade does not rapidly increase, such as the ambition of the governors of Hongkong, who feel cramped in that rocky islet; the haughty bearing of many towards the Chinese in their personal intercourse, which of course begets like feelings in the minds of the weaker; the expectation of war and further conquests in China on the part of British subjects, growing out of their past successes, and consciousness of immense power, which leads them to look with less consideration upon the mistakes and ill temper of the Chinese government and people; the great difference in the habits, opinions, motives, and energy of two races so unlike as the Saxon and Chinese, leading to assumption and encroachment on the one hand, and fear, treachery, and resistance, on the other: that such a contest may be regarded as not improbable. The desires and efforts of a few honorable, philanthropic rulers could not stay such an event long, if the people of China became irritated; and past experience does not hold out much hope that future intercourse, in its constant round of daily events, will be conducted in a different manner from what it has been. The signing of a treaty containing certain stipulations is a mere form, embodying present feelings; the effectiveness of such a paper depends wholly upon the ideas, wishes, and conduct of the subjects of the respective nations. The provisions of a treaty may be broken, when there is not the least probability of a collision in consequence, because both parties see that it is for their mutual advantage to disregard, what experience has proved to be unwisely-written; and the articles of such a paper may be rigidly observed, in order to avoid a contest, which would be inevitable from the state of feeling between the two people. There may be no intention on the part of England to bring about such a morbid state of feeling, for the danger is on the other side; it is misapprehension of her purposes, fear of her power, and impatience at her supposed dictation, which are the causes most likely to arouse the wounded pride of the Chinese officers, and urge them to resistance.

There are, however, some restraining causes of great influence found in the Chinese character and habits, which in such an

emergency would be called into action. On the part of the emperor and his council, a consciousness of their inability to cope with the power from which they have suffered so severely, will restrain them, and more or less their underlings, from doing many things they might wish to do, and once thought they could do with impunity. Trade, too, by strengthening mutual interests and advantages, tends to lessen the ill feelings nations may have had for each other at first; and among the Chinese especially, the love of country, dislike of others, or gratification of revenge, are all weaker, and will give way to the hope of profit. The chances of a war are materially less among a people so devoted to traffic and gain, than among such nations as the Japanese or Persians, more accustomed to arms, and ambitious of martial renown. This predilection for traffic, and the esteem in which the arts of peace and pursuits of literature are held, will prove a strong conservative influence, among the Chinese, operating against the causes for war already mentioned. They usually think it better to trade than fight, and are unwilling to risk the former for the doubtful chance of success in the latter. The sufferings which come upon all classes of valuable citizens from an interruption of peace in so thickly settled a country, arising from the failure of sufficient supplies of food, and demand for labor, and the consequent calamities of banditti, beggars, and lawlessness, still further indispose them to hazard its safety, and will tend somewhat to restrain all classes from outrageous conduct. The chances of foreign rupture are lessened by this consideration; but it will do still more to preserve internal peace, by inclining the wealthy, the learned, and the industrious, to throw all their influence into the scale of good order and good government, that they may save what they have. Even in case of a contest between the adherents of the old order of things and those who are seeking to reform the principles of government, on the high grounds of liberty of conscience and equity of administration, the same knowledge of the unhappy consequences of civil war to all parties, would do much to reduce it to a persecution of individuals, until their principles had made such progress that they could dictate a new law; and if the reformers were such men as they ought to be, there would then be no danger of further disorganization.

There are, it must be confessed, in looking at this dispute,

which is almost unavoidable, more grounds for fear than hope, as to its first results, though no doubts need be entertained as to the final triumph of religion and knowledge. Some minor grounds for hoping that the integrity of the empire, at least of the eighteen provinces, will not be impaired, nor the present government overthrown, in consequence of the spread of liberal opinions, are to be found in the little intercourse of mind and interchange of opinion between the people in distant parts of these provinces. There may be a very serious commotion in Sz'chuen or Shantung, for instance, which hardly excites any notice in Canton or Ningpo; it is almost as much a mere matter of news to the citizens of those towns as if it were in India or Luçonia. A discussion on important questions in morals and politics may therefore arise and make considerable progress along the coasts of the empire, while the central and western provinces know and care little about the points at issue. This circumscribed field, however, offers greater facilities for the government to act with energy at first to put down the dispute and punish the reformers; and the diffusion of these new principles will be more rapid, perhaps, than is here contemplated. The literary examinations are sure to become scenes of hot debate among the students on these engrossing topics, and their discussions cannot fail to attract the attention of the whole empire. Another ground of hope lies in the matter-of-fact habits of the Chinese, their want of enthusiasm and dislike of change, which are rather favorable than otherwise. The presentation and reception of the highest truths and motives the human mind is capable of, always excites thought and action, and the fear is of going too fast in the schemes of reform and correction, and demolishing the fabric before its elements are ready for reconstruction. The non-existence of caste, the weakness of a priesthood which cannot nerve its persecuting arm with the power of the state, the little influence religion has over the Chinese, the simplicity of the ancestral worship, and the absence of all the enticing allurements of art, painting, gorgeous temples, splendid ritual, gay processions, and above all, sanctified licentiousness, to uphold it, and make it enticing to depraved human nature; the popular origin of the officers of government, and lastly, the degree of industry, loyalty, and respect of life and property characteristic of this people; all of these furnish some grounds for thinking that the regeneration of China will be ac-

complished, like the operation of leaven in meal, withou shivering the vessel.

The real grounds of trust as to the ultimate issue of this controversy, however, lie chiefly in the promises of the Bible. The progress of civil and religious liberty throughout the world has been greater since 1815, than ever before during the same period in its history. This progress has, generally speaking, been unattended with convulsions. Madagascar and Abyssinia have shut themselves up within their own borders, refusing to allow the further dissemination of Christian truth; while in India, Turkey, Egypt, and North America, the power or fear of the Saxon race has restrained persecution. In China, this fear may also curb the arm of opposition. The purposes of God go on to their accomplishment in the way best calculated to glorify him; and there, too, the wrath of man, which is likely to arise to oppose them, will be made to glorify him. He infinitely loves the race he has done so much to bless and redeem, and will direct all things to fulfil the end he had in view in commencing his designs of mercy. The reasons just adduced for supposing that the extension of religion, science, and justice, may be unattended with disturbance, are of a mixed character; all of them present something unfavorable as well as favorable, some good influences mixed with many bad ones. It affords the greatest encouragement to look through and beyond them all to the sure and final result. The evangelization of the people of China is far more important than the form of their government, the extent of their empire, or the existence of their present institutions. They can live as happily under other rule as under that of their own princes; they cannot find either security or liberty while the principles of their government remain as illiberal as they now are. Many influences will be called in to begin and direct this desirable work; but the greatest portion of the labor and suffering in accomplishing it, will doubtless be done by natives, by Chinese of intelligence, piety, learning, and judgment. Diffusion of sound learning, improvement in the arts of life, increase in domestic comforts, elevation of the female character, reconstruction of the social system by giving woman her rightful place in it, interchange of thought with other nations and with themselves, —in a word, everything that can make them happier and better will flow from the progress of the religion of the Cross. The

way is opening and will enlarge, the mountains be levelled and the valleys filled up, until a free path is made for the introduction of all these blessings; and opposition will only add vigor to the determination of those who know and feel their value to persevere till all shall know them.

Few plans of usefulness demand more wisdom, prudence, and union on the part of the church than this, and the variety of agencies to be employed in so extensive a field will call for all her means. Trade, manufactures, facilities for travelling and transportation, development of the industry and resources of the country, political changes, and even commotions, may and probably will tend to the furtherance of this work. They, and those engaged in them, are all instruments in the hands of the same wise Governor of the nations, and although sometimes they apparently conflict with the rapid progress of truth and good order, still good is educed in the end. The introduction of China into the family of Christian nations, her elevation from her present state of moral, intellectual, and civil debasement, to that standing which she should take, and the free intercourse of her people and rulers with their fellowmen of other climes and tongues, is a great work, and a glorious one. It can only be done through the influences of the Gospel, and the truths and hopes of that system of religion are enough to do it. Through whatever scenes of commotion, war, and distress they are to pass, the Chinese cannot again seclude themselves as they have done, nor can they shut out these causes of change. The Gospel is the only sure means of guiding them through their troubles, it is the only system on which they can safely reconstruct their shattered framework. This has now commenced and must go on, and happy they who shall assist in the consummation. The promise which seems to refer to this people (Is. xlix., 17) has begun to be accomplished, and its encouraging nature offers a fit ending for the hasty sketch of the character and condition of the Chinese contained in these volumes.

> "Behold these! from afar they shall come,
> And behold these! from the north and from the west:
> And these! from the LAND OF SINIM."

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